

Angry Men, Angry Women:
Patience, Righteousness, and the Body in Late Imperial Chinese Literature

by

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ABSTRACT

So far, love and desire have preoccupied scholarly inquiries into the emotional landscape in late imperial China. However, the disproportional focus diminishes the complexity and interdisciplinarity of the emotional experiences during this period. Alternatively, this dissertation seeks to contextualize the understudied emotion of anger and uses it as a different entry point into the emotional vista of late imperial China. It explores the stimuli that give rise to anger in late imperial Chinese fiction and drama, as well as the ways in which these literary works configure the regulation of that emotion. This dissertation examines a wide range of primary materials, such as deliverance plays, historical romance, domestic novels, and so forth. It situates these literary texts in reference to Quanzhen Daoist teachings, orthodox Confucian thought, and medical discourse, which prescribe the rootedness of anger in religious trials, ritual improprieties, moral dubiousness, and corporeal responses. Simultaneously, this dissertation reveals how fiction and drama contest the presumed righteousness of anger and complicate the parameters construed by the above-mentioned texts through editorial intervention, paratextual negotiation, and cross-genre adaptation. It further teases out the gendering of anger, particularly within the discourse on the four obsessions of drunkenness, lust, avarice, and *qi*. The emotion's gendered dimension bears upon the approaches that literary imagination adopts to regulate anger, including patience, violence, and silence. The body of either the angry person or the target of his or her fury stands out as the paramount site upon which the diverse ways of coping with the emotion impinge. Ultimately, this dissertation enriches the current understanding of the emotional experiences in late imperial China and demonstrates anger as a prominent nodal point upon which various strands of discourse converge.

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Chapter One

Introduction: A Case for Anger

Recovering Anger from *Qing*

In the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Patterns and Analyzing Graphs of Words, 121) by Xu Shen 許慎 of the Eastern Han (25-220), a proliferation of characters correspond to the emotion of anger, such as *fen* 忿, *yuan* 愆, *hui* 恚, *pei* 怖, *chi* 愷, *fen* 憤, and so forth.¹ In the particular cases of *yun* 愠, *pei* 怖, *yi* 忍, and *chi* 愷, the character *nu* 怒 (anger) serves as part of their gloss, and thus, assumes the meta-semantic function.² The cluster of characters evidences nuanced attention to the multi-faceted manifestations and varied intensities of anger within Chinese linguistic awareness very early on. Indeed, spanning the *longue durée* from ancient to late imperial China, *nu* consistently figures as one of the “archetypal emotions” in both formulaic references to and particularized lists of emotional experiences.³ It stands as an integral part of various inventories of paradigmatic emotions, the number of which ranges widely from four to sixteen.⁴

¹ For relevant characters, see Duan Yucui 段玉裁, ed., *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007), 2: 893-94; for a translation of the pertinent sections, see Françoise Bottéro and Christoph Harbsmeier, *Chinese Lexicography on Matters of the Heart: An Exploratory Commentary on the Heart Radical in Shuō wén jiě zì 說文解字* (Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2016), 123-28, 130-31. I have adapted the rendition of the title of *Shuowen jiezi* in Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 83.

² Duan Yucui, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 2: 893-94; for the translation of each character, see Bottéro and Harbsmeier, *Chinese Lexicography*, 126-27, 130.

³ Andrew Plaks, “Before the Emergence of Desire,” in *Key Words in Chinese Culture*, eds. Wai-ye Li and Yuri Pines (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2020), 321; for an implicit reference to anger as a paradigmatic emotion, see Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone: Desire and the Making of Fiction in Dream of the Red Chamber* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 66.

⁴ For a comprehensive documentation of various versions of the “basic emotions” in pre-Qin master classics, early Medieval texts, medical writings, and Buddhist teachings, see Paolo Santangelo, *Sentimental Education in Chinese History: An Interdisciplinary Textual Research on Ming and Qing Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 216-

Despite being a vital type of emotion, however, anger has largely fallen outside the purview of scholarly investigations into *qing* 情, the Chinese notion that is mostly used to designate emotional responses.⁵ Until recently, the pertinent studies on the emotional landscape depicted in late imperial Chinese literature have prioritized the two archetypal emotions of *ai* 愛 (affection/love) and *yu* 欲 (desire) over the others within *qiqing* 七情 (seven emotions), arguably the most influential enumeration of emotional experiences in the Chinese language.⁶ The prioritization is not without good reason, since after all, such early texts as the *Xunzi* and the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals) have already deemed desire inextricable from *qing* as its “functional, active manifestation.”⁷ On the

26. To my knowledge, the only exception where anger does not appear in the list comes from the *Xingzi mingchu* 性自命出, which only names *ai* 哀 and *le* 樂 as the archetypal emotions; see Plaks, “Before the Emergence of Desire,” 321; also see the same page for a few complementary instances for such lists, including some from late imperial Chinese sources. For discussion of *liuqing* 六情 and *qiqing* 七情, see also Anna M. Shields, “The Inscription of Emotion in Mid-Tang Collegial Letters,” in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 679; Curie Virág, *The Emotions in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 6; Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 67-68. These numerous lists of archetypal emotions represent a naming effort that resonates with Silvan S. Tomkins and Paul Ekman’s attempts at teasing out the basic emotions, although the fluid variation of the lists indicates a lack of universalizing tendency in the ancient Chinese texts; for a critique of “the Tomkins-Ekman paradigm,” see Ruth Leys, *The Ascent of Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 310-15, 335-36.

⁵ For the wide semantic field of *qing* 情 that extends beyond emotions to “essential nature, actual conditions, reality – even simply ‘truth,’” see Plaks, “Before the Emergence,” 317-18; also see Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 53; for a list of “dominant meanings of *ch’ing* [*qing*] in Chinese literary criticism,” see Siu-kit Wong, “*Ch’ing* in Chinese Literary Criticism,” (PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1969), 328-33.

⁶ For discussion of *qiqing* as “the stock formulation [of emotional responses] for all posterity,” see Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 67; also see Santangelo, *Sentimental Education*, 216-17. The list of seven emotions includes *xi* 喜, *nu* 怒, *ai* 哀, *le* 樂, *ai* 愛, *wu* 惡, and *yu* 欲 in the *Xunzi*, where, however, there is no mention of the overarching concept of *qiqing*; see Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 2: 22.417; also listed in Santangelo, *Sentimental Education*, 222. The first holistic reference to *qiqing* occurs in the *Liji* 禮記, in which the seven emotions include *xi* 喜, *nu* 怒, *ai* 哀, *ju* 懼, *ai* 愛, *wu* 惡, and *yu* 欲, see Wang Meng’ou 王夢鷗, ed., *Liji jinzhu jinyi* 禮記今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1970), 1: 9.301; also enumerated in Virág, *The Emotions*, 6. Both lists are noted in Shields, “The Inscription of Emotion,” 679. For an observation on the greater balance in the list of the *Xunzi* than that of the *Liji* and the latter list’s greater comprehensiveness, see Santangelo, *Sentimental Education*, 222.

⁷ Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 57-61.

other hand, literary representations at least from the late Ming onward increasingly conflate love with *qing* that is “usually understood in a narrow sense as romantic sentiments.”⁸

Moreover, the prevalence of both “the Romanticist ideal of free love and the Freudian theory of sexuality” in twentieth century China further facilitates the metonymic slippage of *qing* into romantic love and sexual desire within learned interpretations.⁹ Therefore, the scholarly preoccupation with these two emotions has in a sense continued such historical emphases, but not without consequence.

To begin with, overemphasizing love and desire inevitably leaves the majority of emotions understudied, and thus, considerably reduces the richness and complexity of pre-modern Chinese emotional experiences. Indeed, recent studies have expressed dissatisfaction with the disproportional stress on the two emotions and paid increasing attention to other ones. For instance, Maram Epstein opens her recent monograph by proposing *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) as an alternative focal point for pertinent investigations.¹⁰ Another strand of studies centers on the emotion of *ai* 哀 (grief) and its associated practice of mourning in the context of late imperial China, including those by Martin W. Huang, Rania Huntington, and Norman

⁸ Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 4; see also Plaks, “Before the Emergence,” 330. For “the changing meaning of *qing* – from asexual virtue to romantic love, sexual desire, and patriotic fervor” in early twentieth century, see Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 6; see also Maram Epstein, *Orthodox Passions: Narrating Filial Love during the High Qing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), 2; however, I disagree with Epstein’s characterization of *qing* as the “closest premodern instantiation [of romantic love]” and holds it to be the other way around.

⁹ For the apt summary of these two strands of discourse, see Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 4.

¹⁰ Epstein, *Orthodox Passions*, 1; for a relevant observation that in the Ming-Qing elevation of *qing*, “conjugal love seldom stands alone without filiality and sexual passions are laudable only if they also validate, if not actually strengthen, the parent-child bond;” see Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 38.

Kutcher, to name just a few.¹¹ Concentrating on “the poetics and rhetorics [*sic*] of laughter,” Christopher Rea’s tour de force has recuperated the “comic sensibilities” in late Qing and early Republican China.¹² Along with his extensive efforts in expanding the pre-modern Chinese emotional landscape, Paolo Santangelo’s co-edited volume with Donatella Guida follows general reflections of *qing* and specialized studies of love with a notable section on such negative emotions as anger and hatred.¹³ Nevertheless, there still remain the traces of previous overemphasis on love and desire in these latest contributions. In Epstein’s recent study, for example, in order to highlight the emotional dimension of *xiao*, she significantly chooses to render the notion as “filial love.”¹⁴ Hence, her project is more an extension of love beyond romantic and sexual feelings than a radical shift of focus. Similarly, in their co-edited volume, Santangelo and Guida situate what they call “aggressive-repulsive attitudes” at the end after the love-related section, inadvertently revealing the marginal status of such emotions within the scholarly discourse.¹⁵ Lastly, and most importantly, there has yet to be a

¹¹ Some major studies of grief and mourning in late imperial China include Huang, *Intimate Memory: Gender and Mourning in Late Imperial China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2018); Rania Huntington, *Ink and Tears: Memory, Mourning, and Writing in the Yu Family* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2018); Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); as its title bespeaks, filial piety also serves as a focus of Kutcher’s monograph.

¹² Christopher Rea, *The Age of Irreverence: A New History of Laughter in China* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), x; for another edited volume devoted to humor in traditional China, see Jocelyn Chey and Jessica Milner Davis, eds., *Humour in Chinese Life and Letters: Classical and Traditional Approaches* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011); for a historical investigation into Chinese terms with humorous connotations, see Jocelyn Chey, “Youmo and the Chinese Sense of Humour,” in *Humour in Chinese Life*, 13-19.

¹³ Santangelo and Donatella Guida, eds., *Love, Hatred, and Other Passions: Questions and Themes on Emotions in Chinese Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 345-93; for Santangelo’s other relevant studies, see Santangelo, *Sentimental Education*; Santangelo, *Materials for an Anatomy of Personality in Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 282-88, 402-3; Santangelo, “Anger and Rage in Traditional Chinese Culture,” in *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Karl A. E. Enekel and Traninger Anita (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 458-86.

¹⁴ Epstein, *Orthodox Passions*, 1; I deem the translation of *xiao* 孝 as “filial sentiment” more appropriate in Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 3.

¹⁵ For this phrase, see Santangelo and Guida, *Love, Hatred*, 343.

monograph devoted to the archetypal emotion of anger – a lacuna that this study intends to fill.

Furthermore, by overly focusing on love and desire, we risk confining our understanding of emotions in late imperial China to the individual level without fully appreciating their wider implications for religion, politics, medicine, and many other fields.¹⁶ Admittedly, the redefinition and elevation of *qing* in late imperial China have enabled “the espousal of the personal and the subjective,” and thus, marked the radical departure of literary works of this period from the orthodox emphases on the externality of moral authority.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it does not follow that the literary corpora have been largely preoccupied with treating romantic love and sexual desire that are most closely tied to the Romantic conception of the individual.¹⁸ And precisely thanks to their less intimate interconnection with the notion of individuality, grief, anger, and trauma possess even greater potential for going beyond personal interiority to flesh out the social, communal, political, and medical dimensions of emotional experiences. As Haiyan Lee constantly reminds us, it is paramount not to lose sight of how *qing*, despite its radical significance, is still “committed to patrilineal continuity, ritual propriety, and the social order” in Ming-Qing

¹⁶ Paize Keulemans, “Onstage Rumor, Offstage Voices: The Politics of the Present in the Contemporary Opera of Li Yu,” *Frontiers of History in China* 9.2 (2014): 182-83; for an observation on the intertwinement of emotions with political activism in the different context of contemporary America, see Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 156-57.

¹⁷ Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 35-36; for “the valorization of *qing*” in late imperial China, see also Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 6, 33.

¹⁸ Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 4; for discussion of the Romantic elevation of individuality, see M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 10th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2012), 239-40.

China.¹⁹ But even Lee has compromised the radical potential of her own project by placing love at the center of the emotional landscape, banishing all other emotions to the periphery. Maram Epstein's most recent work on filial narratives is another exemplary effort to broaden the emotional landscape of late imperial China, by looking at how emotional experiences can go beyond the conjugal to "the intergenerational family."²⁰ Nonetheless, it still revolves around such issues as "individual selves with interiority, social agency, and recognized personhood," and thus, leaves individuality as the unchallenged seat of emotions.²¹ Rather than romantic or filial love or sexual desire, I am interested in examining anger as an alternative entry point into the emotional intricacies of late imperial China, not only in view of its understudied nature, but also for its intersection with orthodox Confucian teachings, medical discussion, religious experience, gender discourse, and the body.²²

Entwinement between Anger and *Qi*

Apart from its designation as a hyperbolic facet of *qing*, anger also closely relates to the physiological notion of *qi* 氣.²³ According to an early text, the *Zuo* 左傳 (The Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals; hereafter *Zuo* 左傳), the emotion emerges out of *liuqi* 六氣 (six *qi*): "In the people there are liking and disliking, joy and anger, sorrow

¹⁹ Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 38, 42, 44.

²⁰ Epstein, *Orthodox Passions*, 8.

²¹ Epstein, *Orthodox Passions*, 3.

²² For the conception of "different emotions as points of entry," see Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 14.

²³ For an extended list of translations for *qi* 氣, see Jin Pengcheng 金鵬程 (Paul R. Goldin), "Qi de hanyi jiqi jiji yiyi" 氣的含義及其積極意義, trans. Tong Tsz Ben Benson 唐梓彬, *Renwen zhongguo xuebao* 人文中國學報 24.2 (2017): 306. Throughout my dissertation, I will follow Goldin in leaving the notion untranslated.

and pleasure, which originate in the six *qi*. For this reason, appropriate types of behavior were examined and imitated so as to govern the six impulses” 民有好惡，喜怒，哀樂，生於六氣。是故審則宜類，以制六志。²⁴ The six *qi* in the *Zuo zhuan* encompass “yin, yang, wind, rain, darkness, and light” 陰、陽、風、雨、晦、明，²⁵ and give rise to *liu zhi* 六志 (six impulses) that exactly coincide with the six emotions enumerated in the *Xunzi*.²⁶ Anger as one of the six impulses is a possible development of *qi* on the emotional level. The *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 (Yellow Emperor’s Inner Classics; hereafter *Neijing*), however, locates the source of anger in *qi* that arises from one’s visceral systems: “A human being has five visceral systems. They transform the five *qi*, thereby generating joy, anger, grief, anxiety, and fear” 人有五藏化五氣，以生喜怒悲憂恐。²⁷ The similar conception of the relation between anger and *qi* recurs in the *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (Luxuriant Gems of the Spring

²⁴ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed., *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳註, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 4: 1458; Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition = Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals”* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 3: 1639; translation modified; also cited and alternatively translated in Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 85; also see Cai Fanglu 蔡方鹿 et al., *Qi* 氣 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 1990), 22.

²⁵ Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, 4: 1222; Durrant, Li, and Schabert, *Zuo Tradition*, 3: 1331; cited and alternatively translated also in Jin Pengcheng, “Qi de hanyi,” 317-18; see also Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 21. For other versions of *liuqi* 六氣, see Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian Xianggang fendian, 1987-1995), s.v. “liuqi.”

²⁶ For the list of the six emotions in the *Xunzi*, see Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 2: 22.412; cited also in Plaks, “Before the Emergence,” 321; Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 67; Shields, “The Inscription of Emotion,” 679; Santangelo, *Sentimental Education*, 217. For an insightful observation on the overlap, see Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 85; note that there is no overarching reference to the emotions as *liuqing* in the *Xunzi*.

²⁷ Zhang Zhicong 張志聰, ed., *Huangdi neijing suwen jizhu* 黃帝內經素問集註, in *Zhongguo yixue dacheng* 中國醫學大成, ed. Cao Bingzhang 曹炳章 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), 1: 2.5; I have combined the translations in Yanhua Zhang, *Transforming Emotions with Chinese Medicine: An Ethnographic Account from Contemporary China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 66; Paul U. Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, trans., *Huang Di neijing suwen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di’s Inner Classic – Basic Questions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1: 103. For the insight on *zang* 臟/藏 “not ... as a fixed entity, but a process constantly in motion,” see Yanhua Zhang, *Transforming Emotions*, 61.

and Autumn; hereafter *Fanlu*) attributed to Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 of the Western Han, although this later work simplifies *qi* to only two types. Accordingly, “Yin and yang *qi* are present above in Heaven and also in human beings. In human beings, they constitute love, hate, happiness, and anger” 陰陽之氣，在上天，亦在人。在人者為好惡喜怒。²⁸

Likewise, the *Bobu tong* 白虎通 (The White Tiger Hall) compiled in the Eastern Han states that: “Nature (*xing*) is the manifestation of *yang*, and emotions (*qing*) are the transformation of *yin*. Human beings are endowed with yin and yang *qi*, and thus, harbor five natures and six emotions within” 性者陽之施展，情者陰之化也。人稟陰陽氣而生，故內懷五性六情。²⁹

Nonetheless, anger is in no way merely the unidirectional unfolding of *qi* in the emotional domain. Rather, the emotion also exerts shaping influences upon *qi*. In the *Neijing* again, anger, along with other emotions, impinges upon *qi* in addition to originating from it: “The hundred diseases are generated by the *qi*. When one is angry, then the *qi* rises. When one is joyous, then the *qi* relaxes. When one is sad, then the *qi* dissipates. When one is in fear, then the *qi* moves down” 百病生於氣也，怒則氣上，喜則氣緩，悲則氣消，恐則氣下。³⁰ Similarly, the *Fanlu* construes anger not only as one of the emotions that manifest *qi*,

²⁸ Su Yu 蘇輿, ed., *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* 春秋繁露義證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 463; cited in Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 61; Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major, trans., *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 601.

²⁹ Chen Li 陳立, ed., *Bobu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 8.381; cited in Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 76; the translation of the first sentence is based on that in Anthony C. Yu, *Rereading the Stone*, 70. Not only does the *Bobu tong* refer to the six emotions holistically as *liuqing*, but also substitutes *ai* 愛 for *hao* 好 compared to that in the *Xunzi*; see Santangelo, *Sentimental Education*, 223.

³⁰ Zhang Zhicong, *Suwen jizhu*, 39.44; cited in Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 51; Unschuld and Tessenow, *Huang Di*, 1: 594; I deem the addition of the human agent appropriate here, since the work is about human illness.

but also a shaping force that affects its states: “When angry, the *qi* becomes heightened; when happy, the *qi* will become scattered; when anxious, the *qi* will become reckless; when frightened, the *qi* will become dissipated” 怒則氣高，喜則氣散，憂則氣狂，懼則氣懾。³¹ Later, controlling such emotions as anger and joy indeed becomes an important approach to nourishing one’s *qi* in Ge Hong’s 葛洪 (283-343) *Baopu zi* 抱樸子 (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity): “Thus, those who are good at protecting their life ... endure their anger to complete yin *qi* and repress their joy to nourish yang *qi*” 是以善攝生者，。。。忍怒以全陰氣，抑善以養陽氣。³² The emphasis on how emotions shape *qi* persists into the Tang dynasty Daoist Cheng Xuanying’s 成玄英 exposition of the *Zhuangzi*: “If one becomes furious and angry, evil *qi* will concentrate. In that case, the essential cloud-soul will depart and dissipate without returning to one’s body” 夫人忿怒則瀆聚邪氣，於是精魂離散，不歸於身。³³ Therefore, not only does anger arise from *qi*, but also dynamically affects and interacts with it.

As the above cited four texts demonstrate, as one emotion among many produced by *qi*, anger is notably prioritized in the discussion of how emotions impinge upon *qi*. The priority of anger is similarly observable in orthodox Confucian admonitions against

³¹ Su Yu, *Chunqiu fanlu*, 448; Queen and Major, *Luxuriant Gems*, 574; cited and alternatively translated in Jin Pengcheng, “Qi de hanyi,” 311; Goldin has inserted the human agent “one” into his rendition, which is not necessary in the context of *Chunqiu fanlu* considering that Heaven also features the capacity for having emotions here; see Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 59-61.

³² Wang Ming 王明, ed., *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi* 抱樸子內篇校釋, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 13.246; cited in Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 100; I have adopted the translation of the book title from Jay Sailey, *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: A Study of the Philosopher Ko Hung, A. D. 283-343* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1978).

³³ Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 19.651; cited in Cai Fanglu et al., *Qi*, 115.

emotions. For instance, anger, or more precisely, its variant *yun* 愠, which one annotator among many glosses as *hannu* 含怒 (repressed anger), stands out to be the first and foremost emotion against which Confucius cautions in the opening entry of the *Lunyu* 論語 (The Analects; hereafter *Lunyu*): “To remain unoffended even when others do not understand one’s merits – is this not the mark of the gentleman” 人不知而不愠，不亦君子乎?³⁴ Not only does the absence of anger with failed recognition serve as a sufficient condition for the Confucian ideal of *junzi* 君子 (gentleman), but the emotion also assumes gendered moral significance.³⁵ In other words, it is only men’s lack of anger under the specified circumstance that contributes to the gentle-manly manhood according to this aphorism. In the *Daxue* 大學 (The Great Learning), another key Confucian text, anger in its intensified form of *fenzhi* 忿懣 (rage and resentment) again figures prominently as the very first emotional obstacle to *xiushen* 修身 (cultivation of the body-person): “The meaning of the statement: ‘the cultivation of the body-person depends on setting straight the heart-mind’ is that: when one is under the influence of rage and resentment, then one is incapable of achieving this straightness of heart-mind” 所謂“修身在正其心”者，身有所忿懣，則不得其正。³⁶

³⁴ Cheng Shude 程樹德, *Lunyu jishi* 論語集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 1: 1.8; I have consulted the translations in Edward Slingerland, trans., *Confucius Analects: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2003) 1.1; D. C. Lau, trans., *The Analects* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1992), 3; Arthur Waley, trans., *The Analects* (Changsha: Hunan People’s Publishing House, 1999), 3.

³⁵ For the prominence of anger in Chinese “idioms of emotions” pertinent to “moral discourse,” see Yanhua Zhang, *Transforming Emotions*, 63.

³⁶ Song Tianzheng 宋天正, ann., *Daxue jinzhuyi jinyi* 大學今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1977), 21; I have consulted the translations in Confucius, *Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, trans. James Legge (Newburyport: Dover Publications, 2013), 368; Plaks, trans., *Ta Hsüeh and*

Andrew Plaks has rendered *shen* into “one’s moral character as an individual,” and in this sense, anger again hinders a person’s moral cultivation.³⁷ Nevertheless, the emotion also poses threats to one’s body, since both *shen* and *xin* 心 (heart-mind) strongly imply a physical dimension.³⁸

The medical discourse in premodern China likewise pays attention to the impacts of anger upon the body, especially via the viscera. Partly because of its prioritization in the foundational classic *Neijing*, an analysis of anger and its visceral effects frequently starts the discussion of illness related to *qingzhi* 情志 (emotions and impulses) in later medical treatises. A case in point comes from the section entitled “Qingzhi jiuqi” 情志九氣 (Emotions, Impulses, and Nine *Qi*) in Zhang Jiebin’s 張介賓 (1563-1640) *Leijing* 類經 (The Classified Classic), an elaboration of the *Neijing*. The physician opens this section by remarking that: “Anger is the impulse of the liver. When anger arises from the liver, *qi* is then reversed and surges up. [As a result,] *qi* forces blood to ascend so that, under excessive circumstances, [one will] vomit blood” 怒，肝志也。怒動於肝，則氣逆而上，氣逼血昇，故甚則嘔血。³⁹ Furthermore, in his *Yifang kao* 醫方考 (Researches on Medical Formulas), Wu Kun 吳

Chung Yung (*The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean*) (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 11-12. For the translation of *shen* 身, I have adopted that in Yanhua Zhang, *Transforming Emotions*, 3.

³⁷ Plaks, Ta Hsüeh, 7.

³⁸ For an elaboration of the word *shenti* as “much more active and intentional than body, ... both physical and extraphysical, capable of feeling, perceiving, creating, and resonating or embodying changes and transformations in the social world as well as in the natural world,” see Yanhua Zhang, *Transforming Emotions*, 6; see also Xiaoqiao Ling, *Feeling the Past in Seventeenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), 8. I follow Ling in foregrounding the physical dimension of the word “as seat of both sensory perceptions ... and emotions;” see Ling, *Feeling the Past*, 8.

³⁹ Zhang Jiebin 張介賓, *Leijing* 類經, in *Zhongguo yixue dacheng sanbian* 中國醫學大成三編, ed. Qiu Peiran 裘沛然 (Changsha: Yuclu shushe, 1994), 1: 15.249.

昆 (1552-1620) lists eleven cases in which both doctors and laymen resort to emotions to treat *qingzhi*-related illness.⁴⁰ Indeed, anger stands out as a curative emotion in five out of the eleven cases, statistically accounting for almost half of the recoveries in the samples.⁴¹ Therefore, the medical treatises have not only placed anger in a prominent position, but also devoted extensive discussion to how that emotion impacts the body.

Besides Confucian teachings and medical conceptions, another strand of discourse that singles out anger for caution is that which concerns the four obsessions, namely, *jiu* 酒 (drunkenness), *se* 色 (lust), *cai* 財 (avarice), and *qi*.⁴² To better understand the role of anger in the discourse, it is necessary to first delineate how *qi* becomes one of the obsessions. As early as in the *Lunyu*, Confucius has directly or indirectly warned against the obsessions with lust and avarice already:

Confucius said, “There are three things the gentleman guards against: in youth before the blood and *qi* are settled, he guards against the temptation of female beauty. When he reaches his prime when the blood and *qi* have become unyielding,

⁴⁰ For a full translation of the eleven cases, see Nathan Sivin, “Emotional Counter-Therapy,” in *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 6-12; I have adopted Sivin’s translation of the treatise title. For notes on Wu Kun 吳昆 (1552-1620) as “probably the first doctor to create a new category for the classification of illnesses originating in emotional disturbance” and the inclusion of both physicians and laymen’s uses of the “emotional therapy” in his treatise, see Chen Hsiu-fen 陳秀芬, “Emotional Therapy and Talking Cures in Late Imperial China,” in *Psychiatry and Chinese History*, ed. Howard Chiang (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), 40. More discussion of Wu Kun’s cases in Chapter 4 below.

⁴¹ On the other hand, the emotion that most frequently leads to *qingzhi*-related illness is *si* 思 (worry), whereas anger only figures in one case in the form of *fen* 憤 (rage); see the summarizing chart in Sivin, “Emotional Counter-Therapy,” 13. For the case where anger causes illness, see Wu Kun, *Yifang kao* 醫方考, in *Zhongguo yixue dasheng* 中國醫學大成 ed. Cao Bingzhang 曹炳章 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), 49: 3.71; Sivin, “Emotional Counter-Therapy,” 10-11.

⁴² I have largely adopted the same rendition of the four obsessions in Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire and the Seventeenth-Century Chinese Novel*, Xingshi yinyuan zhuan – *Marriage as Retribution, Awakening the World* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 204; Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 103.

he guards against bellicosity; when he reaches old age when the blood and *qi* have declined, he guards against acquisitiveness.”⁴³

孔子曰：「君子有三戒：少之時血氣未定，戒之在色；及其壯也，血氣方剛，戒之在鬪；及其老也，血氣既衰，戒之在得。」

Here, *qi* is still not a target of criticism, but “the basic constituent of the universe” that the gentleman may embody by acting belligerently.⁴⁴ The Master has again aimed his admonition at a gendered audience that consist of men aspiring for the gentlemanly ideal. Later in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han), the trio of drunkenness, lust, and avarice collectively figure as the three obsessions against which Yang Bing 楊秉 (92-165) guards.⁴⁵ The late Tang writer Yang Kui 楊夔 (fl. 900) further adds *quan* 權 (power) to the trio in his “Nifu” 溺賦 (Rhapsody on Indulgence).⁴⁶ Not until the end of the Northern Song (960-1127) does *qi* replace *quan* and form a standard part of the four obsessions, and it is the writings of Quanzhen Daoist masters that have particularly promoted the topos as a whole.⁴⁷

⁴³ Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi*, 33.1154; I have consulted the translations in D. C. Lau, *The Analects*, 165; Slingerland, *Confucius Analects*, 195. For a reference to this passage and Li Zhi’s 李贄 (1527-1602) critique of the absence of *jiu* 酒 from the list, see Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire*, 204.

⁴⁴ For a direct equation of Confucius’s three warnings to that against *se*, *qi*, and *cai* without considering the occurrence of the exact word *qi* in this passage, see Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Guan zhuai bian* 管錘編 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2007), 3: 1380; for the exposition of *qi*, see D. C. Lau, *The Analects*, 165.

⁴⁵ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 7: 54.1775; for a translation of the corresponding passage, see Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire*, 204; also cited in Qian Zhongshu, *Guan zhuai bian*, 3: 1380; Tao-chung Yao, “Ch’üan-chen Taoism and Yüan Drama,” *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 15 (1980): 49.

⁴⁶ Yang Kui 楊夔, “Nifu” 溺賦, in *Quan Tang wen xinbian* 全唐文新編, ed. Quan Tang wen xinbian bianji weiyuanhui 全唐文新編編輯委員會 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2000), 16: 866.99; cited in Qian Zhongshu, *Guan zhuai bian*, 3: 1380.

⁴⁷ Qian Zhongshu has pinpointed the replacement of *quan* 權 with *qi* to the Northern Song (960-1127), although the earliest textual evidence he cites is a song lyric by Wang Zhe 王雱 (1113-1170), founder of the Quanzhen Daoism who was born toward the end of the Northern Song and is usually deemed a Jin Dynasty (1115-1234) writer; see Qian, *Guan zhuai bian*, 3: 1381; also cited with no further qualification in Huang Zhenlin 黃振林, “Qian Zhongshu jie xi shi qu” 錢鍾書解戲釋曲, *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究 4 (2014): 119. For

Variouly rendered as “anger,” “wrath,” “temper,” “irascibility,” and “arrogance,” the obsession with *qi* seems to largely coincide with the emotion of anger.⁴⁸ As Yenna Wu and Martin W. Huang rightly point out, *qi* in fact has a much wider semantic field than that of the word “anger.”⁴⁹ However, the emotion still stands out as a most prominent concretization of the obsession in the emotional sphere. For example, the imagery of “rage that surges to heavens” 怒氣衝天 opens one of the *sanqu* 散曲 (song poems) devoted to *qi* in the Ming dynasty collection *Xinbian Siji wugeng Zhuyunfei* 新編四季五更駐雲飛 (A New Collection of the Four Seasons and Five Watches [of the Night] to [the Tune] “Stilling the Clouds’ Flight,” 1471).⁵⁰ Another illustration comes from the *Beiqu shiyi* 北曲拾遺 (Uncollected Northern Songs), another Ming dynasty collection. An aria on *qi* from the *santao* 散套 (song suite) entitled “Qiao shusheng duan jiu se cai qi” 俏書生斷酒色財氣 (A

the prominence of the four obsessions in Quanzhen writings, see, for example, Kathryn A. Lowry, *The Tapestry of Popular Songs in 16th- and 17th-Century China: Reading, Imitation, and Desire* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 92; Tao-chung Yao, “Ch’üan-chen Taoism,” 48-49; Yao, “Quanzhen – Complete Perfection,” in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 574; Wu Guangzheng 吳光正, “Kuxing yu shilian: Quanzhen qizi de zongjiao xiuchi yu wenxue chuanguo” 苦行與試煉 – 全真七子的宗教修持與文學創作, *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu tongxun* 中國文哲研究通訊 23.1 (2013): 44; more on this in Chapter 1 below.

⁴⁸ For the translation of *qi* into “anger,” see, for example, Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire*, 204; Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 103; Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 116; Shuhui Yang, *Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1998), 50; Lowry, *The Tapestry*, 92; Tao-chung Yao, “Quanzhen,” 587; Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 105. For “wrath,” see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel: Ssu ta ch’i-shu* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 483; Keith McMahon, *Causality and Containment in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 9. For “temper,” see Santangelo, *Materials for an Anatomy*, 391. For “irascibility,” see Stephen J. Roddy, *Literati Identity and Its Fictional Representations in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 197. For “arrogance,” see John T. P. Lai, *Literary Representations of Christianity in Late Qing and Republican China* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 62.

⁴⁹ Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire*, 216; Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 104.

⁵⁰ Zhou Yubo 周玉波 and Chen Shulu 陳書錄, eds., *Mingdai min’ge ji* 明代民歌集 (Nanjing: Nanjing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 8; for the translation of the collection title, see Lowry, *The Tapestry*, 49; more on this collection in Chapter 3 below.

Smart Scholar Assesses Drunkenness, Lust, Avarice, and *Qi*) starts by claiming that: “Rage has engulfed heavenly and human realms” 怒吞了天上人間.⁵¹ In his *sizhen* 四箴 (four remonstrances) against the four obsessions written for the Wanli emperor (1563-1620, r. 1573-1620), Luo Yuren 雒于仁 (fl. sixteenth-century) also prioritized anger in that against *qi*, beginning with the line that: “[You have] also long resented and stored up your anger towards forthright ministers” 又宿怨藏怒於直臣.⁵² Needless to say, these three instances only allow some initial glimpses into rather than adequately certify anger as the primary manifestation of *qi*. Hence, one agenda in the following chapters is to substantiate anger as the predominant metonymic substitution for a particularly active phase of *qi* by surveying a wide range of literary genres, such as song poems, *zaju* 雜劇 (Northern drama) plays, short colloquial stories, full-length novels, and so forth. More importantly, I will reference literary writings to the religious, orthodox, medical, and gender discourses laid out above to demonstrate the intersectional and interdisciplinary potential of anger. In doing so, I hope to broaden our vision of the emotional landscape in late imperial China to incorporate more than love and desire as manifestations of interiority.

Structure of Chapters

Tracing the complex ways in which anger is discussed, I focus on a particular network of texts that revolve around the emotion in the five ensuing chapters to demonstrate how literary genres treat anger. In the opening chapter, I examine the depiction of anger in *dutuo ju* 度脫劇 (deliverance plays), a subgenre of *zaju*, in the context of Quanzhen Daoist

⁵¹ Ren Ne 任訥, ed., *Beiqu shiyi* 北曲拾遺 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 18a.

⁵² Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 20: 234.6101.

teachings on the emotion. Deliverance plays not only devote a considerable proportion of their texts to *qi*, but also treat anger as one major obsession of the delivered characters. Furthermore, rather than whole-heartedly embracing *ren* 忍 (patience/self-restraint) as an effective solution to anger, certain deliverance plays have hypothesized the alternative scenario in which one fails to restrain the emotion.⁵³ Such failure results in the imposition of violence upon the delivered characters, the evocation of their fear, and the experience of symbolic death that allows them to fulfill requirements for their ultimate deliverance. When they do grant the efficacy of self-restraint in quelling anger, some plays delve further into the sources of patience. Nonetheless, one's completed deliverance does not necessarily equal the total disappearance of anger, but hints at the possible re-emergence of the emotion after deliverance. Ultimately, highlighting the delivered characters' anger draws attention to the rich emotional sedimentation that occurs during the process of deliverance.

In the next chapter, I turn to the orthodox *Daoxue* 道學 (the Learning of the Way) teachings for their extensive elaboration upon anger, particularly that of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). The hugely influential thinker not only defends anger from unwarranted dismissal, but also proposes three concrete scenarios that legitimate the emergence of the emotion. More precisely, the thinker affirms the virtue of *yi* 義 (righteousness) to be the moral conditioning of anger. He further holds that ritual improprieties justify the outburst of anger. Lastly, Zhu Xi regards anger's discrimination – the need for an appropriate target – as evidence for the righteousness of the emotion. Having explicated the ethical rationalist's anger-related thought, I then demonstrate how the classical novel *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (The Romance

⁵³ For an elaboration upon the meaning of *ren* 忍, see Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities*, 115.

of the Three Kingdoms) is similarly concerned with whether an angry character possesses righteousness, and whether ritual deviation triggers a character's anger. Such demonstration proves crucial to bridging the novel and Zhu Xi's teachings on anger. Next, I argue that the earliest extant edition of the novel questions the coherence and compatibility of Zhu Xi's three proposed conditions for the emergence of righteous anger. However, the heavily commented early Qing edition in turn realigns the novel with the orthodox thinker's writings, effacing potential incoherence through textual modification and commentarial intervention. The re-alignment evidences the further canonization of Zhu Xi's thought in the early part of the Qing dynasty.

In Chapter Three, I first reflect upon the implicit gendering of anger in both the deliverance plays and the historical romance as a predominantly masculine emotion. I then expand the scope of the examined genres to encompass, for instance, *sanqu*, *huaben* 話本 (short colloquial stories), other subgenres of *zaju* plays, and another full-length novel *Shuibu zhuan* 水滸傳. I will argue that the obsession with *qi* and its emotional manifestation via anger are closely related to the male characters' alienation from and assumption of such normative masculine models as *yingxiong* 英雄 (outstanding male), *haohan* 好漢 (good fellow), and *xiaozǐ* 孝子 (filial son).⁵⁴ Paradoxically, *qi* enables a man to be a *yingxiong*, but simultaneously threatens his life. The same paradoxes hold in the relationship of anger with the other two masculinities. The emotion conforms certain male characters to attain the masculine models of *haohan* and *xiaozǐ*, on the one hand; on the other hand, it simultaneously has the potential for casting doubt upon a man's possession of both masculinities. Either

⁵⁴ More detailed discussion on the translation of these terms in Chapter 3 below.

way, anger has prominently stood out as the emotional force that propels the transformation of a male character's masculinities.

If the third chapter recapitulates and extends the first two, then Chapter Four marks a turning point from the discussion on male characters' anger to my effort at seeking literary works featuring extensive treatment of female anger. Here, I single out another full-length novel, namely, the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (The Plum in the Golden Vase). The work is notable for both its inclusion of many angry women, and more importantly, its demonstration of how they deal with the emotion by different means. Furthermore, the novelist has interwoven the female characters' approaches to the emotion with sex, silence, and sickness, issuing a series of penetrating critiques of contemporary medical discourse. More specifically, not only does the novel subtly create a proportional relationship between a woman's silent containment of anger to her sexual fulfillment, it also depicts how restraining one's anger exerts deadly impacts on the female body. The first strand of critique directly counters prevailing medical theory that advances the curative effects of sex, particularly within marital bounds, upon married women. The novel highlights the etiology of the fatal anger in female characters, thereby exposing the inadequacy of an exclusively pathological focus in traditional medical writings on anger.

In the last chapter, I ponder upon the interrelation between women's anger, karmic retribution, and the body through the character type of shrew represented in the seventeenth century novel *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳 (Marriage as Retribution, Awakening the World).⁵⁵ I will first focus on the role of shrews' anger in inflicting retributive punishment within marital relations. Based on the shrews' repeated references to the unaccountable

⁵⁵ I have adopted the rendition of the novel title in Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire*, ix.

etiology of their anger, I will turn my attention to the traumatic dimension of the events that give rise to their emotion. I will end this final chapter by demonstrating that the shrews' anger not only impacts their own body, as in the *Jin Ping Mei*, but more intriguingly, also impinges upon the male body in such varied forms as cannibalistic aggression, literal and symbolic castration, as well as penetration.

Chapter Two

Violence, Patience, and Transcendence: Anger in Deliverance Plays

The sub-generic term *dutuo ju* 度脫劇 (deliverance plays) designates a cluster of *zaju* 雜劇 (Northern drama) plays that proliferated in the latter half of the thirteenth century.¹ These plays mainly revolve around how “immortals transform others through the Way” 神仙道化, as Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), a Ming dynasty (1368-1644) prince, vaguely suggested in his drama treatise entitled *Taibe zhengyin pu* 太和正音譜 (A Formulary of Correct Sounds for an Era of Great Peace).² Having already figured in both the Buddhist and Daoist writings of pre-modern China, the term *dutuo* literally means “leading someone beyond [their current existence] and shed[ding worldly cares],” refining and specifying Zhu Quan’s rather ambiguous classification.³ Moreover, *dutuo* has explicitly captured the subgenre’s common plotline. That is to say, an enlightened one rids the worldly protagonist(s) of secular attachments in order to deliver him and/or her to the immortal realm.⁴ The enlightened one

¹ Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals: Eleven Early Chinese Plays* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2010), 283.

² Zhu Quan 朱權, *Taibe zhengyinpu jianping* 太和正音譜箋評 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 38; for the translation of the treatise title and the phrase *shenxian daohua* 神仙道化, see West and Idema, trans., *The Orphan of Zhao and Other Yuan Plays: The Earliest Known Versions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 14, 202.

³ Scholars have often credited Aoki Masaru 青木正兒 (1887-1964) as the first person to use the term *dutuo* 度脫 in place of *shenxian daohua* to refer to this subgenre of plays; see Yung Sai-shing 容世誠, *Xiqu renle xue chutan: Yishi, juchang yu shequn* 戲曲人類學初探: 儀式, 劇場與社群 (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 1997), 228. For the literal meaning of the term and its occurrence in earlier sources, see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 201.

⁴ For a thorough discussion of the three plot patterns of deliverance plays, see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 204-5; for a general introduction to the plotlines of these plays, see Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 63; for a summary of the plot patterns into two distinctive models based on whether the delivered is a banished immortal or not, see Yung Sai-shing, *Xiqu renleixue*, 230; 245-46. David Hawkes goes so far as to call *zaju* 雜劇 plays with Daoist themes “Quanzhen plays,” which evidences the prevalence of Quanzhen patriarchs in the sub-genre of deliverance plays; see Hawkes, “Quanzhen Plays and Quanzhen Masters,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981): 158; 168.

is mostly part of the Quanzhen Daoist pantheon, but occasionally a Buddhist monk, whereas the delivered persons are usually of “low status but with a level of material comfort” and range from “courtesan-entertainers, butchers, actors, or minor officials” to banished immortals.⁵

Previous studies have noticed the resonance of the worldly protagonists’ deliverance portrayed in these plays with the rites of passage. In particular, scholars have modeled the deliverance process after Arnold van Gennep’s schematization of the rites into the three phases of separation, transition, and incorporation.⁶ Such modelling has focused on the different stages of deliverance, inheriting the linear analysis of the rites of passage inherent in van Gennep’s schema.⁷ Nonetheless, overemphasizing the phases of deliverance obscures the rich sedimentation of the delivered persons’ emotional experiences that in fact prove pivotal to their ultimate transcendence.⁸ Instead of stressing their “arrival at any particular *stage* [original emphasis]” during deliverance, therefore, I will recuperate the sedimented emotional experiences of the delivered characters.⁹ But more precisely, which emotions stand out when a person undergoes deliverance? What gives rise to these emotions? Is there

⁵ For the religious affiliation of the enlightened deliverers and the worldly protagonists’ identities, see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 204-5.

⁶ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), vii; Yung Sai-shing, *Xiqu renleixue*, 224-25.

⁷ For a summary of Raymond Firth’s critique of the linear understanding of the rites of passage in pertinent theoretical writings, see Vincent Crapanzano, “On the Preclusive Dimension of Ritual Representation,” in *Rituals in an Unstable World: Contingency-Hybridity-Embodiment*, eds. Alexander Henn and Klaus-Peter Koepping (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 327-28.

⁸ “The notion of sediments of time,” as an alternative to the linear and cyclical temporalities, refers to the “multiple historical times present at the same moment, layer upon layer pressed together,” see Reinhart Koselleck, *Sediments of Time: On Possible Histories*, trans. Sean Franzel and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018), XIII, 4.

⁹ Crapanzano, “On the Preclusive Dimension,” 327.

a need to contain such emotional experiences? If so, how? Does one's eventual deliverance necessarily mean the transcendence beyond emotions? These questions will guide the following discussion. To address the first question, let us begin by examining the prominent topos of the four obsessions with *jiu* 酒 (drunkenness), *se* 色 (lust), *cai* 財 (avarice), and *qi* 氣 in deliverance plays.

Anger as the Major Manifestation of the Obsession with *Qi*

The four obsessions have preoccupied the playwrights of deliverance plays, either figuring as an anthropomorphized ensemble or serving as the underlying “framework of meaning” for the dramatic composition.¹⁰ For instance, in his *Li Yaxian huajiu Qujiang chi* 李亞仙花酒曲江池 (Li Yaxian amid Flowers and Wine at the Serpentine Stream Pond), Zhu Youdun 朱有燾 (1379-1439) uses four characters, including the male lead, to embody the four obsessions.¹¹ Another illustration comes from Meng Chengshun's 孟稱舜 (1599-1684) edition of the *Shamendao Zhangsheng zhuhai* 沙門島張生煮海 (At Shamen Island Student Zhang Brews up the Sea; hereafter *Zhuhai*).¹² Meng's edition of the play most drastically differs from that in Zang Maoxun's 臧懋循 (1550-1620) *Yuanqu xuan* 元曲選 (Anthology of Yuan Plays) by including an additional “Xiezi” 楔子 (Wedge), in which four female

¹⁰ For the prominent place that the four obsessions occupy in deliverance plays, see Tao-chung Yao, “Ch'üan-chen Taoism and Yüan Drama,” *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 15 (1980): 49. For the observation on the motif as the narrative framework of the four Ming dynasty *qishu* 奇書, see Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel: Ssu ta ch'i-shu* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 154.

¹¹ I have merged the translations of the play title in Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 35; C. T. Hsia, Wai-yeec Li, and George Kao, eds., *The Columbia Anthology of Yuan Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 226; more discussion of this play later in Chapter 3.

¹² Unless otherwise noted, all following renditions of the titles of deliverance plays follow those in West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 202-3.

immortals clearly symbolize the four obsessions.¹³ Nonetheless, more frequently does the topos frame the narrative development of deliverance plays. A case in point is the collaboratively authored *Handan dao xingwu Huangliang meng* 邯鄲道醒悟黃梁夢 (Gaining Enlightenment at Handan: The Dream of Yellow Millet; hereafter *Huangliang meng*).¹⁴ The play relates how the Daoist deity Zhongli Quan delivers the scholar Lü Dongbin through an enlightening dream.¹⁵ As the play unfolds, the playwrights have duly marked the delivered character's detachment from each and every obsession so that the topos distinctly undergirds the dramatic plotline.¹⁶ Other plays implicitly ascribe the four obsessions to the delivered person at the very beginning for him or her to sever later. Take the *Ma Danyang sandu Ren fengzi* 馬丹陽三度任風子 (Ma Danyang Thrice Leads Crazy Ren to Enlightenment; hereafter *Ren fengzi*), for example. Attributed to Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠 (ca. 1250-?), the play recounts how the Quanzhen patriarch Ma Danyang enlightens a butcher named Crazy Ren. It opens with the delivered person's birthday celebration, during which he shows his

¹³ Li Haogu 李好古, *Zhangsheng zhuhai* 張生煮海, in *Xinjuan gujin mingju Linzhi ji* 新鐫古今名劇柳枝集, ed. Meng Chengshun 孟稱舜 (1599-1684), in *Guben xiqu congkan siji* 古本戲曲叢刊四集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958; hereafter *Siji*), 5: 2.9b-10a. For a full translation of the *Yuanqu xuan* edition of the play, see Hsia, Li, and Kao, *The Columbia Anthology of Yuan Drama*, 371-402.

¹⁴ For the translation of the play title, see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 202.

¹⁵ As two of the Eight Immortals, both Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin are also among the *wuzu* 五祖 (Five Patriarchs) of the Quanzhen sect; see Yao, “Ch’üan-chen Taoism,” 42. The prototype of the play is the story “Jiaohu miaowu” 焦湖廟巫 collected in Gan Bao 幹寶, *Xinji Soushen ji* 新輯搜神記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 2.53-54. A widely influential adaptation of the story is Shen Jiji’s 沈既濟 *Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記; see Li Fang 李昉, comp., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 2: 82.526-28; for a full translation of the Tang *chuanqi* tale, see Bruce J. Knickerbocker, trans., “Record within a Pillow,” in *Tang Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Singapore: World Scientific, 2010), 73-130.

¹⁶ The play is attributed to Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠, Li Shizhong 李時中, Hua Lilang 花李郎, and Hongzi Li'er 紅字李二; see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 2020. For each note of the delivered on his severance from the four vice, see Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠 et al., *Kaitan chanyiao Huangliang meng* 開壇闡教黃梁夢, in *Maiwangguan chaojiaoben gujin zaju* 脈望館抄校本古今雜劇, ed. Zhao Qimei 趙琦美, in *Siji*, 3: 2.8a; 2.12a; 4.20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 1.5.2023; 2.2029; 4.2039.

indulgence in drinking, propensity for overspending, and vulnerability to provocation.¹⁷

Moreover, the recent birth of Crazy Ren's son further hints at the butcher's engagement in sex.¹⁸ Thus, the playwright has associated the delivered character with all four obsessions from the start of the play.

Rather than paying equal attention to each obsession, certain playwrights have devoted more than one act out of four to that with *qi*. In other words, the delivered person's propensity for *qi* has attracted more narrative attention than the other three obsessions in some deliverance plays. The *Huangliang meng* again stands out as an illustrative case. In this play, the delivered Lü Dongbin's proclivities for drunkenness and avarice only receive limited treatment. The playwrights briefly mention his claim of abstinence, which occurs after he drinks wine and vomits some blood.¹⁹ They then go on to make a quick reference to Lü Dongbin's severance of avarice after being exiled for accepting the enemy's bribe and pretending to be defeated at the frontier.²⁰ In contrast, not only has the play treated both lust

¹⁷ Zheng Qian 鄭騫, ed., *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong* 校訂元刊雜劇三十種 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1971; hereafter *Yuankan*), 1.115-17; Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠, *Ma Danyang sandu Ren fengzi* 馬丹陽三度任風子, in *Maimangguan*, 2: 1.4b-6a; Wang Xueqi 王學奇, ed., *Yuanquxuan jiaozhu* 元曲選校注, (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994; hereafter *Jiaozhu*), 4: 1.4209-13. For an interpretation of the temporal setting of the birthday celebration as reflective of the performance context of these plays, see Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 63; 68. I deem the coincidence of the birthday celebration with the beginning of play not only symbolic of Crazy Ren's impending rebirth, but also contrastive with his ensuing transformation resulting from deliverance; for the difference between the non-transformative ceremony and the transformative ritual process, see Victor Turner, "Social Dramas and Stories about Them," *Critical Inquiry* 7.1 (1980): 161. For a less reflective claim on the performance context of early deliverance plays, see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 203. The birthday celebration of the delivered also occurs in the *Budai heshang Renzi ji* 布袋和尚忍字記 and the anonymous *Han Zhongli dutuo Lan Caihe* 漢鍾離度脫藍采和.

¹⁸ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 1.115; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 1.5a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 1.4210.

¹⁹ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 2.8a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 1.5.2023.

²⁰ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 2.12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 2.2029.

and *qi* in Act II, but also exclusively focused on the latter obsession in the last act.²¹ Thus, *qi* has enjoyed the most extensive elaboration in the *Huangliang meng*. Other deliverance plays pay even greater attention to this single obsession. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to claim that the constant concern with *qi* runs through both the *Ren fengzi* and the *Budai heshang renzi ji* 布袋和尚忍字記 (The Monk with a Burden and the Story of “Patience;” hereafter *Renzi ji*).²² For instance, Crazy Ren’s fellow butchers characterize him as “having a fierce temper” 性子又利害 at the beginning of the Maiwangguan edition of the *Ren fengzi*.²³ And the rest of the play substantiates such characterization with Crazy Ren’s repeated outbursts of anger. The *Renzi ji* tells the Monk with a Burden’s deliverance of a miser called Liu Junzuo.²⁴ Including the word *ren* 忍 (patience/self-restraint), the title has already suggested the centrality of *qi* to the play, since self-restraint is precisely the key virtue that contains the obsession, particularly according to Quanzhen Daoist writings.²⁵

²¹ More detailed discussion below.

²² For the attributed authorship of the *Renzi ji* to Zheng Tingyu 鄭廷玉 (unknown dates), see Ma Lian 馬廉, ed., *Luguibu xin jiaozhu* 錄鬼簿新校注, 86; Yu Xiaogu 于小穀 attributed the play to another Yuan dynasty playwright Meng Shouqing 孟壽卿 without giving evidence to support this claim; see Zheng Tingyu, *Budai heshang Renzi ji* 布袋和尚忍字記, in *Maiwangguan*, 18: 1a.

²³ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 1.4b; this note is absent from both the Yuan dynasty and the *Yuanquxuan* editions of the play.

²⁴ Historically, the Monk with a Burden was a Buddhist monk called Qici 契此 (?-916) in the late Tang; for a convenient collection of his biographical records, see Bai Huawen 白化文 and Li Dingxia 李鼎霞, “Budai heshang yu budai” “布袋和尚”與“布袋,” in *Budai heshang yu Mile wenhua* 布袋和尚與彌勒文化, ed. He Jinsong 何勁松 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), 9-13.

²⁵ For an exposition of the connotations of *ren* 忍 and a discussion of the virtue in the *jiaxun* 家訓 genre, see Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 115, 197-99. More on how Quanzhen Daoism conceives *ren* below.

Furthermore, the emotion of anger most prominently bespeaks one's propensity for *qi* in deliverance plays. As the corresponding verse to this obsession indicates in Meng Chengshun's edition of the *Zhubai*, "those who fight for *qi* have an easily agitated heart-mind and bold guts. They can't help feeling angry" 争氣的心麓膽大，不由人不怒發。²⁶ In the *Ren fengzi*, the transcendent Ma Danyang first converts the residents in Crazy Ren's town to vegetarianism, and consequently, drives all the butchers there out of business.²⁷ Then, Ren's fellow butchers seize on precisely his irascibility and provoke him to try killing the Daoist adept.²⁸ From this point on, the delivered character repeatedly loses his temper until his ultimate deliverance. Specifically, he becomes furious in Act III over his wife's persistent plead for his departure from the monastery for home.²⁹ When faced with the repeated requests for his head from the ghost of his son, whom he has earlier thrown to death, Crazy Ren once again verges on flying into a rage in the last act.³⁰ The *Renxi ji* features even more frequent outbreaks of anger from the delivered miser. Besides his angry beating of the beggar in the first act, Liu Junzuo also gets furious at the adulterous couple comprising his

²⁶ Li Haogu, *Zhangsheng zhubai*, 5: 2.9a.

²⁷ In the Yuan dynasty edition of the play, the spatial setting of the play is Zhongnan County. However, the later editions specify the location to be the Ganhe Town beside the Zhongnan Mountain instead; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 115; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 1.1a; 1.4b-5a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 1.4209-10. For the significance of the Ganhe Town as "the scene of the Quanzhen founder's conversion," see Hawkes, "Quanzhen Plays," 157.

²⁸ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 1.5b; the fellow butchers' provocation of Crazy Ren is missing from both the Yuan-dynasty and the *Yuanquxuan* editions of the play; see Zheng Qian, *Jiaoding Yuankan*, 1.115-17; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 1.4209-10.

²⁹ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 3.16b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4232. This is not explicit in the Yuan dynasty edition; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.121.

³⁰ Zheng Qian, *Jiaoding Yuankan*, 4.125; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.21b-22a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243.

wife and sworn brother Liu Junyou.³¹ Toward the end of the play, the Monk with a Burden and Liu Junzuo's grandson Liu Rongzu incur the ire of the miser as well.³² Hence, the delivered character's recurrent rage again serves to manifest his obsession with *qi* in the *Renzi ji*. This observation equally applies to the *Huangliang meng*. In Act II, Lü Dongbin returns home from the frontier and happens to overhear his wife's adulterous plan with her lover.³³ Wrath immediately arises within Lü Dongbin, who claims that: "I'm enraged to death by this woman" 我吃這婦人氣殺我也!³⁴ The transcendent Zhongli Quan, who has transformed into Lü's old servant, further confirms his master's rage, asking him "why [he is] so furious and vexed" 為甚這等惱躁 and describing him as "angrily holding the three-foot sword to his chest" 怒橫著三尺劍當懷.³⁵ In the last act of the play, a bandit figure again brings Lü Dongbin's irascibility into sharper relief. During the exile for his corruption, Lü, along with his two children, comes to a thatched hut and encounters an old woman there. When Lü asks her whether he and his children can stay, the old woman agrees, but warns him of her son's "fierce temper" 性子厲害.³⁶ Later, her son comes back home and turns out to be a

³¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.10b; 2.15b-2.16b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2701, 2.2711-12.

³² Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.23b, 4.27b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2723, 4.2731; more detailed explanation of Liu Junzuo's anger with them below. Only the *Maimangguan* edition of the play explicitly notes Liu Junzuo's anger with the Monk with a Burden in Act I, whereas the *Yuanquxuan* edition substitutes *jiao* 攪 for *qi* when describing the miser's emotional response to the monk; see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.10b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2701.

³³ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 2.9a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 2.2024.

³⁴ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 2.10a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 2.2025; this scene also suggests the potential of the obsession with lust for resulting in the propensity for *qi*.

³⁵ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 2.10b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 2.2026.

³⁶ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.19a-19b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2038-39.

banglao 邦老 (bandit), into whom Zhongli Quan again transforms.³⁷ When the bandit throws his son and daughter both into a deep valley, Lü Dongbin flies into another rage.³⁸

Therefore, anger again stands out in this last act that revolves around the delivered character's proclivity for *qi*. However, the playwrights have simultaneously proposed various ways of containing the emotion in their plays, to which we will turn next.

Quelling Anger: Patience and Deliverance

Resonant with these deliverance plays, the writings of Quanzhen masters similarly devote considerable attention to the obsession with *qi*, particularly its emotional manifestation via anger.³⁹ The Quanzhen teachings consistently demonstrate an admonitory attitude toward the obsession, warning of its harms and advocating its severance. Although they more often cautioned generally against the four obsessions as a whole,⁴⁰ certain Quanzhen masters

³⁷ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2039; in the *Maiwangguan* edition of the play, the bandit bids farewell to his brothers upon going on stage. This detail hints at the presence of a group of bandits, who may well embody Lü Dongbin's *liuzei* 六賊, "the six faculties of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, skin, and mind;" see A. Charles Muller, ed., *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. "liuzei." For some bandits' embodiment of *liuzei* in another deliverance play, see Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.21b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4242; see also Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩, *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 2005), 14.169-71.

³⁸ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.21a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2040. The rootedness of Lü Dongbin's anger in his two children's death recalls a line from one song lyric by the Quanzhen patriarch Wang Chuyi 王處一, which reads that: "Good sons and daughters are the *qi* in one's heart-mind" 好兒好女心頭氣; see Wang Chuyi, "Jingsu huixin" 警俗回心, in *Quan Jin Yuan ci*, 1: 443; cited in Wong Shiu-hon 黃兆漢, "Quanzhen qizi ci shuping" 全真七子詞述評, *Xianggang zhongwen daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報 19 (1988): 142.

³⁹ For the interrelation between Quanzhen writings and deliverance plays, see Yao, "Ch'üan-chen Taoism," 48-49; Hawkes, "Quanzhen Plays," 160; West and Idema are cautious enough to describe the relation between Quanzhen teachings and deliverance plays as "a close link" instead of viewing the plays as reflective of such teachings; see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 205.

⁴⁰ For the Quanzhen masters' general warnings against the four obsessions, see Hawkes, "Quanzhen Plays," 160; Yao, "Ch'üan-chen Taoism," 55; Yao, "Quanzhen – Complete Perfection," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 574, 587.

singled out *qi* in their pertinent writings.⁴¹ For instance, in a verse from his *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集 (Anthology of Gold and Jade from the Cavern Mystery), the historical Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123-1183) advised his disciples “not to idly fight with *qi* for random words” 莫為閒言閒鬥氣.⁴² Another verse attributed to Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229) in the *Mingbe yuyin* 鳴鶴餘音 (Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane) also reminds the reader of “not fighting for *qi*” 休爭氣.⁴³ Being a significant facet of the obsession, anger has not escaped the Quanzhen masters’ pointed admonition. The Quanzhen founder Wang Zhe 王嘉 (1113-1170) highlighted the importance of containing *nuchen* 怒嗔 (anger) to the cultivation of *xing* 性 (nature).⁴⁴ A recorded saying attributed to Ma Danyang from the *Zhenxian zhibizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄 (Discourse Records and Direct Pointers of Perfected Immortals) reiterates the relation of *xing* to the regulation of anger.⁴⁵ Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 (1290-?) echoed the significance of containing anger to the nourishment of *xing* in his *Shangyangzi jindan dayao* 上陽子金丹大要 (Gist of Master Upper Yang’s Golden Alchemy).⁴⁶

⁴¹ For a discussion of Tan Chuduan’s 譚楚端 (1123-1185) caution against anger, see Yao, “Quanzhen,” 584. For a brief introduction to both Tan Chuduan and his *Shuiyun ji* 水雲集, see Wong Shiu-hon, “Quanzhen qizi ci,” 147-50; see also Yao, “Quanzhen,” 569.

⁴² Ma Danyang, “Mian menren” 勉門人, in *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集, in *Zhonghua daoang* 中華道藏, ed. Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004; hereafter *Daozang*), 26: 7.447. For the translation of the anthology title, see Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 508. Unless otherwise noted, I will consistently follow the renditions of Quanzhen text titles in the list of primary sources from Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection*, 507-10.

⁴³ Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾, “Xiulian qi’er” 修煉其二, in *Mingbe yuyin* 鳴鶴餘音, in *Daozang*, 27: 3.642.

⁴⁴ Wang Zhe 王嘉, “You daoyou qiwen” 又道友求問, in *Chongyang quanzhen ji*, 26: 12.345.

⁴⁵ Xuanquanzi 玄全子, comp., *Zhenxian zhibizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄, in *Daozang*, 27: 1.78.

⁴⁶ Chen Zhixu 陳致虛, *Shangyangzi jindan dayao* 上陽子金丹大要, in *Daozang*, 27: 3.534.

Without referencing the notion of *xing*, other Quanzhen writings issue more direct injunctions against the emotion. A case in point comes from Liu Chuxuan's 劉處玄 (1147-1203) repeated suggestion of ridding oneself of anger in his *Xianle ji* 仙樂集 (Anthology of Immortal Bliss).⁴⁷ Furthermore, the master in the anonymous *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin) similarly advises the reader to “abandon and sever anger” 棄絕嗔怒.⁴⁸ Li Tongxuan 李通玄, in his *Wuzhen ji* 悟真集 (Anthology of Enlightened Perfection), clearly warned the masses “against having angry *qi*” 怒氣休為.⁴⁹ The collection *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Pure Regulations of Complete Perfection) compiled by Lu Daohe 陸道和 (fl. 14th century) includes the explicit proscription of “not letting anger arise” 毋起怒嗔.⁵⁰

Despite being far from exhaustive, the sampling above still suffices to convey the prevalence of warnings against *qi* and its emotional concretization within the Quanzhen corpus. In contrast to the ubiquity of their cautions against anger, the Quanzhen masters spilled only limited ink on how to quell the emotion. A notable exception, nonetheless, is their persistent emphasis on *ren* as an effective way to curb one's temper. A good illustration is the verse entitled “Ren ren ren” 忍忍忍 (Patience, Patience, Patience) in Ma Danyang's *Dongxuan jinyu ji*. The poet first emphasized patience by advising the reader to “tame their

⁴⁷ Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄, *Xianle ji* 仙樂集, in *Daozang*, 26: 1.561, 2.567, 2.568.

⁴⁸ *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄, in *Daozang*, 26: 705.

⁴⁹ Li Tongxuan 李通玄, “Shuhuai jingzhong” 述懷驚眾, in *Wuzhen ji* 悟真集, in *Daozang*, 27: 1.125; not to be confused with the Tang dynasty scholar with the same name.

⁵⁰ Lu Daohe 陸道和, “Boshi fu” 鉢室賦, in *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規, in *Daozang*, 27: 690.

vexation and not get angry when faced with humiliation” 無明降住，有辱不生嗔，and then, proceeded to claim the necessity of “constant patience and not taking offense” 常忍耐，觸來勿競。⁵¹ Similarly, Tan Chudian 譚楚端 (1123-1185) reminded his disciples of the contribution of self-restraint to quelling anger, noting that: “Whenever one struggles with vexation, each round of patience means a triumph” 每與無明經鬥戰，一迴忍是一迴贏。⁵² Patience again serves as the countermeasure to anger in Mu Changchao’s 牧常晁 (fl. 13th century) *Xuanzong zhibi wanfa tonggui* 玄宗直指萬法同歸 (Reintegrating the Ten Thousand Dharmas: A Straightforward Explanation of the Daoist Tradition).⁵³ In the second of a triple sequence of verses under the title “Yi sanshan” 意三善 (Three Benevolent Intentions), Mu “compared an angry heart-mind to flame” 嗔心如火 and held that: “If one were to abstain from [the emotion], enduring humiliation would be the best way” 人能戒之，忍辱為上。⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ma Danyang, “Ren ren ren” 忍忍忍, in *Dongxuan jinyu ji*, 26: 10.476; also collected in Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, ed., *Quan Jin Yuan ci* 全金元詞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1: 392. A typical translation of the Buddhist term *wuming* 無明 is “nescience;” see Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. “wuming.” However, I have chosen to render the word as “vexation,” the more common meaning in Quanzhen teachings. For instance, the writer of the *Zhenxian zhibi* first prescribes “ridding anger as a way to nourish nature” 去嗔怒所以養性, and then, elaborates the initial instruction into “ridding anger as well as quelling vexation as a way to nourish nature” 去嗔怒滅無明所以養性. As a result, *wuming* amounts to the equivalent of *chennu* 嗔怒, at which the verb *mie* 滅 further hints; see Xuanquanzi, *Zhenxian zhibi*, 27: 1.78-79.

⁵² Cited in Wu Guangzheng 吳光正, “Kuxing yu shilian: Quanzhen qizi de zongjiao xiuchi yu wenxue chuanguo” 苦行與試煉：全真七子的宗教修持與文學創作, *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu tongxun* 23.1 (2013): 45.

⁵³ The title translation comes from Yokote Yutaka 橫手裕, “Daoist Internal Alchemy,” in *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368 AD)*, eds. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1091.

⁵⁴ Mu Changchao 牧常晁, “Yi sanshan” 意三善, in *Xuanzong zhibi wanfa tonggui* 玄宗直指萬法同歸, in *Daozang*, 27: 10.518.

As shown above, *ren* stands out as a most prominent approach that the Quanzhen masters advocated to cope with anger.⁵⁵

Although most Quanzhen writings take the efficacy of *ren* in countering the emotion for granted, deliverance plays, on the other hand, frequently feature the failure of the virtue in containing the delivered characters' anger. When it proves ineffective, the failed self-restraint in turn triggers a series of dramatic actions as a remedial step to fulfill the deliverance. More precisely, the ensuing sequence begins by imposing violence upon the delivered person so that fear arises and dissolves his (and always his) anger.⁵⁶ Quelling anger through fear recalls one verse by Ma Danyang addressed to a Mr. Yan of Ninghai in the *Danyang shenguang can* 丹陽神光燦 (Danyang's Luster of Spirit Radiance).⁵⁷ In his verse, Ma Danyang asked the addressee to “visualize the appearance of a skeleton and [think about] why it is like that” 閒想骷髏模樣，緣甚作做, in order to evoke *kongbu* 恐怖 (fears) out of him for the four obsessions, *qi* being the first and foremost.⁵⁸ Hence, fear plays a crucial role

⁵⁵ Some other instances are also in the *Jin Zhenren yulu*, in *Daozang*, 26: 705; Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真, “Mianjin daoji” 勉進道偈, in *Yuan yangzi fayu* 原陽子法語, in *Daozang*, 27: 1.770.

⁵⁶ Fear is in no way exclusively associated with male delivered characters in deliverance plays, but anger is. I will elaborate upon the gendered association of anger in Chapter 3 below. For the fear of a female delivered character for the infernal spectacle, see Li Shouqing 李壽卿, *Yueming beshang du Liu Cui zaju* 月明和尚度柳翠雜劇, in *Zaju xuan* 雜劇選, ed. Xijizi 息機子, in *Siji*, 2: 2.12b-14a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.3388-90; *Yueming beshang du Liu Cui*, in *Linzhi ji*, 6: 17a-19a; Meng Chengshun claims the play to be either anonymous or attributed to Wang Shifu 王實甫; see Meng Chengshun, *Linzhi ji*, 1: 2b.

⁵⁷ Notably, the Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence alludes to this collection in his opening line, “thousands of strands of golden radiance brightens the light dusk” 萬縷金光燦白霞, in the *Maimangguan* edition of the *Ren fengzhi*; see Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 1.1a.

⁵⁸ Ma Danyang, “Zeng Ninghai Yan xiansheng” 贈寧海顏先生, in *Danyang shenguang can* 丹陽神光燦, in *Daozang*, 26: 484-85.

in counterbalancing anger.⁵⁹ Finally, what ends the sequence of dramatic actions that follows the failed self-restraint is the delivered characters' symbolic death. Simultaneously meaning the stoppage of his breath, the delivered person's death experience literally actualizes his *duanqi* 斷氣 (severance from *qi*) in deliverance plays.

To illustrate how the chain of actions compensates for the failed self-restraint, two deliverance plays prove conducive. The first case in point is a play by Jia Zhongming 賈仲明 (1343-1422) entitled *Tieguai Li du Jintong Yunü* 鐵拐李度金童玉女 (Iron Crutch Li Leads Golden Lad and Jade Lass to Enlightenment; hereafter *Jin Anshou* 金安壽).⁶⁰ Beginning with Tong Jiaolan's birthday celebration, the play concerns the Daoist immortal Iron Crutch Li's deliverance of her and her husband Jin Anshou.⁶¹ In Act III, Li effortlessly converts Tong Jiaolan first.⁶² When faced with the imminent separation from his wife, Jin Anshou's "rage can't help filling his chest" 忍不住我怒氣奮胸脯.⁶³ To facilitate Jin's deliverance, Iron Crutch Li conjures up a transformative dreamscape.⁶⁴ There, Jin Anshou again fails to

⁵⁹ This differs from the contention for the rise of anger from fear in Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Monarchy of Fear: A Philosopher Looks at Our Political Crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2018), 84-88.

⁶⁰ Jin Anshou is the name of the male lead who is one of the characters who undergoes deliverance.

⁶¹ Jia Zhongming 賈仲明, *Tieguai Li du jintong yunü* 鐵拐李度金童玉女 (hereafter *Jin Anshou*), in *Mainwanguan*, 34: 1.1b; *Yuan Ming zaju* 元明雜劇, in *Siji*, 1.107; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2763.

⁶² Jia Zhongming, *Jin Anshou*, 34: 3.11a; *Yuan Ming zaju*, 3.123; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2781.

⁶³ Jia Zhongming, *Jin Anshou*, 34: 3.11b; *Yuan Ming zaju*, 3.124; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2782.

⁶⁴ For the use of "the topos of dreams" in deliverance plays and its transformative function, see Ling Hon Lam, *The Spatiality of Emotion in Early Modern China: From Dreamscapes to Theatricality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 30-31; see also Xiaoqiao Ling, *Feeling the Past in Seventeenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), 17.

contain his anger and insists on Iron Crutch Li's return of his wife.⁶⁵ In response, Li conjures up a child, a maiden, a monkey, and a horse to pursue after Jin, which embody the delivered person's *ying'er chanü* 嬰兒姹女 (child and maiden) and *xinyuan yima* 心猿意馬 (monkey-mind and horse-thought) and suggest their alienation from him.⁶⁶ These entities chase Jin Anshou to the liminal brink of a cliff, from which the frightened and agitated male lead falls away.⁶⁷ Thereafter, he wakes up from the delivering dreamscape to his enlightenment, no longer being angry.⁶⁸ Hence, the sequence of violence-fear-death has succeeded in cancelling his anger out and led to his ultimate deliverance.

The *Huangliang meng* also evidences how the delivered character's failed containment of anger triggers the chain of dramatic actions to fulfill his deliverance. In Act IV, the old woman, having informed him of her son's fiery temper, asks Lü Dongbin that: "Lü Yan, will you be able to restrain yourself" 呂岩你忍的麼?⁶⁹ In reply, Lü promises her to both "refrain from fighting for *qi*" 將氣也不爭了 and restrain himself even if her son "gives [him] a good beating" 便打我一頓，我也忍了。⁷⁰ Notably, it is not until Lü Dongbin claims his capacity for self-restraint that the old woman agrees to his and his children's stay at her

⁶⁵ Jia Zhongming, *Jin Anshou*, 34: 3.12a; *Yuan Ming zaju*, 3.125; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2782-83.

⁶⁶ Jia Zhongming, *Jin Anshou*, 34: 3.12a-12b; *Yuan Ming zaju*, 3.125; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2783. For the meanings of *xinyuan yima* 心猿意馬 and *ying'er chanü* 嬰兒姹女 in Quanzhen Daoism and the translation of both terms, see Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection*, 111, 143.

⁶⁷ Jia Zhongming, *Jin Anshou*, 34: 3.12a-12b; *Yuan Ming zaju*, 3.125; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2783.

⁶⁸ Jia Zhongming, *Jin Anshou*, 34: 3.12a-12b; *Yuan Ming zaju*, 3.125; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2783-84. However, this does not mean the eternal absence of anger from him; see the discussion in the last section below.

⁶⁹ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.19b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2039; Lü Yan is the secular name of Lü Dongbin.

⁷⁰ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.19b-20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2039.

thatched hut.⁷¹ However, Lü's promise soon fades into empty words, as he ends up losing his temper when the bandit ruthlessly throws both his son and daughter into a deep valley.⁷² The delivered person directly confronts the bandit and insists on *jianguan* 見官 (bringing [the bandit] to court).⁷³ Lü Dongbin's resort to the official authority betrays his sense of being wronged, and thus, suggests his anger with such injustice.⁷⁴ Compared to that in the *Jin Anshou*, the delivered character's failure in withholding his anger is even more pronounced in the *Huangliang meng*, to which his purported capacity for patience acts as a foil. Nevertheless, the bandit in turn responds by enumerating Lü Dongbin's previous wrongdoings, and then, chases Lü in order to kill him.⁷⁵ Faced with such murderous violence, Lü Dongbin feels so fearful that his anger totally vanishes. Eventually, the bandit catches Lü and symbolically kills him, enabling him to wake up to his enlightenment.⁷⁶ Lü Dongbin's stopped breath again coincides with his severance from the obsession with *qi*, but more significantly, it is his failed containment of anger that initiates the violence-fear-death sequence as a remedial strategy for completing his deliverance.

However, in no way do deliverance plays only revolve around the delivered characters' failure to restrain his anger; rather, their success in withholding the emotion figures prominently in a few deliverance plays as the paramount step to his eventual

⁷¹ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2039.

⁷² Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.20b-21a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2040.

⁷³ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.21a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2040.

⁷⁴ For the connection between anger, wrongful acts, and injustice, see Nussbaum, *Anger and Forgiveness: Resentment, Generosity, Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6, 14-15.

⁷⁵ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.21a-21b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2040-41.

⁷⁶ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.21b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2041.

transcendence. Patience in these plays proves efficacious in quelling the delivered characters' anger, and subsequently, results in his experience of death and deliverance all at once. Nonetheless, such successful containment of anger does not mean the total absence of failed self-restraint. Indeed, the delivered characters often lose their temper in the early part of these plays, but their failed control of the emotion still contributes to their deliverance. The *Ren fengzi* proves helpful to unpack the abstraction above. Ma Danyang opens Act II by mentioning the flame-like temper of Crazy Ren,⁷⁷ who, at the provocation of his fellow butchers, has stealthily come to the monastery where Ma resides.⁷⁸ There, Crazy Ren first accuses Ma Danyang of forcing the butchers out of business by converting the town residents into vegetarians, and then, threatens to kill the Daoist adept.⁷⁹ Crazy Ren's allegation betrays the persistence of his anger that has arisen from his fellow butchers' enagement. When the butcher is about to murder Ma Danyang, the immortal's guardian spirit comes up on stage, scaring "the five souls out [of Crazy Ren]" 悠悠五魂無 and symbolically killing the butcher instead.⁸⁰ Crazy Ren's lost temper has triggered the sequence of violence, fear, and death, but this series of dramatic actions only initiates rather than

⁷⁷ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.9b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4219; Ma Danyang's note on Crazy Ren's flame-like temper is not in the Yuan dynasty edition of the play.

⁷⁸ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 2.118; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.11a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4221.

⁷⁹ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.11b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4221. The accusation and threats from the delivered are not in the Yuan dynasty edition due to the fragmentation of the text; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 2.118.

⁸⁰ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 2.119; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.11b-12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4222.

fulfills his deliverance. Indeed, it is not until Crazy Ren undergoes such death experience that he agrees to follow Ma Danyang and renounce the secular life.⁸¹

After undertaking the monastic life in the next act, Crazy Ren succeeds for the first time in controlling his anger so that he begins to sever his worldly ties. Act III starts with the arrival of Crazy Ren's wife and his fellow butchers at the monastery, who have gone there to look for him.⁸² Faced with his wife's constant requests for his return, Crazy Ren verges on flying into a rage, and at first, threatens to beat her.⁸³ However, he stops in time and reins back his fury by acting out *qishou* 稽首 (to make obeisance by prostration).⁸⁴ It is notable that his wife immediately agrees to divorce him as soon as the butcher curbs his anger.⁸⁵ Therefore, although she still insists on his return home afterwards, Crazy Ren's successful containment of anger has inaugurated the severance of his secular linkage to his wife.⁸⁶ Toward the end of this act, Crazy Ren kills his newly born son by throwing the infant to the ground, cutting off his worldly bonds in an even more radical manner.⁸⁷ This violent act

⁸¹ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 2.119; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 2.12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4222. Notably, in the *Maimangguan* edition alone, Crazy Ren changes his reference to Ma Danyang from *po xiansheng* 潑先生 to *shifu* 師父 after his symbolic death, which further indicates the start of the deliverance process; see Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 2.11b-12a.

⁸² Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 3.14b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4230; the stage direction is not clear in the Yuan dynasty edition; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.120.

⁸³ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.121; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 3.16b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4232.

⁸⁴ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 3.16b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4232; there is no mention of *qishou* 稽首 in the Yuan dynasty edition; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.121. For the translation of the term, see Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. "qishou."

⁸⁵ This is the case in both the Yuan dynasty and the *Maimangguan* editions of the play; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.121; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren Fengzhi*, 2: 3.17a; the pertinent passage is different in the *Yuanqu xuan* edition; see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4232-33.

⁸⁶ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 3.17a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4232-33; what Crazy Ren's wife says after she agrees to divorce him is unclear in the Yuan dynasty edition; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.121-22.

⁸⁷ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 3.123; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 3.19b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4235.

paves the way for the second symbolic death of the butcher in Act IV. There, he encounters the ghost of his son that he has previously thrown to death.⁸⁸ The ghost persistently asks for Crazy Ren's head, to the point that the butcher "can't restrain [himself] anymore" 我敢忍不的也。⁸⁹ Having claimed the ghost's *naofan* 惱犯 (offense and provocation) of him, Crazy Ren threatens to inflict ruthless violence upon it: "I'm about to snatch your neck, twist your arms, and twirl your body. In one instant, I'll throw your colorful clothes away. I'm about to shatter your brain into pieces and crack your waist" 我敢搭住你那頭稍。膀轉身搖。騰。我漾過你那花稍。我敢腌臢打碎你腦。我敢各支支拗折你腰。⁹⁰ Recurrently preceding his utterance of violent gestures, the phrase *wogan* 我敢 (I am about to) betrays Crazy Ren's ambivalence that results from the tension between his murderous intent and attempt at controlling his killing rage.⁹¹ Finally, Crazy Ren manages to restrain his anger so that the ghost beheads him.⁹² Consequently, the butcher experiences another symbolic death, after which Ma Danyang pronounces the completion of his deliverance.⁹³

⁸⁸ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 3.19b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4235; Crazy Ren's encounter with his son's ghost is unclear in the Yuan dynasty edition; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 4.124-25.

⁸⁹ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.22b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243.

⁹⁰ Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 4.125; the ghost's spoken words are interspersed between these lines in the *Maimangguan* edition of the play; see Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.22b-23a; for the different passage in the *Yuanqu xuan* edition, see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243.

⁹¹ The two lines with no *wogan* 我敢 is absent from the *Yuanqu xuan* edition of the play. Thus, the later edition has highlighted Crazy Ren's ambivalence to a greater extent by consistently preceding the violent gestures with the phrase; see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243.

⁹² Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 4.125; Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.23a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243.

⁹³ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.23a-23b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243-44; no relevant passage in the Yuan dynasty edition.

In the *Renzi ji*, self-restraint again proves effective in quelling the miser Liu Junzuo's anger, from which his death experience and ultimate deliverance immediately ensue. Thrice has Liu Junzuo failed to curb his anger in the first three acts of the play, and it is not until he finally manages to contain the emotion that his deliverance climaxes with his symbolic death and culminates in his enlightenment. In Act I, a beggar called Liu the Ninth, who is in fact the reincarnated Lion-Subduing Arhat, pesters the miser for some money.⁹⁴ Not only has Liu Junzuo refused his request, but also becomes so angry as to beat the beggar, accidentally killing him.⁹⁵ Afraid of the upcoming legal punishment, the miser plans to escape, but it is precisely at this moment that the Monk with a Burden appears and stops him, promising to revive the beggar provided that Liu Junzuo renounces his secular life.⁹⁶ Therefore, as a "homeless and mysterious 'stranger' without wealth," the beggar proves instrumental in subjecting Liu Junzuo to potential legal penalties for manslaughter, and by extension, stripping off the miser's wealth-based prerogatives and "reduc[ing him] to the level of common humanity and morality."⁹⁷ As soon as Liu Junzuo agrees to the conditions, the monk revives the beggar, immediately after which the miser regrets and proposes to stay at

⁹⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.10a-10b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2701; J. I. Crump, trans., "The Monk Pu-tai and the Character for Patience," in *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 1241. For the note on Liu the Ninth as the reincarnation of Fuhu chanshi 伏虎禪師, see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 0.1a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 0.2688; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 0.1224. I have adopted the translation of Fuhu chanshi in Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. "Fuhu."

⁹⁵ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.10b-11a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2701; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1241-42.

⁹⁶ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2702-3; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1244.

⁹⁷ Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 110.

his own backyard to practice Buddhist cultivation instead.⁹⁸ Despite his compromised practice, Liu Junzuo's first failure in restraining anger still starts moving him toward his deliverance, as the monk duly marks with the phrase *xiao jingtou* 小境頭 (a small revelation).⁹⁹

The miser again flies into a rage in the next act, this time against his wife and her lover Liu Junyou.¹⁰⁰ When hearing his son's report of the adulterous affair, Liu Junzuo initially remains skeptical and attempts to contain his anger.¹⁰¹ After repeatedly confirming with the boy, however, the miser eventually claims that he will “never put up with that” 我真個忍不的也。¹⁰² Then, Liu Junzuo furiously leaves the backyard and picks up a knife from the kitchen on his way to kill the illicit couple.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, when the miser dashes into the chamber and is about to stab the person hiding behind the hanging, he only finds the

⁹⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.12b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2704; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 1.1246.

⁹⁹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.13b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2704; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 1.1246.

¹⁰⁰ Although Ānanda in the “Wedge” specifies that the beggar Liu the Ninth is responsible for Liu Junzuo's *huixin* 迴心, Liu Junyou, a scholar-turned beggar whom the miser accepts into his own household, has played that role to a larger extent, since Liu Junzuo, upon encountering him, repeatedly claims that Liu Junyou “has touched [his] heart” 好關我心/關著我這心. For Ānanda's introduction of the four steps of *dianhua* 點化, *huixin*, *xinxing* 修行, and *chuanfa* 傳法 in Liu Junzuo's deliverance, which also roughly correspond with the plot of the play, see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 0.1a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 0.2688; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 0.1224.

¹⁰¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.14b-15b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2710-11; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1248-50.

¹⁰² Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.16a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2711-12; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1251.

¹⁰³ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.16a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2711; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1252.

Monk with a Burden there.¹⁰⁴ The monk in turn persuades Liu Junzuo to follow him to the Yuelin Monastery for further Buddhist cultivation.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the miser's lost control of his anger has provided an opportunity for the monk to make him literally *chujia* 出家 (to renounce one's home), enabling Liu Junzuo to further approach his enlightenment.¹⁰⁶ At the end of this act, the Monk with a Burden again uses the recurrent phrase *jington* (revelation) to mark another stage of the miser's deliverance.¹⁰⁷

Liu Junzuo's final failure in restraining his fury occurs in Act III, in which he targets his rage at nobody other than the Monk with a Burden. A head seat called Monk Dinghui opens this act and claims that he is responsible for supervising Liu Junzuo's cultivation.¹⁰⁸ Specifically, the head seat plays a disciplinary role, beating the miser "whenever [his] mind wanders to the profane world" 若動凡心 and instructing him to "in all things ... observe *forbearance* [original emphasis]" 凡百的事則要你忍.¹⁰⁹ After Liu Junzuo falls asleep, the head

¹⁰⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.17b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2713; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 2.1254.

¹⁰⁵ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.18a-20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2713-15; the *Maimangguan* edition of the play specifies the Dashan Monastery in Bianliang (modern day Kaifeng) as the place where Liu Junzuo will cultivate himself in Act III, which is, however, inconsistent with the location mentioned at the end of Act II; see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.20a. In the *Yuanqu xuan* edition, his training site is consistently the Yuelin Monastery that is historically associated with the Monk with a Burden in his other biographical records as well; see Bai Huawen and Li Dingxia, "Budai heshang," 9-13.

¹⁰⁶ For the monk's reference to Liu Junzuo's *chujia* 出家, see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2715.

¹⁰⁷ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2715; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 2.1259; Crump has added the word "small" in his translation, which is, however, absent from the source text.

¹⁰⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.20a-20b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2719. For the translation of *shouzu* 首座 as "the head seat," see Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. "shouzu." The head seat's name *dinghui* 定慧 literally means "meditation and wisdom" and refers to "two of the six perfections" in Buddhist contexts; see Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. "dinghui."

¹⁰⁹ Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2719-20; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 3.1261; both sentences are missing in the *Maimangguan* edition of the play; see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.20b.

seat conjures up a *jingtou* (a revelatory realm), where the miser sees, among other things, the Monk with a Burden accompanied by a wife, a concubine, a son, and a daughter.¹¹⁰ This sight has greatly enraged Liu Junzuo, for the Monk with a Burden has earlier persuaded him to abandon his own family.¹¹¹ In a fit of anger, the miser leaves for home from the monastery toward the end of this act, where the phrase *xiao jingtou* reappears and duly signals his advancement toward the eventual enlightenment.¹¹²

Although his departure from the monastery seems more a setback than progress during his deliverance, Liu Junzuo's return does provide an opportunity for him to eventually succeed in curbing his anger. If his previous outbursts of rage gradually move him toward his deliverance, Act IV features the miser's one and only successful containment of the emotion that ultimately results in his enlightenment. Liu Junzuo's ancestral graveyard forms the spatial setting of this last act and foreshadows his impending symbolic death.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.22b-23b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2721-23; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 3.1265-7; translation of the term *jingtou* 境頭 modified. The head seat explicitly notes that the Monk with a Burden is accompanied by a son and a daughter, which Crump has glossed over in his translation. However, this detail is significant, since it not only suggests one's attachment to the offspring with both normative genders, but more importantly, also implies the cultivation process through the mediation of *ying'er* 嬰兒 and *chanü* 姪女; for the specific reference to these two Inner Alchemy terms in the play, see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.5b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2696; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1232. For a concise explanation for these two terms in inner alchemy practice, see Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection*, 143; for a note on the role of *ying'er* in the *sanyi* 三一 system, see Livia Kohn, "Sanyi" 三一, in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 2: 855.

¹¹¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.23b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2722-23; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 3.1267.

¹¹² Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.25a-25b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2723-24; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 3.1270.

¹¹³ For an alternative understanding of this spatial setting as a symbolic site for the human return to death and a contrastive scene with Liu Junzuo's birthday celebration at the beginning, see Li Hui-mian 李惠綿, "Lunxi Yuandai fojiao dutuoju – Yi fojiao du yu jietuo gainian wei quanshi guandian" 論析元代佛教度脫劇——以佛教「度」與「解脫」觀念為詮釋觀點, *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 佛學研究中心學報, 6 (2001): 289.

There, he encounters an elderly man, who later turns out to be Liu Junzuo's grandson.¹¹⁴ Not knowing who the elderly man is, the miser heatedly quarrels with his grandson over to whom the ancestral graveyard belongs, claiming that: "Now I've lost all patience! Anger rushes to the fore, and I would lay violent hold of him" 我這裡便忍不住，氣撲撲向前去，將他扯攞。¹¹⁵ Although he again verges on flying into a fury, Liu Junzuo finally manages to contain his emotion.¹¹⁶ His quarrel with the elderly man recalls that between the miser and the beggar in Act I, but crucially differs in ending with Liu Junzuo's anger control. Significantly, it is not until the miser manages to contain his anger that he and his grandson start to recognize each other.¹¹⁷ Their mutual recognition in turn makes Liu Junzuo realize his own unchanged appearance despite the passage of time.¹¹⁸ Feeling helplessly stranded and unable to "find [either] the gate that leads forward [or] the one leading back" 進退無門, Liu Junzuo decides to commit suicide by hitting his head against a pine tree.¹¹⁹ Hence, his successful containment of anger has initiated a series of dramatic actions that ends with his

¹¹⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.27b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2730; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1275.

¹¹⁵ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.27b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2731; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1274.

¹¹⁶ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.27b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2731; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1274-75; more elaboration on how Liu Junzuo contains his anger in the next section.

¹¹⁷ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.27b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2731; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1275.

¹¹⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2732; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1277.

¹¹⁹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29a-29b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2732-33; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1277-78.

death experience, after which the Monk with a Burden affirms his enlightenment by announcing his attainment of *zhengguo* 證果 (true karma).¹²⁰

As analyzed above, patience, be it failed or successful, enables the delivered characters to undergo his symbolic death as either a remedial or an ensuing step to fulfill his deliverance. But what are some ways of evoking patience in deliverance plays? Are those ways equally efficacious in leading to the successful control over anger? The next section sets out to address these questions.

Evoking Patience: The Deliverer and/or Words

In deliverance plays, there are at least four sources from which the delivered characters' patience emerges. Apart from the physical presence of the immortal responsible for the deliverance, the other three ways that give rise to patience all revolve around words. More precisely, the words can assume the forms of the immortal's spoken emphasis on self-restraint, the delivered person's purported capacity for patience, and the bodily inscription of the character *ren*. The self-claimed capability of remaining patient turns out to be the only futile way in evoking the virtue out of the delivered characters, for which the *Huangliang meng* serves as an illustrative case. As mentioned above, Lü Dongbin, in response to the old woman's confirming inquiry, has repeatedly claimed his ability to restrain himself in the last act of the play.¹²¹ Nevertheless, it is not long before his confident claim falls into an empty promise, since Lü Dongbin cannot help feeling furious when her bandit son kills his

¹²⁰ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.30a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2733; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1278; the *Yuanquxuan* edition of the play substitutes *zhengguo* 正果 for *zhengguo* 證果 in the *Maiwangguan* edition.

¹²¹ Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.19b-20a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2039.

children.¹²² Ironically, Lü's self-uttered capacity for patience in fact proves irrelevant to his possession of the virtue at all.

In contrast, the delivering immortal's verbal injunction effectively reminds the delivered characters of restraining themselves. In Act II of the *Mainwangguan* edition of the *Ren fengzi*, Ma Danyang calls Crazy Ren's attention to the importance of patience by requiring the butcher to "restrain [himself] in each and every occurrence" 凡百事你則忍者.¹²³ In the next act, the Daoist adept's stress on the virtue proves crucial in enabling Crazy Ren to contain his anger. When he is about to beat his wife due to her insistent requests for his return, the butcher does not succeed in curbing his fury until he recalls that: "My master said that it was never foolish to forgive others in this life" 俺師父道今世裏饒人也不是癡.¹²⁴ Later when faced with the head-requesting from his son's ghost, Crazy Ren again verges on flying into a rage, but eventually reins in his emotion, since he recollects that: "Master told [me] to observe patience" 師父道且忍著.¹²⁵ Therefore, Ma Danyang's verbal reminders has undergirded Crazy Ren's capacity for self-restraint, as the butcher's repeated invocation of the Daoist adept's instructions on the virtue evidences.

At first glance, the *Renzi ji* seems to resemble the *Ren fengzi*, featuring an immortal whose oral emphasis initially plays a pivotal role in enabling Liu Junzuo to withhold his

¹²² Ma Zhiyuan et al., *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.21a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2040.

¹²³ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.13a; Ma Danyang's emphasis on patience is absent from the *Yuanquxuan* edition of the play; see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4223.

¹²⁴ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 3.16b; in the *Yuanquxuan* edition, Crazy Ren does not attribute the emphasis on forgiveness to Ma Danyang, but claims it to be *changyan* 常言 (a common saying); see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 3.4232.

¹²⁵ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 4.23a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4243.

anger. Upon further scrutiny, however, two major differences emerge between the two plays regarding how the delivered characters' self-restraint arises. On the one hand, Liu Junzuo has never internalized the Monk with a Burden's verbal stress on the virtue so that the monk has to be physically present along with the angry miser at first. On the other hand, shortly before the miser kills the beggar, the Monk with a Burden inscribes the character *ren* in Liu Junzuo's palm, an increasingly efficacious substitute for the monk's oral reminders in empowering the miser to contain his anger.¹²⁶ In Act I of the *Renzi ji*, the Monk with a Burden repeatedly places stress on patience so that Liu Junzuo also acknowledges the importance of the virtue. The moment when the beggar passes away, the Monk with a Burden goes up on stage, asking Liu Junzuo that: "I taught you to be patient; why were you not? Could you not forbear to strike this person to death" 我著你忍著，你怎生不忍打殺人？¹²⁷ The monk then highlights the necessity of constant self-restraint by chanting the following *gāthā*: "Forbearance is to forbear. Patience gained is patience to use. If you lose either forbearance or patience, small things will weigh as great" 你得忍且忍，得耐且耐；不忍不耐，小事成大。¹²⁸ Having agreed to Liu Junzuo's persistent begging, the monk revives the beggar, and again, asks the miser to "in all things use forbearance" 凡百的事則要你忍著。¹²⁹ With all

¹²⁶ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.8b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2699; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1237-38. Notably, it is because he does not want to spend money buying a piece of paper that Liu Junzuo asks the Monk with a Burden to write the character in his palm. The irony here lies in the fact that the miserliness of the delivered leads to the deliverer's bestowal of the enabling sign of forbearance upon him.

¹²⁷ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2703; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1244; translation modified.

¹²⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2703; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1244; translation modified.

¹²⁹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.12b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2703; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1245. It is notable that the monk's oral reminder here overlaps almost verbatim with Ma Danyang's initial instruction to Crazy Ren in the *Mainwangguan* edition of *Ren fengzi*; see Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.13a.

these instructions, Liu Junzuo thrice promises to restrain himself toward the end of this act, which comes only after the monk's oral insistence on the virtue.¹³⁰

So far, the character *ren* in Liu Junzuo's palm has mainly served to mark his irreplaceability. Immediately after the Monk with a Burden inscribes it and leaves the stage, the miser tries to wash the character away, but only finds it impossible to get rid of it.¹³¹ Moreover, the character not only turns out to be ineffaceable, but also imprints itself elsewhere. Liu Junzuo first stamps it in the towel that he uses to dry his hands.¹³² Then, he inadvertently impresses the character in the beggar's corpse. Liu Junyou, upon finding the beggar dead, proposes to "shoulder the responsibility for this death in [his] brother's stead" 人命事恁兄弟替哥哥當.¹³³ At first, this proposition seems highly viable, since there have been quite a few clues hinting at the sworn brother's doubling of Liu Junzuo besides their resembling names. For instance, in the beginning of Act I, the miser describes his sworn brother as "working for the household and earning his living, early to rise and late to bed" 乾家做活, 早起晚眠.¹³⁴ In the "Wedge," Liu Junzuo similarly introduces himself as "early

¹³⁰ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.13a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2704; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1246.

¹³¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.9b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2700; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1240.

¹³² Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.9b-10a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2700-1; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1240-41.

¹³³ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.11a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2702; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1242; translation modified.

¹³⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.4b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2695; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 1.1230.

to rise and late to bed, being frugal and having labored long” 早起晚眠，吃辛受苦。¹³⁵ In Act II, the miser tries to excuse himself from renouncing his secular life, claiming that: “What of my ten thousand household duties, my sweet wife, my dependent children? There is no one to care for all those things” 爭奈萬貫家緣，嬌妻幼子，無人掌管。¹³⁶ The Monk with a Burden, however, immediately points out that Liu Junyou is perfectly capable of handling all those on Liu Junzuo’s behalf.¹³⁷ Indeed, the miser ends up “hand[ing] over the affairs of the house, [his] sweet wife, and dependent children [to his sworn brother]” 將這家計嬌妻幼子都分付與你。¹³⁸ Thus, Liu Junyou has eventually stood in for Liu Junzuo by taking up his position in the secular life. Nonetheless, the inscribed character has prevented the sworn brother from undertaking the impending legal penalties in place of Liu Junzuo, since the miser has imprinted it in the beggar’s chest.¹³⁹ As Liu Junzuo admits, “my palm with its character plain refutes with ease and gives the lie to all my pleas” 你看赤緊的我手裡將咱自證倒。¹⁴⁰ The character has limited Liu Junyou’s doubling of his sworn

¹³⁵ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.3a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 0.2690; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 0.1228; I have modified Crump’s translation of the first line to keep the repetition of the same line *zaoqi wanmian* 早起晚眠.

¹³⁶ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.18a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2714; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1256.

¹³⁷ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.18b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2714; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1256.

¹³⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.19b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2715; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1258; Liu Junzuo has already foreshadowed such entrustment in Act I; see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.11b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2702; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 1.1243.

¹³⁹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.11b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2702; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 1.1243.

¹⁴⁰ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.11b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2702; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 1.1243.

brother so that Liu Junzuo has to confront by himself the scenario that aims at his *huixin* 迴心 (turning the heart back).¹⁴¹ Without his resultant singularity from the bodily inscription, the miser would not have promised to “never let his greedy heart devote itself to money, nor let again fires of secular passions burn in his belly” 再不將狠心去錢上用，凡火向我腹中燒。¹⁴² Thus, the inscribed character supplements the monk’s oral emphasis in making Liu Junzuo restrain the secular passions, anger included.

Although it briefly figures as a visual reminder of patience at the start of Act II, the character soon goes right out of Liu Junzuo’s mind. Not until the Monk with a Burden physically appears in front of him and reminds him of the character does the miser recall the notion and control his anger. Enraged by his son’s report of his wife’s illicit affair with Liu Junyou, Liu Junzuo first “sees the character for ‘patience’ on his palm” 見忍字科, and subsequently, contains his fury.¹⁴³ After further confirmation with his son, however, the miser again flies into a rage, claiming that: “I would never put up with that” 忍不的了也。¹⁴⁴ A knife in his hand, he angrily busts his wife’s bedchamber, intending to slaughter the illicit couple.¹⁴⁵ Despite clearly spotting the imprinted character in the knife’s grip, Liu Junzuo still

¹⁴¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 0.1a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 0.2688; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 0.1224.

¹⁴² Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 1.12a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 1.2703; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 1.1244.

¹⁴³ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.15b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2711; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1250.

¹⁴⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.16a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2712; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1251.

¹⁴⁵ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.16a-16b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2712; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1251-52.

fails to rein his anger back; rather, he views the sign as his “fated enemy that strangles him” 則被你纏殺我也忍字冤家。¹⁴⁶ When hearing someone sneeze behind the hanging, Liu Junzuo dashes right into the bed, but only finds the Monk with a Burden there, who in turn instructs the miser to observe patience again.¹⁴⁷ Upon seeing the monk, Liu Junzuo “cannot help feeling pierced in his heart by a knife-blade” 恨不的心頭上將刀刃扎。¹⁴⁸ The monk then asks the miser that: “What character has a knife blade piercing the heart” 心上安刃呵，是箇甚字? This hint at the character’s ideographic composition succeeds in reminding Liu Junzuo of self-restraint so that the miser “examines [forbearance] with care in his mind” 忍心中自詳察。¹⁴⁹ Thus, it is again the monk’s oral instruction, along with his physical presence, that empowers Liu Junzuo to regain his patience from furious oblivion.

Nonetheless, the Monk with a Burden fuels Liu Junzuo’s anger rather than elicits his self-restraint. Nor does the inscribed character function to enable the miser to contain his emotion. Instead, Liu Junzuo continues viewing it as an inimical entity that ruthlessly severs his worldly ties. As noted above, the third act, set in the Yuelin Monastery, revolves around Liu Junzuo’s interaction with the head seat Dinghui. Upon seeing the Monk with a Burden accompanying some family members, however, the miser instantly flies into a fury and

¹⁴⁶ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.17a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2712-13; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1253-54.

¹⁴⁷ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.17b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2713; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1254-55.

¹⁴⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.17b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2713; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1255.

¹⁴⁹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 2.17b-18a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 2.2713-14; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 2.1255-56.

decides to leave the monastery.¹⁵⁰ Liu Junzuo's anger first and foremost signals the failure of both the monk and the head seat in making him curb the emotion. Moreover, the inscribed character proves no more efficacious in reminding the miser of the virtue of self-restraint. Not only does Liu Junzuo accuse the sign of being an “artifice to break once loving hearts” 絕恩情的海上方, but also of “sever[ing] the heart-strings connecting father and children” 生割斷了俺子父的情腸.¹⁵¹ Although he fails to grasp its signification of patience, Liu Junzuo has inadvertently acknowledged that the visual reminder of patience contributes to alienating him from his secular attachments.

Despite his failure to contain the miser's anger, Dinghui still serves to suggest that Liu Junzuo has internalized the notion of self-restraint. As the miser claims, the head seat supervises his *xinxiing* 修行 (cultivation/perfection), the second stage that Ānanda outlines for his deliverance.¹⁵² Liu Junzuo further complains that: “Whenever my mind wanders to the profane world, [Dinghui] knows it and raps me smartly” 我若凡心動，他便知道就打。¹⁵³ Indeed, the head seat constantly surveils the miser's secular desire and disciplines him when detecting its rise.¹⁵⁴ Apart from his omniscience of Liu Junzuo's interiority, Dinghui's

¹⁵⁰ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.23b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2722-23; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1267.

¹⁵¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.23a-23b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2722; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1266-67.

¹⁵² For Liu Junzuo's explicit mention of Dinghui's supervisory role, see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2719; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1261; this note is absent from the *Mainwanguan* edition of the play, which contains a drastically different spoken section from that in the *Yuanquxuan* edition prior to the arias; see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.20b-22b. For Ānanda's outline, see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 0.1a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 0.2688; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 0.1224.

¹⁵³ Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2719; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1261.

¹⁵⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.21a-21b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2720; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1261-62.

name is also noteworthy as a Buddhist concept in and of itself that literally means “meditation and wisdom.”¹⁵⁵ More importantly, the head seat also refers to his own name as the first goal of cultivation for which Liu Junzuo should aim.¹⁵⁶ Considering both the Buddhist implication of his name and his ability in seeing through the miser’s internality, Dinghui in fact embodies Liu Junzuo’s “meditation and wisdom.” In Freudian terms, the head seat represents the supervising ego that disciplines Liu Junzuo’s id, their interaction staging the miser’s inner struggles.¹⁵⁷ It is no wonder that the miser’s lingering attachments to his wealth, wife, and children arise whenever Dinghui falls asleep. But once the head seat wakes up, he immediately expels such attachments away by cautioning Liu Junzuo to restrain himself.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, patience prominently figures in Dinghui’s admonitions, who chants the following *gāthā* to highlight the importance of the virtue: “Hear you now, patience is the greatest of all virtues: (Recites *gāthā*) ... The quality of patience is not strange; a life of patience is a life of peace. Make patience part of your morality; patience is the key to immortality” 你聽者，忍之為上。（偈云：）忍之一字豈非常，一生忍過卻清涼。常將忍字思量到，忍是常生不老方。¹⁵⁹ Then, the head seat instructs the miser to “praise

¹⁵⁵ Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. “dinghui.”

¹⁵⁶ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 3.21b; there is an additional word *xin* 心 (the heart-mind) after the phrase *dinghui* in the *Yuanquxuan* edition of the play, which explicitly equates the head seat’s name to Liu Junzuo’s internality; see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2720; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1263.

¹⁵⁷ For the contestation between the ego and the id in the Freudian sense, see Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Karnac Books, 1988), 140.

¹⁵⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 3: 3.21a-21aa; there is in fact two additional pages in the *Mainwanguan* edition of the play that has the same page number as the previous two, and I use an additional letter to indicate them; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2720-21; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1261-63.

¹⁵⁹ Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2719-20; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1261-64; this *gāthā* is absent from the *Mainwanguan* edition of the play.

Buddha, praise Buddha, patience, patience” 念佛念佛，忍著忍著 for four times.¹⁶⁰ In view of his embodiment of Liu Junzuo’s inner qualities, Dinghui’s repeated stress on patience further implies that the miser has internalized the virtue.

It is in the last act that the inscribed character finally becomes efficacious in making it possible for Liu Junzuo to quell his anger. The moment when he announces that “now I’ve lost all patience” 我這裡便忍不住 and verges on beating his elderly grandson, Liu Junzuo stops himself, since it occurs to the miser that: “That would just compel that cursed character to appear on his [the elderly grandson’s] lapel” 我則怕他布衫襟邊又印上一箇。¹⁶¹ Thus, the reason why he curbs his anger is the character’s intimidation of him.

Without even glancing at it, Liu Junzuo immediately recalls the character and controls his anger, having completely internalized the notion of self-restraint. Again, fear contributes to dissolving the delivered person’s anger, but more fundamentally, it is the inscribed character in place of the monk and his verbal injunction that enables Liu Junzuo to contain his emotion.

So far, I have elaborated upon the emotional experiences that sediment in the delivered characters during their deliverance and how they restrain their anger. I will go on to examine how the emotion relates to their transcendence, or lack thereof.

¹⁶⁰ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 3: 3.21a-21bb; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 3.2720-21; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 3.1261-64.

¹⁶¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 3: 4.27b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2731; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 4.1275; translation modified; the *Yuanquxuan* edition of the play has *yishanjin* 衣衫襟 instead of *bushanjin* 布衫襟, as in the *Maimangguan* edition.

Transcendence or Not: Post-Deliverance Anger

Mostly, the fulfillment of deliverance coincides with the delivered person's ultimate transcendence beyond the secular sentiments and attachments, undoubtedly including the emotion of anger. His or her spatial transposition from the worldly to the immortal realm often marks such transcendence, which resonates with certain Quanzhen Daoist writings. For instance, Wang Zhe assures a friend of "treading the roads made of clouds and observing the eternal spring in the jade cavern" 登雲路，玉洞看長春 upon attaining transcendence.¹⁶² Without naming the specific destination, Tan Chuduan signals one's transcendence beyond the four obsessions with the spatial term *chu chenbuan* 出塵寰 (exiting the dusty realm).¹⁶³ A further case in point is the historical Ma Danyang's verse to Mr. Yan from Ninghai cited above. It indicates the addressee's transcendence of *ming* 名 (name) and *li* 利 (profits) by envisioning his eventual "ascendance to the ninth firmament by riding clouds" 上九霄，跨雲歸去.¹⁶⁴ In another verse to a senior fellow priest surnamed Jiang, Ma Danyang claims that the receiver's transcendence will lead to his "cloud-surrounding departure for Penglai and Yingzhou on a phoenix" 便攜雲跨鳳，得赴蓬瀛.¹⁶⁵ Not only does the immortal island Penglai recur in a third verse by Ma Danyang to suggest the enlightenment of a Mr. Kang,¹⁶⁶ but the topos also figures as Crazy Ren's post-deliverance

¹⁶² Wang Zhe, "You daoyou," 26: 12.345.

¹⁶³ Tan Chuduan, *Shuiyun ji*, in *Zhonghua Daozang*, 26: 1.527.

¹⁶⁴ Ma Danyang, "Zeng Ninghai," 26: 485.

¹⁶⁵ Ma Danyang, "Zeng Jiang shixiong" 贈姜師兄, in *Danyang*, 26: 482.

¹⁶⁶ Ma Danyang, "Zeng Lingkou Kang xiansheng" 贈零口康先生, in *Danyang*, 26: 487.

destination that bespeaks his total transcendence toward the end of the *Ren fengzhi*.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, the *Huangliang meng* has deployed the spatial trope to mark Lü Dongbin's transcendence, especially that beyond anger. After Lü wakes up from the delivering dream, Zhongli Quan asserts in the “Shawei” 煞尾 (Coda) that Lü has “terminated all his worries and dissolved all his vexation” 絕憂愁，沒煩惱。¹⁶⁸ Immediately afterward, the Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence takes the stage and pronounces Lü Dongbin's departure for the Purple Bureau, another name for the immortal realm of the Grotto Heaven.¹⁶⁹ The *timu* 題目 (title) at the end of the *Maimangguan* edition of the play further specifies the Penglai Grotto as the place for which Lü is leaving.¹⁷⁰

However, not all delivered characters ascends to such immortal realms as divine islands and jade grottos at last. In the *Renzi ji*, for instance, Liu Junzuo instead “return[s] to [his] origins and to the Way of the Buddha to be an arhat forever” 返本朝元，歸於佛道，永為羅漢。¹⁷¹ Notably, his restored arhathood means that he is still engaged “in practices that are self-centered and incomplete in the wisdom of emptiness,” and thus, subject to *tuisi* 歸世

¹⁶⁷ Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzhi*, 2: 4.23a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 4.4244; there is no reference to Crazy Ren's spatial transposition in the Yuan dynasty edition of the play; see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 4.125.

¹⁶⁸ Ma Zhiyuan, *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.23a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2042.

¹⁶⁹ Ma Zhiyuan, *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.23a-23b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2043. For the translation of *zifu* 紫府 and its equivalence to *dongtian* 洞天, see Thomas E. Smith, “Wang Xuanfu” 王玄甫, in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 2: 1018; see also the same entry for the translation of Donghua dijun 東華帝君.

¹⁷⁰ Ma Zhiyuan, *Huangliang meng*, 3: 4.23b; this part of *timu* 題目 is missing from the *Yuanquxuan* edition of the play; see Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 2: 4.2043.

¹⁷¹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2733; Crump, “The Monk Pu-tai,” 4.1278.

退轉 (relapse), at least according to the Mahāyāna doctrines.¹⁷² In other words, even after his enlightenment, Liu Junzuo continues running the risk of rekindling his worldly passions. Indeed, the *Renzi ji* encompasses a cluster of clues that hint at the potential resurgence of Liu Junzuo's post-deliverance anger. First, the play from its very start features a plot pattern that drastically differs from that of both the *Huangliang meng* and the *Ren fengzi*, starring a banished immortal, that is, the thirteenth arhat Piṇḍola.¹⁷³ The arhat's initial descent results from his "thoughts of the Dusty World" 一念思凡之心, and resuming his arhathood does not suffice to exempt him from erring again.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Liu Junyou's death subtly suggests that his sworn brother's anger may reemerge after the deliverance. When he arrives at his ancestral graveyard in the last act, Liu Junzuo sees the graves of his son, daughter, and Liu Junyou.¹⁷⁵ It is tempting to deem this detail indicative of the miser's severed ties to his immediate family members, but the silence over his wife and the inclusion of his sworn brother hinder such an interpretation. Alternatively, we may regard this seeming trivia as a clue to Liu Junzuo's potentially resurging anger. Respectively homophonous with *zuo* 左 (the left) and *you* 右 (the right), the characters *zuo* 佐 and *you* 佑 in the sworn brothers' names

¹⁷² Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. "Aluohan" 阿羅漢. *Tuizhuan* 退轉 more precisely means "to fall back to a lower level of religious practice;" see Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. "tuizhuan."

¹⁷³ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2733; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1278. The other two plays share the plot pattern of the deification of "people who are not explicitly identified as banished immortals but who have some innate capacity to become an immortal;" see West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao*, 204; for another differentiation of the two plot patterns among deliverance plays, see Yung Sai-shing, *Xiqu renlei xue*, 230-32.

¹⁷⁴ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 0.1a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 0.2688; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 0.1224; the exact same phrase recurs at the end of the play; see Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2733; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1278.

¹⁷⁵ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.27b-28a; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2731; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1275.

form a perfect symmetry. As their paired names suggest, Liu Junyou contributes to restoring the equilibrium to, among other things, Liu Junzuo's emotional states.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the reference to his sworn brother's death implies that Liu Junzuo, despite his deliverance, is still likely to slip back to the disequilibrium that gives rise to his anger in the first place. Lastly, the inscribed character remains in Liu Junzuo's palm after the completion of his deliverance, hinting at his continued need for the visual reminder of self-restraint. After Liu Junzuo commits suicide and undergoes the death experience, the Monk with a Burden asks him whether he has woken up to enlightenment and receives a positive response.¹⁷⁷ Despite his newly confirmed illumination, Liu Junzuo still confesses the possible proliferation of the character: "If you had not come just when you did, Master, a single moment would know that character printed thirty times in a row" 師父，你再一會兒不來呵，這坨兒連印有三十個。¹⁷⁸ This confession not only reveals the lingering presence of the character in Liu Junzuo's palm, but also intimates his potential oblivion of patience, and by extension, the possible recurrence of his anger. One may object by insisting on Liu Junzuo's total transcendence at the end of the *Renzi ji*, citing the coda in the *Maiwangguan* edition of the play which reads that: "I [Liu Junzuo] have seen through all worldly affairs in the human realm and suddenly broken my golden shackles and jade locks" 人間世事都參破，頓斷了金枷

¹⁷⁶ The shared character *jun* 均 in their names precisely means "average" or "equilibrium."

¹⁷⁷ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2732-33; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1278.

¹⁷⁸ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.29b; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 3: 4.2733; Crump, "The Monk Pu-tai," 4.1278.

玉鎖。¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the word *duan* 斷 (to sever) seems to signal that Liu Junzuo has entirely detached himself from his worldly attachments after his deliverance. However, the secular tie severed here is highly specific, namely, that to his children.¹⁸⁰ Thus, there is no definitive indication of the complete dissolution of Liu Junzuo's anger in the play.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, I have investigated the discourse on the four obsessions in deliverance plays in reference to Quanzhen Daoist writings and demonstrated the prominent role of anger in emotionally manifesting *qi* in the *zaju* subgenre. If Quanzhen teachings conceive patience as a consistently efficacious way of quelling anger, certain deliverance plays examined above have questioned the presumed efficacy of the virtue in containing the emotion. Not only do these plays feature the delivered characters' failed restraint of anger, but more significantly, a succession of dramatic actions also ensues from such failures to fulfill the deliverance, beginning with evoking a delivered person's fear by imposing violence and ending with his (and always his) symbolic death. Other deliverance plays, however, acknowledge that patience crucially contributes to deliverance. Although failed containment of anger also occurs in these plays, it in fact paves the way for the ultimate overcoming of the emotion through self-restraint. Furthermore, many a deliverance play has delved into the factors that evoke patience out of the delivered characters. Rather than self-purported patience, the virtue arises instead with the mediation of either the delivering immortal or the words, or

¹⁷⁹ Zheng Tingyu, *Renzi ji*, 18: 4.30a; the coda is different in the *Yuanqu xuan* edition of the play so that there is no corresponding rendition of this line by Crump.

¹⁸⁰ The phrase *jinjia yusuo* 金枷玉鎖 refers to one's son(s) and daughter(s); see Ma Zhiyuan, *Ren fengzi*, 2: 2.13a; for a similar line in other editions of the play, see Zheng Qian, *Yuankan*, 2.120; Wang Xueqi, *Jiaozhu*, 4: 2.4223; see also *Xiao Zhangtu fen'er jiumu* 小張屠焚兒救母, in *Yuanqu xuan waibian* 元曲選外編, ed. Sui Shusen 隋樹森 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 2: 2.720. Both plays are cited in Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian Xianggang fendian, 1987-1995), s.v. "jinjia yusuo."

both. It is also notable that one's fulfilled deliverance does not necessarily equate to the transcendence beyond anger. In a larger sense, focusing on the sedimentation of the delivered characters' emotional experiences alerts us to the reductive application of the linear model inherent in the rites of passage to this dramatic subgenre.

Chapter Three

A Fatal Encounter: Anger, Ritual, and Righteousness in *the Sanguo yanyi*

Anger occupies a prominent place in the *Daoxue* 道學 (Learning-of-the-Way) Confucian thought, especially that of the orthodox thinker Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200).¹ By the fourteenth century, Zhu Xi had already ascended to “the center of state orthodoxy” and become the “authoritative cultural voice.”² The Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) rulers had also canonized his commentaries on the Four Books as the standard content for the civil service examinations.³ Notably, Zhu Xi was acutely aware of and often criticized for his own irritable temperament.⁴ Indeed, the thinker specifically singled out anger in his succinct *Zhubuzi jiaxun* 朱子家訓 (Family Instructions of Master Zhu),⁵ but deemed the emotion “not necessarily problematic.”⁶ This contrasted with Xunzi’s absolutist view on anger as a deadly emotion: “Uncontrolled [anger] will cause you to perish. . . . Carrying out a moment’s [anger] will result in losing your only body, to do it nevertheless is to have forgotten your own

¹ For a brief outline of the development of the *Daoxue* 道學 fellowship, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi’s Ascendancy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 2-7.

² Tillman, “Selected Historical Sources for *Three Kingdoms*: Reflections from Sima Guang’s and Chen Liang’s Reconstructions of Kongming’s Story,” in *Three Kingdoms and Chinese Culture*, eds. Kimberly Besio and Constantine Tung (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 64.

³ Tillman, *Confucian Discourse*, 1; also see Martin W. Huang, *Literati and Self-Re/Presentation: Autobiographical Sensibility in the Eighteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 129.

⁴ Tillman, *Confucian Discourse*, 130-32; Tian Hao 田浩 (Hoyt Cleveland Tillman), “*Zhubuzi jiaxun zhi lishi yanjiu*” 《朱子家訓》之歷史研究, in Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhubuzi jiaxun*, ed. Zhu Jieren 朱傑人 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2014), 43-44.

⁵ Zhu Xi, *Zhubuzi jiaxun*, 9.

⁶ Kwong-loi Shun, “Zhu Xi’s Moral Psychology,” in *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, ed. John Makeham (Dordrecht and New York: Springer, 2010), 183; see also Curie Virág, “Emotions and Human Agency in the Thought of Zhu Xi,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 37 (2007): 77.

person” 快快而亡者，怒也。。。。行其少頃之怒而喪終身之軀，然且為之，是忘其身也。⁷ Considering his cultural influence, the prominence of anger in his thought, and the subtlety of his perspective on the emotion, Zhu Xi’s pertinent ideas are simply too significant to ignore.⁸ The first section below will outline how Zhu Xi’s conception of anger drew upon the thought of his contemporary Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133-1180) and differed from that of Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), his most noteworthy intellectual predecessors.

Furthermore, fictional works form another outstanding strand of discourse where anger enjoys elaborate treatment. A preliminary search based on the word frequency of *nu* within such major full-text databases as *Scripta Sinica* and *Zhongguo suwenku* 中國俗文庫 indicates that *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* has a highly extensive elaboration of anger.⁹ Abundant emotional expressions have punctuated the novel ever since its earliest extant edition published in 1522, that is, *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* 三國志通俗演義 (Popular

⁷ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1: 54-55; cited in Zhou Ying 周穎, “Manshuo *Sanguo renwu zhi ‘nu’* 漫說三國人物之‘怒,’” *Aba shifan gaodeng zhuanku xuexiao xuebao* 阿壩師範高等專科學校學報 28.4 (2011): 96. The English translation is based on Eric L. Hutton, trans., *Xunzi: The Complete Text* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 23; I have replaced “rage” with “anger” in the translation to highlight the different degree of intensity between *nu* and *fen* 忿 (rage), and I will maintain this distinction in the translations below. I am indebted to William V. Harris for the term “absolutist” in characterizing Xunzi’s attitude regarding anger; see Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 26; Virág also notes Xunzi’s “strongly worded injunctions to control and suppress the emotions and desires;” see Virág, *The Emotions in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 7.

⁸ Virág, “Emotions and Human Agency,” 53; Kai Marchal, “Moral Emotions, Awareness, and Spiritual Freedom in the Thought of Zhu Xi (1130-1200),” *Asian Philosophy* 23.3 (2013), 200; Marchal compares the influence of Zhu Xi’s conception of the emotions to that of Aristotle upon pre-modern Europe, who especially sees “‘habitual absence of vigorous anger’ as no better than irascibility;” for Aristotle’s idea on anger, see Harris, *Restraining Rage*, 4.

⁹ For instance, according to the *Scripta Sinica*, the word *nu* occurs more frequently in *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* than in other fictional works of similar length, a result comparable to that seen in much longer works such as the *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏, the *Mingshi* 明史, the *Qing shilu* 清實錄, and so forth.

Explication of the Records of the Three Kingdoms; hereafter *Yanyi*).¹⁰ Indeed, anger figures as one of the most noteworthy emotional leitmotifs that the numerous generals and military masters in the novel are engaged with. Following a first section about Zhu Xi's perspective on anger, I will closely scrutinize two episodes fraught with the emotion, namely, Zhang Fei's *yishi* 義釋 (righteous release) of the elderly general Yan Yan and Sun Ce's fatal encounter with the Daoist priest Yu Ji.

The first episode on Zhang Fei's anger proves pivotal for not only teasing out the novel's shared parameters with Zhu Xi's thought in construing the emotion, but also bridging the fictional discourse and the thinker's orthodox teachings on anger.¹¹ I will then move on to the other episode on Sun Ce's anger, which accounts for the greatest number of occurrences of the emotion in the novel (Figure 1).¹² Here, I will introduce another layer of comparison by considering how the earliest extant edition of the novel and its most influential iteration with Mao Lun 毛綸 (unknown dates) and Mao Zonggang's 毛宗崗 (1632-1709) numerous commentaries represent Sun Ce's anger differently, and what such differences can tell us about the interaction of the two editions with Zhu Xi's conception of

¹⁰ Regarding the work's rich depiction of emotion, Andrew H. Plaks draws attention to "the diametric opposition between Liu [Bei's] propensity to tears of despair and [Cao Cao's] characteristic laugh" and how such emotional expressions contribute to the protagonists' characterization; see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel: Ssu ta ch'i-shu* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 420-22; 439; 463; for Zhuge Liang's tear-shedding, see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 445-46; 451. For two comprehensive studies of the novel's numerous editions and complicated textual systems, see Wei An 魏安 (Andrew Christopher West), *Sanguo yanyi banben kao* 三國演義版本考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), *passim*; Liu Haiyan 劉海燕, *Ming-Qing Sanguo zhi yanyi wenben yanbian yu pingdian yanjiu* 明清三國志演義文本演變與評點研究 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2010), 15-96.

¹¹ For a seminal attempt at linking the novel to the orthodox Mencian thought, see Liangyan Ge, *The Scholar and the State: Fiction as Political Discourse in Late Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 42-46.

¹² Paul Vierthaler, "Sangram Frequency," accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.pvierth.com/sangram?fbclid=IwAR3JDKxcKgyYtTzc50Y_s_y7-eLEEEQADgVfmTjmeph9AjUOn8.

anger.¹³ More precisely, the legitimacy of Sun Ce’s anger is a contested point only in the *Yanyi*, while the early Qing edition diminishes and understates such contestation by justifying Sun’s anger through both textual variations and commentaries. I will further argue that the contestation revolving around Sun Ce’s anger in the *Yanyi*, when measured against Zhu Xi’s propositions, reveals potential conflicts within the thinker’s doctrine on anger, whereas the representation in the Maos’ edition smooths out the contradictions. Obscuring such contradictions is consistent with the commentators’ explicit enshrinement of Zhu Xi’s works and indicates the promotion and canonization of the thinker in the early Qing dynasty.

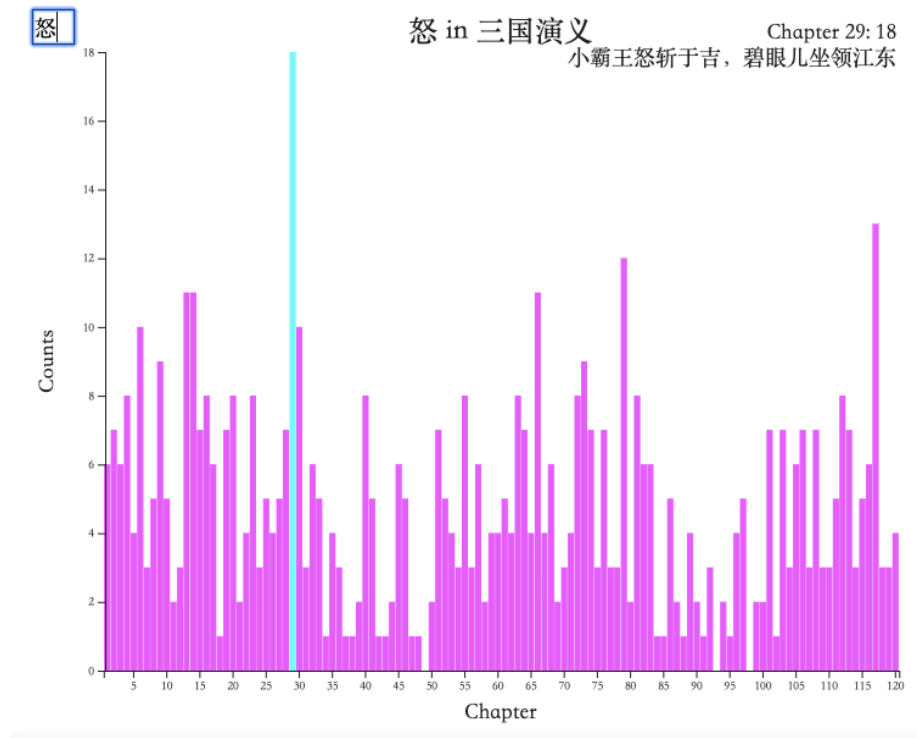


Figure 1: The Word Frequency of *Nu* in the “Sangram”

¹³ For Mao Lun 毛綸 (unknown dates) and Mao Zonggang’s 毛宗崗 (1632-1709) collaborative efforts in commenting on the novel, see David L. Rolston, “Mao Tsung-kang on How to Read the *San-kuo yen-i* (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms),” in *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, ed. idem. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 146; Li Zhengxue 李正學, *Mao Zonggang xiaoshuo piping yanjiu* 毛宗崗小說批評研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 2. In view of its collaborative nature, I will refer to the early Qing edition as the Maos’ edition.

Anger Nuanced

Prior to examining the novel's depiction of anger, let us first see how anger figures in the writings of *Daoxue* scholars, in particular Zhu Xi and the Cheng brothers. Although they have all touched upon anger, these literati-scholars offer a variety of judgments on the emotion. A good point of departure is the *Jinsi lu* 近思錄 (Reflections on Things at Hand), Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian's 呂祖謙 (1137-1181) collaborative primer to *Daoxue* learning.¹⁴ Zhu and Lü excerpted Cheng Hao's statement on anger's distinctiveness: "Among the human emotions the easiest to arouse but the most difficult to control is anger" 夫人之情，易發而難制者，惟怒為甚。¹⁵ A further quote confirms the difficulty of reining in anger through a medical metaphor: "It is difficult to cure anger; so is it to cure fear" 治怒為難，治懼亦難。¹⁶ Such difficulty is so significant that Cheng Hao even deemed the capacity of controlling anger as a mark of one's approximation to the Way: "But if in time of anger one can immediately forget one's anger and look at the right and wrong of the matter according to principle, one will see that external temptations need not be hated, and one has gone more than halfway toward the Way" 第能於怒時，遽忘其怒，而觀理之是非，亦可見外誘之不足惡，而於道亦思過半矣。¹⁷

¹⁴ For a brief introduction to the *Jinsi lu* 近思錄, see Wing-tsit Chan, "Introduction," in Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, comps., *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology*, trans. Wing-tsit Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), xxi; xxvi-xxviii; xxxii-xxxv.

¹⁵ Zhu Xi 朱熹 and Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙, comps., *Jinsi lu*, in *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書 (hereafter *ZZQS*), eds. Zhu Jieren, Yan Zuozhi 嚴佐之, and Liu Yongxiang 劉永翔 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe; Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 13: 2.178; *Reflections*, 41.

¹⁶ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 5.221; Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, *Reflections*, 161; translation modified.

¹⁷ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 2.178; Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, *Reflections*, 41; translation modified.

Cheng Hao's assessment of anger, as presented by Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, differed from the absolutist presumption of the emotion's fatality and allowed for anger, at least that of the sage, to surface. For instance, Cheng Hao conceived anger to be the sage's proper *a posteriori* response to certain persons or affairs, or in the thinker's own term, *wu* 物 (things): "[The sage] is angry because according to the nature of things before him he should be angry" 聖人之怒，以物之當怒.¹⁸ Put in another way, the locus of the sage's anger lies in external things rather than his heart-mind, for sagely anger does "not depend on his own mind but on things" 不繫於心而繫於物.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Cheng Hao's discussion on anger was confined to that of the sages (*shengren zhi nu* 聖人之怒), whereas Zhu Xi's anger-related comments focused on distinguishing kinds of anger instead of the angry person, or put differently, on anger itself rather than the angry sage. Consequently, he extended the scope of the applicability of his discussion beyond the sagely ideal.²⁰ Similar to Cheng Hao's non-absolutist stance, Zhu Xi not only acknowledged anger to be an appropriate response to certain circumstances, but also repeatedly resorted to such emphatic devices as double negation and rhetorical questions to stress this point.²¹ For instance, he claimed: "When it is

¹⁸ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 2.178; Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, *Reflections*, 41.

¹⁹ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 2.178; Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, *Reflections*, 41; cited in Shun, "On Anger: An Essay in Confucian Moral Psychology," in *Returning to Zhu Xi: Emerging Patterns within the Supreme Polarity*, eds. David Jones and Jinli He (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015), 300-1; see also Virág, "Emotions and Human Agency," 83.

²⁰ Virág reaches a similar conclusion by comparing Zhu Xi's thoughts on emotions with that contained in the commentary on the *Wujing zhengyi* 五經正義: "Zhu Xi collapsed the ruler/subject distinction among human beings and endowed all people with the potential to rule themselves," including their emotions; see Virág, "Emotions and Human Agency," 66. My contention differs from hers in that, besides the ruler/subject distinction, Zhu Xi has similarly done away with that between the sage and the masses by focusing on the emotion of anger itself rather than on who is angry.

²¹ For an observation on both double negation and rhetorical questions as important writing strategies for expressing anger in mid-Tang literati collegial letters; see Anna M. Shields, "The Inscription of Emotion in

proper to be angry, one cannot not be angry” 合當怒，不得不怒，²² and asked: “If there is something that [one] should be angry at, why not be so” 有事當怒，如何不怒？²³ Zhu Xi went even further to regard anger as a differentiating factor that separated his teachings from that of both Buddhism and Daoism: “If [we] stick to guarding emptiness and tranquility, it will be the preposterous theory of Buddha and Laozi. Then, there will be even no appropriate anger. What kind of Way or Principle would that be” 若專守虛靜，此乃釋老之繆學，將來和怒也無了，此成甚道理？²⁴

What further distinguishes Zhu Xi’s anger-related discourse from that of Cheng Hao is the former’s adoption of Zhang Shi’s 張栻 (1133-1180) dual distinction of anger when commenting upon a passage from the *Mencius* in the *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註 (Collected Annotations on Passages in the Four Book?; hereafter *Sishu zhangju*):

Zhang Jingfu said: “Lesser courage involves anger that pertains to blood and *qi*, while the anger of major courage pertains to principle and righteousness. One ought not to have anger that pertains to blood and *qi*, and one ought to have no anger that does not pertain to principle and righteousness.

張敬夫曰：“小勇者，血氣之怒也。大勇者，理義之怒也。血氣之怒不可有，理義之怒不可無。”²⁵

Mid-Tang Collegial Letters,” in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 694; 699.

²² Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, in *ZZQS*, 14: 16.534; for another similar statement on anger’s necessity with a plain syntactic order, see Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 15: 52.1706.

²³ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 14: 16.535.

²⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 15: 30.1096.

²⁵ Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983; hereafter *Sishu zhangju*), 216. I have consulted the translation in Shun, “On Anger,” 299-300; Shun seems to have understated Zhang Shi’s 張栻 (1133-1180) contribution to Zhu Xi’s thought by glossing Zhang as an associate of Zhu without specifying from whom Zhu Xi is actually quoting. For Zhang Shi’s scholarly interactions with Zhu Xi, see Tian Hao, *Zhu Xi de siwei shijie* 朱熹的思維世界 (Xi’an: Shanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002), 62-90; Tian Hao, *Panguan Zhuzi xue: Luelun Songdai yu xiandai de jingji, jiaoyu, wenhua, zhexue* 旁觀朱子學：略論宋代與現代的經

Zhang Shi's prescriptive claim of anger as the necessary moral response to varied motivating forces was reiterated in Zhu Xi's posthumously published *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Categorized Sayings of Master Zhu; hereafter *Yulei*).²⁶ This finer dichotomy between *xueqi zhi nu* 血氣之怒 (anger that pertains to blood and *qi*; hereafter *xueqi* anger) and *liyi zhi nu* 理義之怒 (anger that pertains to principle and righteousness; hereafter *liyi* anger) makes Zhu Xi's conception of the emotion more nuanced than Xunzi's absolutist stance, as well as that of Cheng Hao.²⁷

Furthermore, when adopting the term, Zhu Xi understood *liyi* in an analytic rather than holistic manner when it came to anger.²⁸ Remarking on another passage from the *Mencius*, Zhu Xi quoted Cheng Yi's definition of *liyi* as follows: "That which is in things is principle, and that which deals with things is righteousness. This is what is called substance

濟、教育、文化、哲學 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011), 173-97. For a discussion of the *Mencius*'s influence upon the novel, see Ge, *The Scholar and the State*, 38-46; for a study on how Zhu Xi understands another important concept of *yong* 勇 (courage) in his commentaries on the same section of the *Mencius*, see Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 16-17.

²⁶ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 14: 13.406; also noted in Shun, "On Anger," 319. In the *Yulei*, *yili* 義理 replaces *liyi* 理義 in the same sentence. Admittedly, significant differences sometimes exist between these two distinctively ordered terms in certain contexts, but they are interchangeable in Zhu Xi's discourse on anger. For the difference between *liyi* and *yili*, see Chung-ying Cheng, "Yi li zhixue" 義理之學, in *The Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, ed. Xianzhong Yao (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 763-64; for Zhang Shi's use of *yili zhi nu*, see Zhang Shi, *Mengzi shuo* 孟子說, in *SKQS*, 1.30a; a brief introduction to this work can be found in Yong Rong 永榕, et al., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1931), 7: 108; for Zhu Xi's editorial intervention to the works of Zhang Shi and Hu Hong 胡宏 (1106-1162), see Tian Hao, *Zhu Xi de siwei shijie*, 67-70.

²⁷ I have based my translation of both terms on that of Shun; see Shun, "On Anger," 314.

²⁸ In his study of Hu Hong's use of the term, Hans van Ess cautions against translating the term *liyi* holistically into "moral principle;" see van Ess, "Hu Hong's Philosophy," in *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, 117. Shun's translation of *liyi* as "morality" risks obscuring the distinction between righteousness and principle in the phrase; see Shun, "On Anger," 299.

and function” 在物為理，處物為義，體用之謂也。²⁹ By endorsing Cheng Yi’s analogy between *liyi* and *tiyong* 體用, Zhu Xi in fact emphasized *li* and *yi*’s “discrete nature [as substance and function respectively] ... while emphasizing their perfect contiguity and simultaneous instantiation.”³⁰ A further hint at an analytical understanding of Zhu Xi’s use of the term in his writings on anger comes from the term’s consistent parallel counterpart, *xueqi* (blood and *qi*), which Zhu Xi defined separately through the complementary dyad of *yin-yang*: “Blood is *yin* and *qi* is *yang*” 血陰而氣陽也。³¹ Thus, when embedded in *xueqi zhinu*, the *yin-yang* distinction of the term’s former half may well give rise to an analytic reading of its parallel term *liyi*.

So far, we have focused on the relation between righteousness and principle in the term *liyi* anger without paying much attention to that between *liyi* and anger. Zhu Xi deemed the four “moral emotions” of *ceyin* 惻隱 (compassion), *xiuwnu* 羞惡 (disdain), *cirang* 辭讓 (deference), and *shifei* 是非 (approval and disapproval) to “be rooted in the human nature” 性之本然, or put differently, in Principle.³² In contrast, he conceived the seven emotions of *xi* 喜 (joy), *nu*, *ai* 哀 (sorrow), *ju* 懼 (fear), *ai* 愛 (love), *wu* 惡 (hate), and *yu* 欲 (desire) to belong to the category of *qi*.³³ However, the term *liyi* anger suggests that, far from being

²⁹ Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, in *SSZJ*, 11: 330. Here, *yi* refers to the virtue of righteousness, and thus, should not be rendered as meaning, because Zhu Xi mentioned *yi* and *ren* 仁 (humaneness) side by side when expounding upon the phrase *chuwu wei yi* 處物為義; see *Zhuzi yulei*, 15.51: 1682.

³⁰ Deborah Sommer, “Ti yong” 體用, in *The Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, 604-6.

³¹ Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju*, 172.

³² Marchal, “Moral Emotions,” 203-4; the quote comes from Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju*, 238; I have adopted Marchal’s translation of the four “moral emotions.”

³³ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 15: 53.1776; cited in Marchal, “Moral Emotions,” 203-4.

absolute, the distinction between the four moral emotions and seven emotions is in fact fluid and porous.³⁴ By adopting Zhang Shi's anger-related concepts, Zhu Xi affirmed the possibility of transferring anger from the guidance of *qi* into that of principle, the "body" that righteousness instantiates in "use." "Anger, after all, is affiliated with righteousness" 怒畢竟屬義.³⁵

A Righteous Release

Having briefly outlined Zhu Xi's nuanced thought on anger, I will next elucidate the resonance between the novel and the orthodox thinker's pertinent ideas about the emotion. More precisely, resounding with Zhu Xi's stress upon anger's potential conformity to righteousness and principle, the novel also pays attention to whether an angry character embodies righteousness. As noted above, the best illustration comes from Zhang Fei's righteous release of Yan Yan. Recorded in a largely similar manner from the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), through the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government),³⁶ to Hao Jing's 郝經 (1223-1275) *Xu Hou Hanshu* 續後漢書 (A Sequel to the History of the Latter Han), Zhang Fei's release of Yan Yan is one of the former's major military achievements. All three historical records have treated the episode with exactly the same words and focused on the two generals' conversational exchanges that finally led to Yan Yan's release. Across all three historical works, Zhang Fei, having captured

³⁴ Marchal helpfully cites some scholars that hold this distinction to be untenable in his "Moral Emotions," 216.

³⁵ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 87.2960.

³⁶ I have adopted the rendition of the work's title in David Roy, trans., "How to Read *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*," in *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, 152.

Yan Yan, scolded his enemy for resisting his armies, to which Yan replied: “No man of protocol in this bunch! Invading and snatching our prefectures – You can have a headless general, but never a surrendering one here” 卿等無狀，侵奪我州，我州但有斷頭將軍，無有降將軍也。³⁷ His accusation greatly enraged Zhang Fei, who ordered the attendants to decapitate the elderly general. Yan Yan in response berated the furious Zhang Fei: “Just behead me with the axe! Why are you angry?” 斫頭便斫頭，何為怒邪?³⁸ Here, anger functioned as a focal point in the verbal exchange between the two generals. From Yan Yan’s perspective, Zhang Fei’s cause was unjustified, which the words *qinduo* 侵奪 (invading and snatching) and *wuzhuang* 無狀 (lacking protocol) evinced. Yan Yan’s interrogation pointed right at Zhang Fei’s dubious entitlement to anger, which eventually led the latter to “deeming [Yan Yan] courageous, releasing him, and inviting him to be an adviser” 壯而釋之，引為賓客。³⁹

The prominence of anger persists into the corresponding episode in the novel, which expands on how Zhang Fei captured the elderly general and distinguishes itself from all the historical predecessors through highlighting the righteousness of Zhang Fei’s anger. Closely

³⁷ Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 36.700; Sima Guang 司馬光, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), 5: 67.2127; Hao Jing 郝經, *Haoshi Xu Hou Hanshu* 郝氏續後漢書, in *Qinding Siku quanshu* 欽定四庫全書 (hereafter *SKQS*), comp. Ji Yun 紀昀 et al., 16: 6b; I have consulted and modified the translation of the corresponding passages in Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, *Three Kingdoms*, trans. Moss Roberts (Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe; Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 2000), 3: 63.1542. The following discussion will consistently consult Roberts’s translation, which is based on the early Qing edition, and modify it whenever necessary to highlight anger’s role in the related passages. When Roberts’s translation is not mentioned, it means that the translated passage is either missing from the Maos’ edition or so different that it entails a whole new translation.

³⁸ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 36.700.

³⁹ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 36.700.

resembling the *Sanguo zhi*'s treatment of the confrontation,⁴⁰ the novel, nevertheless, introduces righteousness into this episode by substituting *wuyi* 無義 (lacking righteousness) for *wuzhuang* in Yan Yan's accusation of Zhang Fei in the earliest historical record: "No man of righteousness in this bunch! Invading our prefectures – You can have a headless general, but never a surrendering one" 汝等無義，侵我州郡！但有斷頭將軍，無降將軍!⁴¹ Juxtaposed with such an accusation, Yan Yan's subsequent interrogation becomes acutely reminiscent of Zhu Xi's emphasis on righteousness as a legitimating condition for one's anger: "Villain and fool! Take the head! For what are you showing your anger" 賊匹夫！砍頭便砍，何怒色也？⁴² Yan Yan's questioning of Zhang Fei's righteousness precedes and seems to have formed a premise for the elderly general's challenge to Zhang's entitlement to anger.

Notably, various narrative configurations have subtly undermined Yan Yan's accusation of Zhang Fei's anger as lacking righteousness. To begin with, the novel

⁴⁰ It is uncertain whether the *Sanguo zhi* serves as the direct source for this episode in the novel.

⁴¹ Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* 三國志通俗演義 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 13.610; unless otherwise noted, this will serve as the base text for the following discussion on the *Yanyi*. Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 63.1543; translation modified. This passage in the Maos' edition reads the same; see Chen Xizhong 陳曦鐘, Song Xiangrui 宋祥瑞, and Lu Yuchuan 魯玉川, eds., *Sanguo yanyi huipingben* 三國演義會評本 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1986; hereafter *Huiping ben*), 1: 63.785. Among the various renditions of the same incident, *yi* 義 figures firstly in Xiao Chang's 蕭常 (*jinsbi* 1177) *Xu Hou Hanshu* 續後漢書, where Zhang Fei "deems his [Yan Yan's] character to be of righteousness and releases him" 義其為人，釋之。Here, the character *yi* is putative and indicates not Zhang Fei's righteousness, but his discernment of the virtue in Yan Yan. However, Xiao Chang's historical record spills no ink on Zhang Fei's anger; nor does the *Sanguo zhi pinghua* 三國志平話; see Xiao Chang, *Xu Hou Hanshu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 8.70; Zhong Zhaohua 鍾兆華, *Yuankan quanxiang pinghua wuzhong jiaozhu* 元刊全相平話五種校注 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1990), 464-65.

⁴² Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 13.610; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 63.1543; translation modified. The character *se* 色 (countenance) is missing from the Maos' edition; see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 63.785.

underscores Zhang Fei's release of Yan Yan as righteous in the chapter title of both the *Yanyi* and the Maos' edition.⁴³ Thus, not only has the novel couched this episode in the trope of *yishi*,⁴⁴ but more importantly, Zhang Fei's release of the elderly general becomes indicative of his virtue of righteousness according to the chapter title. Furthermore, Yan Yan also confirms Zhang Fei's possession of this virtue, being "grateful for Zhang Fei's high-minded generosity and righteousness" 感其恩義.⁴⁵ Lastly, the episode ends in both the *Yanyi* and the Maos' edition with a eulogistic poem that praises Zhang Fei for possessing *renyi* 仁義 (benevolence and righteousness) and embodying *yiqi* 義氣 (righteous *qi*).⁴⁶ Thus, through various narrative hints, the novel repeatedly counters Yan Yan's allegation by hinting at Zhang Fei's possession of righteousness, which in turn forms a moral premise for Zhang's anger.

Apart from his emphasis on the emotion's accordance with righteousness and principle, two further situations stand out from Zhu Xi's anger-related discourse: One demands anger's presence, while the other indicates an angry person's good knowledge of righteousness and principle. Both are closely pertinent to our further exploration of Sun Ce's fatal anger, to which we will turn next.

⁴³ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 13.607; Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 63.775; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 63.1523; Roberts's translation of the chapter title has not highlighted Zhang Fei's virtue of righteousness.

⁴⁴ For a brief discussion of Guan Yu's *yishi* 義釋 of Cao Cao 曹操 and its ironic re-enactment in the *Sanbao tajian xiyangji* 三寶太監西洋記, see Scott W. Gregory, "Daydreaming Dynasty: *The Eunuch Sanbao's Journeys in the Western Seas* and 'Present-Dynasty' Fiction of the Ming," *Ming Studies* 70 (2014): 21-22.

⁴⁵ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 13.610; Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 63.785; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 63.1534; translation modified.

⁴⁶ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 13.6: 610-11; Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 63.785; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 63.1543; I have replaced Roberts's rendition with the literal translation of the two phrases.

A Fatal Encounter

The novel's depiction of Sun Ce's encounter with Yu Ji features an unprecedented degree of extensiveness that has not been seen in all previous treatments of the same episode.⁴⁷

Moreover, the persistent attention to Sun Ce's anger also plays a crucial role in distinguishing the novel's portrayal of the episode from that in the preceding sources. For instance, the pertinent sections in such early writings as the *Jiangbiao zhuan* 江表傳 (The Record from Outside of the Yangtze River) and the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (In Search of the Immortals) note only once Sun Ce's *jinu* 激怒 (intense anger) as his response to the subordinates' prioritized visit to Yu Ji over the young general himself.⁴⁸ And no later treatment, whether in the Daoist collectanea *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of Clouds) or Hao Jing's *Xu Hou Hanshu*, renders Sun Ce's anger into an episode that witnesses the young general's repeated outbursts of anger.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the earliest extant edition of the novel highlights Sun Ce's anger by not only entitling the episode “Sun Ce Executes Yu the Immortal in Anger” 孫策怒斬于

⁴⁷ For a detailed documentation of this conflict's earlier treatments, see Xu Yongbin 徐永斌, “Cong *Sanguo yanyi* zhong Sun Ce chuzhan Yu Ji shi kan Zhongguo zaoqi daojiao zai Jiangdong de fazhan” 從《三國演義》中孫策處斬于吉事看中國早期道教在江東的發展, *Ming-Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究 103 (2012), 80-81.

⁴⁸ Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451) sourced passages from both works in his commentary on Chen Shou's (233-297) *Sanguo zhi*; see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.822.

⁴⁹ See Zhang Junfang 張君房, ed., *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, in *Zhonghua daozang* 中華道藏 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), 29: 111.856-57. Hao Jing, *Haoshi Xu Hou Hanshu*, 49.22a; for the relationship between Hao Jing's work and Chen Shou's *Sanguo zhi*, see Anne E. McLaren, “History Repackaged in the Age of Print: The *Sanguozhi* and *Sanguo yanyi*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 69.2 (2006): 296-312.

神仙,⁵⁰ but also preparing their encounter with a series of incidents where the young general's anger overflows. For instance, having read Xu Gong's admonition to the emperor against his rebellious potential, Sun Ce is "greatly enraged" (*dannu* 大怒) and subsequently executes Xu Gong, whose three advisers in turn manage to ambush and severely wound the young general.⁵¹ Then comes the physician, who instructs Sun Ce to have a peaceful rest and cautions him against anger's potential damage to his wounds: "Don't be so easily affected. If the *qi* of anger rushes and surges, the wounds will not heal" 勿得妄動。若怒氣衝激，其瘡難治。⁵² Despite the warning, Sun Ce cannot help but again become "greatly enraged" when Guo Jia, one of Cao Cao's advisers, claims the young general to be "hasty and deficient in strategy [as well as] a foolhardy man" 性急少謀，乃匹夫之勇。⁵³ Such an evaluation resonates with the general characterization of Sun Ce in the *Yanyi* as "possessing a fierce and fiery temperament and unable to bear staying idle for even three days" 性如烈火，恨不得三日無事。⁵⁴ The *Yanyi*'s view is remarkably different from the earlier *Sanguo zhi*,

⁵⁰ The Maos' edition entitles the corresponding chapter "Xiao bawang nuzhan Yu Ji" 小霸王怒斬于吉 (Little Hegemon Executes Yu Ji in Anger), retaining the prominence of anger in the title; for an alternative translation of Chapter 29's title, see Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.697.

⁵¹ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.282.

⁵² Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.282; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.699; translation modified.

⁵³ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.283; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.701.

⁵⁴ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.282; this line is missing from the Maos' early Qing edition. Also, flame repeatedly figures as a metaphor for a character's proclivity to anger in the *Yanyi*, as seen in the case of Zhang Fei's fiery temperament; indeed, the *Yanyi* applies the exactly same phrase *xing ru liehuo* 性如烈火 to both Sun Ce and Zhang Fei; see Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 13.608. For a more general discussion of fire or flame as a conceptual metaphor for anger in the Chinese language, see Brian King, "The Conceptual Structure of Emotional Experience in Chinese" (PhD diss., OSU, 1989), 155-59; for a discussion on this conceptual metaphor in the English language, see George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 388-89.

which compliments the man as “being fond of laughing and talking, broad-minded, and receptive to [others’ advice]” 好笑語，性闊達聽受。⁵⁵ After a series of raging outbursts, eventually Sun Ce’s “wounds reopened and he fell into a coma” 金瘡迸裂，昏絕而死，⁵⁶ a reminder of the physician’s previous advice that suggests that one of the major causes of Sun Ce’s death is his *nuqi* 怒氣 (angry *qi*).

Indeed, anger both foreshadows and repeatedly figures in the encounter between Sun Ce and Yu Ji as the young general’s most prominent emotional response to the Daoist priest’s presence in the novel. But equally prominent is the density of Sun Ce’s explanations for why he gets angry. Upon Yu Ji’s arrival, Sun Ce’s subordinates immediately abandon the banquet that their master has held for Chen Zhen, Yuan Shao’s messenger, in order to kowtow to the Daoist priest. Consequently, the young general flies into a rage (*danu* 大怒) and orders: “What a monstrous person! Bring him here for me” 此妖人也，與吾擒來!⁵⁷ After he arrests and imprisons Yu Ji, Sun Ce’s mother summons her son to the women’s quarters and requests that he release the Daoist priest. Nonetheless, Sun Ce declines her request and justifies his decision as follows:

He is a monstrous and presumptuous person, who can use monstrous tricks to mislead the multitude’s heart. Thus, he made the generals pay no attention to the ritual protocol between ruler and minister and descend the tower to kowtow to

⁵⁵ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.817.

⁵⁶ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.8: 287; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.709; translation modified.

⁵⁷ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.283; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.701; translation modified. For an insightful discussion of the word *yao*’s 妖 (monstrous) connotation of transgression and anomaly as well as its negative “moral valences” in another context of late imperial fox-related anecdotes, see Rania Huntington, *Alien Kind: Foxes and Late Imperial Chinese Narrative* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 74; 290; 309. I have adopted Huntington’s translation of *yao*.

him.⁵⁸ Even those who oversaw the guests couldn't stop [them]. People of this ilk are no different from Zhang Jiao and must be eliminated!

此人乃妖妄之人，能以妖術惑眾人之心，遂使諸將不復相顧君臣之禮，盡皆下樓拜之，掌賓者禁止不住。此等人與張角無異，不可不除也！⁵⁹

Sun Ce's self-justification uttered at this private locale in effect continues and expands his earlier accusation of the Daoist priest as *yaoren* 妖人 (a monstrous person). Here, these utterances more explicitly express the young general's vexation over Yu Ji's subversive potential.⁶⁰ What fuels Sun Ce's anger, more precisely, is the Daoist's disruption of the ritual protocol that enacts the normative ruler-minister relation, especially on such a public occasion as a banquet for the messenger of another military leader. Sun Ce's concern with ritual propriety resurfaces when he later questions Zhang Zhao and a dozen other ministers, who petition the young general on Yu Ji's behalf: "As men of learning, why don't you uphold ritual proprieties?" 汝皆讀書之人，何不達禮?⁶¹

⁵⁸ Sun Ce's complaint here over Yu Ji's disruption of ritual protocol comes word-for-word from the *Jiangbiao zhuan* 江表傳 commentary on the relevant section in the *Sanguo zhi*, although the historical record has the character *uan* 遠 instead of *sui* 遂, which can be easily confused with one another; see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.821.

⁵⁹ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.7: 284; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.702; translation modified. This is a major divergence between the *Yanyi* and the Maos' edition, the latter of which only notes Yu Ji's misleading potential and the necessity of his elimination. I will return to this difference in the last section below.

⁶⁰ For a note on the word *yao*'s indication of rebellion on both individual and collective levels, see Huntington, *Alien Kind*, 320.

⁶¹ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.7: 284; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.703; translation modified. It is notable that the Maos' edition has *li* 理 (principle) instead of *li* 禮 (ritual); see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.361. A reversed substitution of *li* 禮 for *li* 理 is observable in the Ming dynasty Grand Secretary Qiu Jun's 丘濬 (1421-1495) quotation of Zhang Shi as using *lijyi* 禮義 (ritual and righteousness) rather than *lijyi* 理義 (principle and righteousness) in the anger-related prescription cited above, which Xia Liangsheng 夏良勝 (*jinsbi* 1508) echoed in his *Zhongyong yanyi* 中庸衍義, a work contemporaneous with the *Yanyi* and published also during the Jiajing reign (1522-1566); see Qiu Jun, *Daxue yanyi bu*, in *SKQS*, 116.4a; for a brief introduction to this work of Qiu Jun, see Yong Rong et al., *Tiyao*, 18: 93.54-55; Xia Liangsheng, *Zhongyong yanyi*, in *SKQS*, 9.55b; a brief introduction to the *Zhongyong yanyi* can be found in Yong Rong et al., *Tiyao*, 18: 93.60-61.

Purportedly arising from the undermined *junchen zhibili* 君臣之禮 (ritual protocol between ruler and subject), Sun Ce's anger seems to accord with righteousness and principle as formulated by Zhu Xi, since the thinker explicitly acknowledged the necessity of being angry at ritual improprieties. When commenting on Cheng Yi's remarks regarding the dyadic relations between *xin* 信 (trustworthiness) and righteousness as well as that between *gong* 恭 (reverence) and *li* 禮 (ritual), Zhu Xi hypothesized the following scenario: "When paying your respect to that person, you are supposed to kowtow, but only bow for a long while. This has not reached [the adequate degree of] ritual propriety. When ritual propriety is inadequate, [the person slighted] must be angry. How can he not take it to be insulting" 要去致敬那人，合當拜，卻自長揖，則為不及於禮。禮數不至，人必怒之，豈不為辱?⁶² Thus, Zhu Xi considered ritual improprieties proper occasions for anger.

However, the basis of Sun Ce's anger in righteousness and principle is in no way undisputed in the *Yanyi*, which in fact subtly suggests the young general's lack of righteousness by hinting at his intent of usurpation. In the novel, or in traditional Chinese historiography at large, such ambition cancels a figure's righteousness. For instance, when remonstrating against Dong Zhao's suggestion that Cao Cao be enthroned as the King of Wei, Xun Yu advises: "Prime Minister [Cao Cao], you have originally raised a righteous army in support of the house of Han" 丞相本興義兵，匡扶漢室.⁶³ Xun Yu's words imply to Cao Cao that enthroning himself as the King of Wei will undermine the claimed righteousness of his enterprise. Usurpation and righteousness are so negatively correlated

⁶² Zhu Xi, *Zhuji yulei*, in *ZZQS*, 14: 22.773.

⁶³ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 13.589; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 61.1489; translation modified.

that, even if the potential usurpation is imposed upon a character externally by others, it will immediately jeopardize his or her righteousness. This is evidenced by Liu Bei's vehement refusal of his generals' suggestion to enthrone him as emperor. Having defeated Cao Cao in Hanzhong,⁶⁴ Liu Bei appeases the masses and the soldiers. This moves "the generals [to] want to elevate Xuande [Liu Bei's style] to be the emperor" 眾將皆有推尊玄德為帝之心.⁶⁵ When Zhuge Liang divulges to him what the generals think, Liu Bei immediately rejects such a suggestion, to the irritation of his subordinates. In his master's defense, Zhuge Liang comes up with the following explanation: "His Lordship, for whom righteousness is principle, is reluctant to proclaim the imperial title outright" 主公平生以義為本，安肯便稱尊號。⁶⁶ Accordingly, proclaiming the title will undermine Liu Bei's self-fashioned image as a leader possessing righteousness. We should not forget that both cases also demonstrate the virtue's openness to appropriation by opposing parties in the novel, but a shared assumption is that a character's association with usurpation, hypothetical or not, undermines his righteousness.

As a way to question the young general's righteousness, the *Yanyi* orchestrates Sun Ce's encountering Yu Ji with a series of events that are indicative of the former's usurping intent. Blocked by Cao Cao from being promoted as the Commander-in-Chief, the young general "held deep resentment and often plotted to surprise the Xu Capital" 甚恨之，常有

⁶⁴ This is also a fiefdom of Liu Bang 劉邦 (256 BC-195 BC), first emperor of the Han Dynasty (202 BC-220); see Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 2004), 1: 8.129.

⁶⁵ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 15.699; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 73.1763; translation modified. This line reads the same in the Maos' edition.

⁶⁶ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 15.699-700; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 3: 73.1765; translation modified. The Maos' edition has the same line.

襲許都之心。⁶⁷ When he hears Guo Jia’s evaluation of himself, Sun Ce is greatly enraged and claims: “How dare that fool rate me? Those who shot me must be [part of] Cao [Cao’s] scheme! I swear to take Xuchang so as to receive the Han Emperor” 匹夫安敢料吾！射吾者，必操之謀也！吾誓取許昌，以迎漢帝。⁶⁸ His plan to reclaim Xuchang adheres closely to that in the *Sanguo zhi*: “[Sun] Ce secretly intends to assault Xu and receive the Han Emperor” 策陰欲襲許，迎漢帝。⁶⁹ However, neither the historical record nor the *Yanyi* has so far been explicit about why he intends to take the Xu Capital. What does he aspire to be? The emperor’s rescuer? Another regent like Cao Cao? Or another emperor? The *Yanyi* dismisses the first two possibilities, but subtly implies the third. In response to Zhang Zhao’s caution against being stirred, Sun Ce again articulates his intolerance of Guo Jia’s evaluation and “swears to take the Central Plain so as to manifest his heroic qualities” 誓取中原，以彰英雄。⁷⁰ Furthermore, when Chen Zhen brings Yuan Shao’s proposal for an alliance “to attack Cao [Cao] from both the south and the north and share the realm under Heaven together” 南北攻曹，共分天下， the young general is “greatly pleased in his heart” 策心甚喜。⁷¹ Therefore, rather than rescuing the emperor, whom Cao Cao holds hostage, the young

⁶⁷ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.7: 281; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.697; translation modified. The Maos’ edition specifies the subject of the line as Sun Ce; see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.358.

⁶⁸ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.7: 283; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.701; translation modified due to the Maos’ edition’s abbreviation of this line to: “How dare that fool rate me? I swear to take Xuchang” 匹夫安敢料吾，吾誓取許昌; see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.360.

⁶⁹ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.821.

⁷⁰ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.283.

⁷¹ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.283.

general has his eye instead on both the Central Plain and the realm under Heaven. In fact, this has been suggested even earlier by the occasion when Sun Ce was first wounded, namely, his deer-hunting, an act boasting a long tradition of symbolizing the ambitious pursuit of imperial sovereignty.⁷² Hence, what underlies Sun Ce's claim to "receive the Han Emperor" is his palpable usurping aspiration in the *Yanyi*. In this light, the young general's repeated insistence on his ministers' adherence to the "ritual protocol between ruler and subject" may well have tellingly betrayed his self-comparison to the emperor, and it is also trenchantly ironic for him to accuse Yu Ji of being *guobuan* 國患 (an affliction to the state) similar to the rebellious leader Zhang Jiao, for such an accusation is equally applicable to Sun Ce himself.⁷³

There is a further problem with Sun Ce's anger if we adopt Zhu Xi's perspective on another dimension of the emotion. The thinker construed whether anger was discriminating and attached to the appropriate object by quoting Cheng Yi's approval in the *Jinsi lu* of "being angered with a person without aiming that anger at another person" 怒甲不怒乙.⁷⁴ Cheng further claimed that: "Some people can be angry at one person but not at another. When one can control himself to this degree, he has already understood righteousness and

⁷² For the origin of the word *zhulu* 逐鹿 (deer-pursuing), see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 2: 92.1169; the Qing commentators explicitly apply this word to Sun Ce's act; see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.359.

⁷³ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.283; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.703; translation modified. The Maos' edition has *boubuan* 後患 instead of *guobuan* 國患; see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.361.

⁷⁴ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 5.223; Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-chien, *Reflections*, 164; translation modified.

principle very well” 有能怒一人，而不怒別人者，能忍得如此，已是熟知義理。⁷⁵

Accordingly, the absence of indiscriminate anger serves as a crucial factor that qualifies the emotion's accordance with righteousness and principle. The novel has characterized Yu Ji as defensive and passive, unlike Zhang Jiao, so that the Daoist priest's contact with the angry young general is more an encounter than a conflict.⁷⁶ In other words, Yu Ji has no direct confrontation with Sun Ce throughout their encounter so that the Daoist priest figures as a receptacle of, rather than an immediate trigger to, the young general's unidirectional anger.⁷⁷ In the words of the commentator from the Maos' edition, “Sun Ce's anger is not with Yu Ji, but with the scholar-officials' flocking to kowtow to him” 孫策之怒，非怒于吉，怒士大夫之群然拜之也。⁷⁸ Indeed, what most directly provokes the young general is not Yu Ji's presence, but his ministers' ritual improprieties. Therefore, in terms of its “double reference ... to a person or people and to an act,”⁷⁹ Sun Ce's anger originally is with a group of people's acts, but soon shifts to aim at a single person. Such indiscriminate anger, according to Zhu Xi, excludes the young general from righteousness and principle.

⁷⁵ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 5.223; Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-chien, *Reflections*, 165; translation modified. This is also a rare case where Cheng Yi's remarks, as selected by Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, touched upon the anger of common people rather than that of the sage.

⁷⁶ For a characterization of the encounter between Yu Ji and Sun Ce as a conflict, see Zhou Jianyu 周建渝, *Duochong shiyeye zhong de Sanguo zhi tongshu yanyi* 多重視野中的《三國志通俗演義》(Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2009), 93.

⁷⁷ Even when his ghost pushes down the roof on the soldiers Sun Ce has ordered to tear down the monastery, what Yu Ji's ghost does is essentially defensive; see Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.287; Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiying*, 1: 29.364; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.709.

⁷⁸ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiying*, 1: 29.357.

⁷⁹ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Anger and Forgiveness: Resentment, Generosity, Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 17.

As the analysis above demonstrates, three paramount points in Zhu Xi's anger-related thought, namely, anger with ritual improprieties, the emotion's accordance with righteousness and principle, and its potential indiscriminateness, have in effect converged upon a single character, Sun Ce, in the *Yanyi*'s presentation of this episode. At the same time, however, the *Yanyi* also offers a penetrating critique of Zhu Xi's approach to anger, inadvertently or not, by juxtaposing Sun Ce's seemingly righteous anger at the claimed ritual improprieties with his lack of righteousness as well as with the indiscriminateness of his anger. In other words, the *Yanyi* seems to be problematizing the compatibility of the few scenarios that Zhu Xi has singled out for righteous anger by posing the following questions: What if someone claims his or her anger to have arisen from ritual improprieties, but there is no righteousness in that person to guide the emotion in the beginning whatsoever? If someone's anger at deviation from ritual features explicit indiscriminateness, can we still deem such anger to be legitimate, necessary, and essential?

Another Look at the Mirror

In reference to Zhu Xi's anger-related thought, a tension emerges between the narrator's subtle questioning of Sun Ce's possession of righteousness and the character's own purported ritual-based anger. This tension persists until the young general meets his end in the *Yanyi*, where a mirror figures prominently. After his mother exclaims that his appearance has completely changed, Sun Ce takes up the mirror and looks at himself in it. Astounded by his own change, he turns to the attendants and asks: "With such a countenance, how am I going to achieve attainments and establish my enterprise ever again?" 面色如此，當何復建

功立事乎?⁸⁰ Considering his usurping intent analyzed above, Sun Ce's utterance here can be read as an inadvertent exclamation over his failed attempt at claiming imperial rule. Then, he casts another look at the mirror, where he "suddenly saw Yu Ji hovering in the mirror. A shout of 'what a monstrous person' burst from Sun Ce as he struck at the mirror. His wounds reopened and he went into a coma" 忽見于吉立於鏡中，策拍鏡，大叫一聲“妖人，”金瘡迸裂，昏絕而死。⁸¹ Having regained his consciousness, the young general "saw his wounds had completely reopened and lamented: 'I can't live on'" 見金瘡粉碎，乃自歎曰：“吾不能復生矣。”⁸² As noted above, the reference to Sun Ce's split wounds is indicative of not only the end of his life, but also the bodily manifestation of his overflowing anger. The young general's two glances at the mirror have built up to his anger's ultimate explosion.

The *Yanyi*'s reference to the mirror is not unprecedented; rather, it has combined the relevant sections from both the *Wuli* 吳歷 (The Almanac of the Wu State) and the *Soushen ji*, which Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451) cited in his commentaries on the *Sanguo zhi*.⁸³ More precisely, the *Wuli* contributes the part where Sun Ce becomes disillusioned with his

⁸⁰ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.287; here is a major divergence between the *Yanyi* and the Maos' edition, to which I will return below.

⁸¹ Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.287; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.709; translation modified. The Maos' edition has not specified what Sun Ce shouted; see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.365.

⁸² Luo Guanzhong, *Yanyi*, 6.287; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.709; translation modified. The reference to Sun Ce's seeing his own wounds is missing from the Maos' edition.

⁸³ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.823. The *Yanyi* is not the first to integrate the *Soushen ji*'s 搜神記 attribution of Sun Ce's death to Yu Ji's repeated haunting, which we can already observe in Hao Jing's *Xu Hou Hanshu*; see Hao Jing, *Xu Hou Hanshu*, 49.22a. The elevation of Pei Songzhi's annotations to the historical writing has already begun in Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian*; see Tillman, "Selected Historical Sources," 56. But it is not until Hao Jing's work that the *Soushen ji* episode gets integrated into the formal texts of the historical writing here.

aspiration to establish his own cause,⁸⁴ while the *Soushen ji* describes the Daoist priest's haunting presence in the mirror:

When [he] took up a mirror to see himself, [Sun Ce] saw [Yu] Ji in the mirror. [Sun Ce] turned back, but saw nobody. He repeated like this for a few times, after which he threw the mirror away and shouted loudly. His wounds all reopened, and he soon passed away.

引鏡自照，見吉在鏡中，顧爾弗見，如是再三，因撲鏡大叫，創皆崩裂，須臾而死。⁸⁵

Attributing this convergence to a mere fascination with the strange does no justice to the *Yanyi*'s subtle and persistent questioning of the righteousness of Sun Ce's anger.⁸⁶ The young general's first look at the mirror leads to the explicit articulation of his usurping ambition. On the one hand, his disillusioned lament equates the loss of his desirable image to that of his desired cause; on the other hand, it betrays his identity as a desiring subject, whose desirousness intensifies and culminates into a verbal articulation of what has previously been confined to the implicit and interior in the narrative.⁸⁷ If the young general only thinks about usurpation before his first look at the mirror, he shouts it out loud afterwards.

Furthermore, the *Yanyi* has Sun Ce take another look at the mirror, which is equally as illuminating about the young general's inner emotional state as the first one. Intriguingly,

⁸⁴ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.823.

⁸⁵ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.823.

⁸⁶ For such attribution, see Shen Bojun 沈伯俊 and Tan Liangxiao 譚良嘯, eds., *Sanguo yanyi cidian* 三國演義辭典 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989), 223.

⁸⁷ For a discussion with reference to the Narcissus myth of the evocation of desire through a glance into a mirror-like surface, see Steven Z. Levine, *Lacan Reframed: A Guide for the Arts Student* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 5.

Zhu Xi appealed to an analogy between the mirror and the heart-mind when discussing how various emotions, anger included, impinged upon one's internality:⁸⁸

The human heart-mind is like a mirror. Previously, there was no reflection inside. When something comes up, it can mirror its beauty and ugliness. If there has already been a reflection inside, how can it mirror? The human heart-mind is fundamentally lucid, void, and clear. When things come, it immediately resonates and responds so that it naturally shows their status and importance. After the things are gone, [the mirror] should be as void as previously. Only in this way can it [the heart-mind] work. If [the emotions] have already been there in advance when nothing has come up, one will lose the uprightness of the heart-mind when things [that give rise to] rage,⁸⁹ delight, fear, and anxiety approach and conflate with the heart-mind.

人心如一箇鏡，先未有一箇影象，有事物來，方始照見妍醜。若先有一箇影象在裏，如何照得！人心本是湛然虛明，事物之來，隨感而應，自然見得高下輕重。事過便當依前恁地虛，方得。若事未來，先有一箇忿懣、好樂、恐懼、憂患之心在這裏，及忿懣、好樂、恐懼、憂患之事到來，又以這心相與滾合，便失其正。⁹⁰

Here the mirror serves as an analogue of the heart-mind, and such an analogy has a deep root that harkens back at least to the *Zhuangzi*: “The utmost man uses the heart like a mirror; he does not escort things as they go or welcome them as they come, he responds and does not store” 至人之用心若鏡，不將不迎，用而不藏。⁹¹ Nevertheless, in Zhu Xi's analogy, the utmost man plays no role so that the heart-mind features significant autonomy.⁹² A more immediate predecessor of this mirror metaphor is Cheng Yi's comparison of King Shun's

⁸⁸ Other scholars have also noted Zhu Xi's comparison of *xin* 心 to the mirror; see Marchal, “Moral Emotions,” 205; Shun, “On Anger,” 300-1.

⁸⁹ For Zhu Xi's equation of *fenzhi* 忿懣 (rage) to intensified *nu*, see Zhu Xi, *Zhuxi yulei*, in *ZZQS*, 14: 16.539.

⁹⁰ Zhu Xi, *Zhuxi yulei*, 14: 16.538.

⁹¹ Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, ed., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 307; the translation comes from A. C. Graham, *Chuang-tzu: The Inner Chapters* (London and Boston: Unwin Paperbacks, 1989), 98.

⁹² Marchal observes that “Zhu Xi developed a fuller notion of moral autonomy;” see Marchal, “Moral Emotions,” 200.

sagely heart-mind to a mirror.⁹³ Zhu Xi differed from Cheng Yi in further highlighting the heart-mind's dysfunction resulting from anger's lingering presence there. For instance, Zhu Xi claimed that: "As for the uprightness of the heart-mind, ... if there has already been a person in the mirror, when another [person] comes, he is not able to mirror [himself]" 這心之正, ... 如鏡中先有一人在裏面, 別一箇來, 便照不得.⁹⁴ Moreover, the thinker stated: "If there has been rage in one's heart-mind previously, what follows cannot regain the uprightness [of the heart-mind]. It is just as there is a human shape in the mirror, and when a second person comes, [the mirror] is not able to mirror" 但此心先有忿懷時, 這下面便不得其正, 如鏡有人形在裏面, 第二人來便照不得.⁹⁵ Hence, other than the mirror metaphor, Zhu Xi further compared the lingering anger stored up in one's heart-mind to the pre-presence of a human image in the mirror. This pre-existing image preempts the mirror's proper reflection of a second person, which means that the accumulated anger renders the heart-mind not only dysfunctional, but also deviant from the sagely ideal featuring both uprightness and a "detached perspective."⁹⁶

In the novel, Sun Ce's second look turns out to be the deadly trigger that immediately leads to the explosion of the young general's fatal anger. In view of Zhu Xi's analogy, it is possible to see Yu Ji's disembodied presence as a graphic embodiment of Sun Ce's lingering anger embedded in the young general's mirror-like heart-mind. The episode

⁹³ Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, *Jinsi lu*, 13: 5.223; for a partial translation of the passage, see Shun, "On Anger," 301.

⁹⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuqi yulei*, in *ZZQS*, 14: 16.539; I have not opted for a gender-neutral translation here due to the text's inherently male audience.

⁹⁵ Zhu Xi, *Zhuqi yulei*, in *ZZQS*, 14: 16.539.

⁹⁶ Shun, "On Anger," 315; also see Marchal, "Moral Emotions," 205.

amounts to a literal concretization of Zhu Xi's mirror-metaphor, and the fatality of Sun Ce's second look in a sense specifies the thinker's vague reference to the mirror's inability to mirror into a much more devastating consequence, namely, death.

Anger Justified

Published more than one hundred and fifty years later than the *Yanyi*, the Maos' edition with Mao Lun and Mao Zonggang's commentaries became the major version of the novel.⁹⁷ It has largely eclipsed other editions formerly in circulation and exerted huge influence upon the readers' understanding of the novel from the early Qing dynasty onward.⁹⁸ Sun Ce's anger has also attracted the commentator's attention in the Maos' edition, and the commentarial voice explicitly regards the young general's anger as necessary and inevitable. In his opening remarks on Chapter 29, the commentator asks: "As for [his ministers'] whispering during the banquet and going downstairs one after another, such scenes are indeed unbearable. Having seen it, how can Sun Ce not be angry" 席間耳語，紛紛下樓，此等光景實不可耐，孫策見之安得不怒乎？⁹⁹ Not only does the rhetorical question highlight the ministers' ritual improprieties as a justification for Sun Ce's anger, but it also recalls the highly similar question Zhu Xi posed previously. Moreover, the innumerable textual differences between the Maos' edition and the *Yanyi*, along with the commentators'

⁹⁷ The earliest extant Maos' edition is that published in the eighteenth year of the Kangxi reign (1679); see Roy, "Mao Tsung-kang," 149; Ueda Nozomi 上田望, "Mō Rin Mō Shūkō hihyō *Shidai kisbo Sangoku shi engi hanpon mokuroku*" 毛綸、毛宗崗批評『四大奇書三国志演義版本目錄』, *Chugoku koten shōsetsu kenkyū* 中國古典小說研究 4 (1998), 5. Rolston notes that "the commentarial sections of the Maos' edition are almost two thirds as large in bulk as the text of the novel itself;" see Rolston, "Mao Tsung-kang," 151.

⁹⁸ Rolston, "Mao Tsung-kang," 151.

⁹⁹ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo hui ping*, 1: 29.357.

remarks, seem to have orchestrated such a legitimating claim.¹⁰⁰ More precisely, the textual divergence and paratextual device have de-emphasized both the usurping intent and indiscriminate anger of the young general, and thus contributed to according the young general's anger with righteousness and principle.

To begin with, rather than comparing his character to a fierce flame, the Maos' edition describes Sun Ce as "having a most impetuous nature" 最是性急,¹⁰¹ which is less directly associated with anger than is the flame metaphor, so that a proclivity for that emotion is not overtly stated. Nor is the young general as ambitious as he appears in the *Yanyi*, since the clues suggesting his intended usurpation have mostly disappeared in the later edition. First, after Cao Cao disallows Sun Ce's request to be the Commander-in-Chief, the commentary explicitly points to the latter's intention to attack the Xu Capital as a sign of his personal conflict with Cao Cao,¹⁰² reducing the ambiguity of the young general's motivation. Even Sun Ce's symbolic act of *zhulu* 逐鹿 (deer-pursuing) becomes much more literal when juxtaposed with the commentarial remark on Cao Cao's *shelu* 射鹿 (deer-shooting); more attention is given to critiquing Sun Ce's *qingshuai* 輕率 (rash impulsiveness) than to the

¹⁰⁰ I do not imply the Maos' edition to be a direct modification to the *Yanyi*, for the more immediate base text for the Maos' edition is one purportedly commented by Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602). However, there are several Li Zhi editions, and it is still not certain which one formed the basis of the Maos' edition. The Li Zhi edition edited by Wu Guanming 吳觀明 shares a great number of textual similarities with the Maos' edition. The no longer extant edition edited by Zheng Yizhen 鄭以楨 may also be a good candidate for the base text of the Maos' edition; see Rolston, "Mao Tsung-kang," 150.

¹⁰¹ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.360; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.699; I have replaced Roberts's "irascible" with "impetuous" in the translation to highlight the commentators' expurgation of anger from Sun Ce's characterization in the Maos' edition.

¹⁰² Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.359.

young general's pursuit of sovereignty.¹⁰³ Thirdly, Chen Zhen's message from Yuan Shao in the Maos' edition is totally reticent about dividing the realm under Heaven with Sun Ce, but merely concerned with "attacking Cao Cao together" 共攻曹操.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, what the young general greatly delights in is less the potential fulfilment of his wish to rule the empire than a good opportunity to retaliate against Cao Cao. In other words, the Maos' edition has greatly downplayed Sun Ce's imperial ambition. Furthermore, nowhere can we find the young general's problematic insistence on his ministers' adherence to the ritual protocol between ruler and subject,¹⁰⁵ which in the *Yanyi* reveals his ambition to be the emperor. Lastly, in the Maos' edition, what ensues from Sun Ce's first look at the mirror is not his articulated regret over the lost enterprise of *jiangong liye* (achieving attainments and establishing causes), but a personal lamentation over his own shattered appearance instead: "Why have I been so thin and pallid" 吾奈何憔悴至此耶?¹⁰⁶ All the textual differences in the Maos' edition cast the young general in a much less usurping light so that his righteousness is not as dubious as that in the *Yanyi*.

Similarly, the indiscriminateness of Sun Ce's anger is much less pronounced in the Maos' edition than it is in the *Yanyi* as well, for the commentator has repeatedly drawn the readers' attention to the immediate trigger to Sun Ce's anger, namely, his subordinates' kowtowing to Yu Ji rather than the Daoist priest's presence *per se*. Apart from the

¹⁰³ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.359.

¹⁰⁴ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.360; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.701; translation modified.

¹⁰⁵ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.361; 369.

¹⁰⁶ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 29.365; Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.709; translation modified.

commentator's *hui ping* 回評 (the chapter commentaries) cited above, he again foregrounds the role of the kowtowing lot in enraging Sun Ce in the interlinear remarks, diminishing the Daoist priest's part in provoking the young general. After Yu Ji succeeds in summoning the rain, both officials and commoners go to kowtow to the Daoist priest, which makes Sun Ce “fly into a huge rage” (*boran dannu* 勃然大怒),¹⁰⁷ on which the commentator remarks: “At this moment, if the lot do not kowtow one after another, Sun Ce will not necessarily kill Yu Ji. What makes [Sun] Ce finally execute Yu Ji is all the faults of the [kowtowing] lot” 此時眾人 不羅拜，孫策或未必殺吉。使策果殺于吉者，皆眾人之過也。¹⁰⁸ Coherent with his chapter commentaries, the commentator again indicates that Sun Ce's anger is not directed at Yu Ji, but rather blames those who kowtow to the Daoist priest for most directly provoking the young general. As a result, the commentator has drawn the readers' attention to the immediate trigger rather than the executed priest, who might have been pardoned were it not for the kowtowing masses. In other words, the commentary has highlighted the direct provocation instead of the inappropriate object of anger's attachment.

One important consequence of the commentator's justification of Sun Ce's anger, which the commentarial apparatus and textual differences bring about together, is the diminution of the narrative tension that revolves around the emotion in the *Yanyi*. More precisely, such justification de-emphasizes the potential incompatibility between the prominent scenarios regarding anger that Zhu Xi proposed. The de-emphasis is hardly surprising, considering that Zhu Xi's oeuvre in fact serves as a revered and canonized

¹⁰⁷ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo hui ping*, 1: 29.362; for an alternative and freer translation of the same passage, see Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 2: 29.705.

¹⁰⁸ Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo hui ping*, 1: 29.362.

reference point for the commentary in the Maos' edition. For instance, the commentator begins his "Du Sanguo zhi fa" 讀三國志法 (How to Read *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) by affirming Zhu Xi's *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑒綱目 (Outline and Explanation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) as orthodox historical writing, and claims to have "inserted [some of the views expressed in Zhu Xi's work] into the text of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*" 特于演義中附正之.¹⁰⁹ At one point, the commentator even imagines how Zhu Xi would comment on a certain episode by appropriating a passage from the thinker's *Yulei*, a work that sees Zhu Xi's advocacy of Zhang Shi's nuanced distinction of the two types of anger.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the commentator was highly likely to have been aware of anger's prominence in Zhu Xi's thought on emotions and *liyi* anger's dependence on righteousness and principle for its legitimacy, and the justification of Sun Ce's anger in the novel's early Qing edition permits us to detect the huge influence of Zhu Xi's thought upon the intellectual milieu of that time.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Mao Lun and Mao Zonggang, "Du Sanguo zhi fa" 讀三國志法, in Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 4-5; Rolston, "Mao Tsung-kang," 156; I have adopted Rolston's translation of the title of Zhu Xi's work as well.

¹¹⁰ The episode concerns a battle between Sun Ce's father Sun Jian and Huang Zu. Zhu Xi's quote reads: "To take that person's Way to govern his body" 以其人之道，還治其人之身, while the commentator replaces "Way" with *jian* 箭 (arrows) and "body" with *bing* 兵 (soldiers); see Chen, Song, and Lu, *Sanguo huiping*, 1: 7.79; Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju*, 23.

¹¹¹ For the persistence and further canonization of Zhu Xi's thought during the early Qing dynasty, particularly the Kangxi reign (1654-1722), see On-cho Ng, *Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing: Li Guangdi and Qing Learning* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 3-8; also see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles, CA: University of California, Los Angeles, 2001), 29; Huang, *Literati and Self-Re/Presentation*, 129; Ge, *The Scholar and the State*, 100; Stephen J. Roddy, *Literati Identity and Its Fictional Representations in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 17. For the promotion of Zhu Xi's thought through the form of *jiangxue* 講學 during the same period, see Bai Xinliang 白新良, *Zhongguo gudai shuyuan fazhanshi* 中國古代書院發展史 (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 1995), 142-43.

Concluding Thoughts

The discussion above has focused on Zhu Xi's reflection upon anger and how the emotion figures in the novel's two editions in reference to the thinker's pertinent thought in order to, first and foremost, draw scholarly attention to emotions other than love or desire. My analysis demonstrates Zhu Xi's adoption of Zhang Shi's nuanced distinction between *xueqi* anger and *liyi* anger. It also reveals Zhu's advancement of two scenarios where a person's anger accords with principle and righteousness: on the one hand, he claims anger to be a necessary emotion when faced with ritual improprieties; on the other hand, the discriminating quality of a person's anger stands out as a further indicator of his or her possession of righteousness and principle.

Through a detailed comparison between how the novel's two editions treat Sun Ce's anger differently, I hope to use the emotion as a window to observe how a popular text appropriates as well as how later editorial and commentarial interventions re-appropriate and re-normalize an orthodox thinker's thought. The *Yanyi* is fraught with tension between the young general's seemingly justified anger with the purported ritual improprieties of his ministers, the narrative's subtle challenges to his possession of righteousness, and the various hints at the inherent indiscriminateness of Sun Ce's anger. The tension in turn questions the compatibility of the scenarios which Zhu Xi proposes for anger's legitimate emergence. With numerous textual divergence and commentarial remarks, the novel's early Qing edition obscures such tension, and consequently, does not flaunt the potential incoherence of Zhu Xi's anger-related thought. In a larger sense, such obscuring allows us a glimpse into the dynamic, yet different interaction of the novel's two editions with their orthodox intellectual surroundings.

Chapter Four

Anger and the Masculine Models of *Yingxiong*, *Xiaozi*, and *Haohan*

Implicit in the previous two chapters is the gendering of anger as a predominantly masculine emotion in both the deliverance plays and the *Sanguo yanyi*. In the *zaju* 雜劇 (Northern drama) subgenre, the delivered characters who frequently burst into rage are always men. Although there undeniably are furious women in the historical romance, male characters' wrath still prevails in the *Sanguo yanyi*.¹ Indeed, the orthodox Confucian discourse on anger, along with that about *yi* 義 (righteousness), frequently presumes the emotional and moral subject to be male.² As mentioned in the introductory chapter, such Confucian classics as the *Daxue* 大學 (The Great Learning) and the *Lunyu* 論語 (The Analects) have laid stress on how anger menaces the ideal of gentlemanly manhood. But the emotion forms much more complicated relations with multiple masculine models across an array of popular genres, including *sanqu* 散曲 (song poems), *zaju*, *huaben* 話本 (colloquial short stories), and full-length novels. To flesh out such relations will be the first agenda for the following discussion.

Furthermore, by highlighting the influence of anger upon varied masculinities, I will achieve two objectives. On the one hand, I will break away from the dichotomous approach that has so far dominated the previous studies on masculinities in late imperial China. Not

¹ For instance, two female characters whose anger is notable are Xu Shu's mother and Lady Sun, one of Liu Bei's wives; see Chen Xizhong 陳曦鐘, Song Xiangrui 宋祥瑞, and Lu Yuchuan 魯玉川, *Sanguo yanyi huipingben* 三國演義會評本 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1986), 1: 37.460; 55.681-83.

² For discussion of *yi* 義 as a focus "in the official discourse, the representation of the 'real' masculine, or *da zhangfu* in Chinese," see Song Geng 宋耕, *The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 159.

confined to this specific period, Kam Louie's groundbreaking work advances the *wen-wu* 文 武 (cultural attainment-martial valor) dyad as an alternative framework to the *yin-yang* binary for understanding Chinese masculinities.³ However, Song Geng points out that the *wen-wu* dyad only applies to the "public dimension of life in ancient China," but is inadequate in explaining "the private world such as sexuality."⁴ He further accuses the schema of effacing the multiplicity of masculinities, recuperating the *yin-yang* dichotomy as the overarching paradigm to conceive various masculine models.⁵ Departing from both the *wen-wu* and the *yin-yang* binaries, Martin W. Huang proposes to reconceptualize the different modes of masculinities with two textual strategies of analogy and differentiation.⁶ As defined by Huang, "the strategy of analogy is to construct masculinity in close association with the feminine; ... the strategy of differentiation is to define masculinity in sharp differentiation from feminine."⁷ Invaluable as they are, all three major studies share a dichotomous approach to Chinese masculinities, which I will avoid in the discussion below.⁸ Additionally, not only will I introduce the new parameter of anger into the debates on late imperial

³ Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9-15; for the translation of *wen* 文 and *wu* 武 adopted here, see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 4.

⁴ Song Geng, *The Fragile Scholar*, 14. There is also a public dimension to sexuality as well; see Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, "Sex in Public," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, eds. Vincent B. Leitch et al., 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), 2600-6.

⁵ Song Geng, *The Fragile Scholar*, 14-17.

⁶ Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 2.

⁷ Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities*, 2.

⁸ To be fair, all three scholars have noted the overlap and fluidity within their advocated binary, but I still question the necessity of a bipolar framework of interpretation; see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 15; Song Geng, *The Fragile Scholar*, 13, 15-16; Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities*, 5-6.

Chinese masculinities, but also fill a lacuna in earlier scholarship on men's emotions dictated by "the hegemonic definition of manhood in contemporary Western culture."⁹ Since anger forms an integral aspect of the obsession, I will begin by addressing how *qi* relates to masculinities. Particularly, the obsession has been closely associated with the masculine model of *yingxiong* 英雄 (heroes, or more literally, "outstanding males") in a cluster of *sanqu*.¹⁰ Through the lens of two *zaju* plays and a *huaben* story, I will then proceed to examine how anger bears on the masculine models of *haohan* 好漢 (good fellow) and *xiaozi* 孝子 (filial son).¹¹ Finally, my exploration will end in further consolidating the interrelation between anger and the *haohan* masculinity. I will demonstrate how the intensity of the emotion and the distinctiveness of the masculine model correlate with each other in the two major recension systems of the *Shuibu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Outlaws of the Marsh; hereafter *Shuibu zhuan*).

Paradoxical Relation between *Qi* and the *Yingxiong* Masculinity in *Sanqu*

Many a composer of song poems spilled ink on the four obsessions from the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) onward, treating them collectively in either a quadruple group of *xiaoling* 小令 (single song poem), or less frequently, *santao* 散套 (song suite).¹² With only a few exceptions,

⁹ Song Geng, *The Fragile Scholar*, 5.

¹⁰ For an insightful discussion of the term *yingxiong* 英雄, see Martin W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities*, 89-90; for the literal translation of the term, also see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 8.

¹¹ For a discussion about the aptness of this literal rendition of *haohan* 好漢, see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 79. For the observation on "filial piety as a centerpiece of Chinese male identity," see Bret Hinsch, *Masculinities in Chinese History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 168.

¹² Cheng Pei-kai 鄭培凱, "Jiu se cai qi yu Jin Ping Mei cihua de kaitou – Jianping Jin Ping Mei yanjiu de suoyinpai" 酒色財氣與金瓶梅詞話的開頭 – 兼評金瓶梅研究的「索隱派」, *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 12.4 (1983): 46, 48; the analysis in this section is largely based on the *sanqu* 散曲 collected in Cheng's article,

the song poems that concern the obsession with *qi* have mostly gendered the poetic subject as male. More precisely, some *qi*-related song poems feature a male poetic persona who reflects upon his own engagement in the obsession, whereas others discourse about another man's *qi*, particularly that of Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BC), the paragon of the obsession.¹³

The first two stanzas of Teng Bin's 滕斌 (fl. fourteenth century) song poem below well illustrate the former type:

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 【中呂·普天樂】氣 | To the Tune “Putian le” [<i>zhonglü</i> key]: On <i>Qi</i> |
| 少年時 | When [I was] young, |
| 風雲志 | [I had] ambitions like high clouds in wind. |
| 記篇詩杯酒 | [I] memorized passages and poems in company with wine, |
| 顛倒羣兒 | Surpassed a flock of young lads. |
| 吾善養 | I'm good at nourishing [<i>qi</i>]. ¹⁴ |
| 今方是 | Only now are things fine. |
| 唾面來時休教拭 | Even when [others] spit in my face, [I] don't wipe. |
| 看英雄自古如癡 | [I] deem the outstanding males since antiquity foolish. ¹⁵ |

who has helpfully specified the different anthologies that contain a same song poem. For a pertinent observation on the use of “a quadruple song sequence” to treat the same topic of love, see Xinda Lian, “*Qu* Poetry: Song Poems (*Sanqu*) of the Yuan Dynasty,” in *How to Read Chinese Poetry: A Guided Anthology*, ed. Zong-qi Cai (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 330; I have followed Lian's translation of technical terms regarding *sanqu*.

¹³ For an observation of Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BC) as the paragon for the obsession with *qi*, see Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 64.

¹⁴ This line clearly alludes to Mencius's claim that: “I am good at cultivating my floodlike *qi*” 我善養吾浩然之氣; see Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Mengzi yizhu 孟子譯註* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 1: 3.62; Bryan W. van Norden, trans., *Mengzi: with Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2008), 38-39.

¹⁵ Sui Shusen 隋樹森, ed., *Quan Yuan sanqu 全元散曲* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 1: 299; cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 46.

From its start, this song poem implies a male poetic voice that pronounces his high aspirations and dedication to reciting verses and drinking wine, two typical literati activities that betray his gender. Having specified himself as *wu* 吾 (I), the poetic persona heeds his nonchalance even when spit at, and thus, suggests his lack of a propensity for *qi*.

As for the second type of song poems that discuss other men's *qi*, the following one attributed to Tang Shi 湯式 (fl. fourteenth century) serves as a case in point:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 【黃鐘·出隊子】 氣 | To the Tune “Chu duizi” [<i>huangzhong</i> key]: On <i>Qi</i> |
| 圖王爭帝 | Scheming for kingship and fighting to be the emperor, |
| 半乾坤心未已 | [His] ambition did not stop despite possessing half of Heaven and Earth. |
| 鴻門會上失兵機 | [He] had lost the strategic opportunity during the banquet at Hongmen. ¹⁶ |
| 直殺得血濺陰陵後悔遲 | It was too late to regret when he fought till his blood spilled in Yinling. ¹⁷ |
| 氣 | |
| 則為你斷送了英雄楚項籍 | It was you who brought Xiang Ji of Chu, a hero, to his end. ¹⁸ |

Beginning by depicting the poetic subject's ambition for rulership, the poet subsequently alludes to Hongmen and Yinling, two sites that exclusively pertain to Xiang Yu. The general again figures as the discursive subject of an anonymous song poem focusing on the

¹⁶ Liu Bang 劉邦 (256-195 BC) visited his arch-rival Xiang Yu at Hongmen, where Xiang held a banquet for Liu. During the banquet, Xiang Yu's adviser Fan Zeng 范增 (278-204 BC) planned to murder Liu, whereas Xiang vacillated. Eventually, Liu safely escaped; see Song Yunbin 宋雲彬, ann., *Xiang Yu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 19-23.

¹⁷ Yinling was the place where Xiang Yu lost his way when chased by Liu Bang's armies; see Song Yunbin, *Xiang Yu*, 44.

¹⁸ Sui Shusen, *Quan Yuan*, 2: 1606; cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 48; Xiang Yu is Xiang Ji's 項籍 style name; see Song Yunbin, *Xiang Yu*, 1.

obsession with *qi* to the tune “Zhuma ting” 駐馬聽 from Guo Xun’s 郭勛 (1475-1542) *Yongxi yuefu* 雍熙樂府 (The Music Bureau of a Harmonious and Peaceful Time; hereafter *Yongxi*).¹⁹ The line that explicitly mentions Xiang Yu reads: “Even if one is promoted as a general at a constructed altar, he will eventually pass away, just like Xiang Yu beside the Wu River” 便做道築壇拜將，項羽烏江，也只休休。²⁰ The clearest case for men’s entrenched association with *qi* comes from the Ming dynasty anthology entitled *Xinbian Siji wugeng Zhuyunfei* 新編四季五更駐雲飛 (A New Collection of the Four Seasons and Five Watches [of the Night] to [the Tune] “Stilling the Clouds’ Flight,” 1471; hereafter *Siji*).²¹ There, all the four song poems dedicated to the obsession feature male poetic subjects, including not only Xiang Yu, but also his rival Liu Bang 劉邦 (256-195 BC), Liu’s strategist Han Xin 韓信 (230-196 BC), Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), and *nan’er* 男兒 (young men) in general.²²

More pertinently, quite a few song poems specifically connect *qi* with the *yingxiong* masculinity, characterizing the obsession as the force that sustains the masculine model. The anonymous song poem from the *Yongxi* mentioned above, for example, opens with the following lines: “Fighting with courage and competing with each other, [they] can’t help

¹⁹ For brief introductions to the *Yongxi yuefu* 雍熙樂府, see Kathryn A. Lowry, *The Tapestry of Popular Songs in 16th- and 17th-Century China: Reading, Imitation, and Desire* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 98-99; Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 65-66. For Guo Xun’s 郭勛 (1475-1542) publication of the anthology, see Scott W. Gregory, “‘The Wuding Editions’: Printing, Power, and Vernacular Fiction in the Ming Dynasty,” *East Asian Publishing and Society* 7 (2017): 16-17.

²⁰ Cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 49; the phrase *zhutan baijiang* 築壇拜將 alludes to Han Xin 韓信 (230-196 BC), a military strategist of Liu Bang.

²¹ For brief introductions to the anthology, see Lowry, *The Tapestry*, 381; Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 48; Zhou Yubo 周玉波 and Chen Shulu 陳書錄, eds., *Mingdai minge ji* 明代民歌集 (Nanjing: Nanjing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 1. I have adopted the translation of the anthology title from Lowry, *The Tapestry*, 49.

²² Zhou Yubo and Chen Shulu, *Mingdai minge*, 8.

displaying the heroic qualities” 鬥勇爭強，各逞英雄不自由。²³ In view of its focus on *qi*, the song poem has affirmed the obsession as the underlying impetus to the *yingxiong* masculinity at first. Revolving around the same topic, the following song poem from the *Qunyin leixuan* 群音類選 (Categorized Selection of Tunes, ca. 1595; hereafter *Qunyin*) more explicitly demonstrates the interconnection between *qi* and the masculine model:

【四塊玉】人自迷 To the Tune “Sikuai yu.”²⁴ People’s Self-Confusion

| | |
|---------|---|
| 霸主楚王孫 | The Hegemon, Son of the Chu State, ²⁵ |
| 舉鼎千斤力 | Strong enough to be able to raise a tripod of thousands of pounds. ²⁶ |
| 楚漢兩英雄 | The two heroes of the Chu and the Han ²⁷ |
| 吞併乾坤世 | Seized the world between Heaven and Earth. |
| 兵敗到烏江 | [Xiang Yu’s] armies were defeated and reached the Wu River. |
| 喪了身和體 | He lost his body and life [there]. |
| 氣不迷人人自迷 | It is not <i>qi</i> that confused people, but they who confused themselves. ²⁸ |

Starting with Xiang Yu’s extraordinary strengths, the poet proceeds to refer to the archetype of *qi*, implicitly along with Liu Bang, as *yingxiong* and mentions their military attainments to corroborate their modality of masculinity. Considering its theme, the song poem has

²³ Cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 49.

²⁴ For another song poem to the tune “Sikuai yu” 四塊玉 with music annotations, see Kar Lun Alan Lau, “History through *Qupai*: A Re-Examination,” in *Qupai in Chinese Music: Melodic Models in Form and Practice*, ed. Alan R. Thrasher (London: Routledge, 2016), 23.

²⁵ *Bawang* 霸王 is Xiang Yu’s self-claimed appellation; see Song Yunbin, *Xiang Yu*, 28.

²⁶ Being able to raise a tripod is one of the first descriptors for Xiang Yu; see Song Yunbin, *Xiang Yu*, 2.

²⁷ These are Xiang Yu and Liu Bang respectively.

²⁸ Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥, comp., *Qunyin leixuan* 群音類選, in *Shanben xiqu congkan disiji* 善本戲曲叢刊第四輯, ed. Wang Chiu-kuei 王秋桂 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1987), 7: 2.2630.

suggested *qi* as the momentum that underlies their *yingxiong* masculinity. The association of this masculine model with the obsession recurs in the *qi*-related song poem attributed to Fan Kang 范康 (fl. fourteenth century) below:

| | |
|------------|---|
| 【仙呂·寄生草】 氣 | To the Tune “Jisheng cao” [<i>xianlü</i> key]: On <i>Qi</i> |
| 形骸隨紅塵化 | One’s shape and body will vanish with the red dust, ²⁹ |
| 功名向青史標 | [But his] name and achievements will be engraved in history. |
| 七英雄事業真堪笑 | The causes of many heroes turned out to be laughable. |
| 六豪王蹤跡平如掃 | Those princes’ traces were swept away. |
| 兩下裡爭戰圖前鬧 | Both sides fought with each other in front of the map. |
| 一壁廂淡煙衰草霸王城 | On one side are light smoke and withered grass in the Hegemon’s city, |
| 一壁廂西風落日高皇廟 | On the other side is the High Emperor’s Temple in the western wind and the falling sun. ³⁰ |

The bodily decay at the start acts as the foil to the immortality of the poetic subjects’ historical achievements, which the poet further describes as *yingxiong shiye* 英雄事業 (heroic causes). Since it centers on *qi*, the song poem has at least implied that the obsession initially conduces to the poetic subjects’ *yingxiong* masculinity.

While affirming the contribution of *qi* to this masculine type, some poets have also heeded the potential of the obsession for destroying *yingxiong*. A good illustration comes from an aria on *qi* in a song suite entitled “Qiao shusheng dua jiu se cai qi” 俏書生斷酒色財氣 (A Smart Scholar Assesses Drunkenness, Lust, Avarice, and *Qi*):

²⁹ The “red dust” refers to “this life of troubles, the material, conventional, or secular world;” see A. Charles Muller, ed., *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. “hongchen” 紅塵.

³⁰ Sui Shusen, *Quan Yuan*, 1: 468; cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 47. For brief introductions to Fan Kang 范康 (fl. fourteenth century), see Sui Shusen, *Quan Yuan sanqu*, 1: 467; Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao and Other Yuan Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 196-98. The High Emperor is the posthumous title of Liu Bang.

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>【雙調·得勝令】氣</p> <p>則被你破我滿腹舊愁 耗散了一枕夢邯鄲 引得個人爭強弱</p> <p>搬得個人不靜辦 當間送了些英雄漢</p> <p>今番鎖心猿還不還</p> | <p>To the Tune “Desheng ling” [<i>shuangdiao</i> key]: On <i>Qi</i></p> <p>You have intruded on my full belly of old sorrows, Dispelled a dream of Handan on the pillow.³¹ [You have] induced people to compete with each other, Made people restless. In the course, [you have] ruined some outstanding males. This time, [I’ll] lock up my monkey-heart to see whether [you’ll] leave or not.³²</p> |
|--|---|

Directly addressing the obsession, the poetic persona of the smart scholar charges *qi* with ravaging *yingxiong*, and by extension, the corresponding masculine model. In his song poem “On *Qi*” cited above, Tang Shi similarly accuses the obsession of undermining the *yingxiong* masculinity, asserting that: “*Qi*! It was you who brought Xiang Ji, an outstanding male, to his end” 氣，則為你斷送了英雄楚項籍。³³ However, to call Xiang Yu a *yingxiong* entails in the first place the obsession prompting him to pursue his aspirations mentioned in the opening lines of Tang Shi’s song poem. Therefore, *qi* has paradoxically related to the *yingxiong* masculinity in this verse, powering Xiang Yu’s masculine identity, while simultaneously undermining its ontological basis. Such paradoxical entanglement reappears in the song

³¹ The place name Handan alludes to Shen Jiji’s 沈既濟 *chuanqi* 傳奇 tale entitled *Zhenzhongji* 枕中記, in which a Daoist adept encounters a young man on the Handan Route and conjures up an enlightening dream; see Li Fang 李昉, comp., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 2: 82.526-28; for a full translation of this tale, see Bruce J. Knickerbocker, trans., “Record within a Pillow,” in *Tang Dynasty Tales: A Guided Reader*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Singapore: World Scientific, 2010), 73-130.

³² Ren Ne 任訥, ed., *Beiqu shiyi* 北曲拾遺 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 17b. *Xinyuan* 心猿 is a metaphor for the constantly changing state of mind; see Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111, 486; Chen Xiulan 陳秀蘭 and Zhu Qingzhi 朱慶之, “Xinyuan yima de yuyuan he liubian” 心猿意馬的語源和流變, *Hanyushi xuebao* 漢語史學報 13 (2013): 87-95.

³³ Sui Shusen, *Quan Yuan sanqu*, 2: 1606; cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 48.

poem entitled “Ren zimi” 人自迷 (People’s Self-Confusion) from the *Qunyin*. Despite initially endorsing *qi*’s reinforcement of the *yingxiong* masculinity, the poet proceeds to echo the caution against the obsession by associating it with Xiang Yu’s death.

Although the early Ming prince and playwright Zhu Youdun 朱有燉 (1379-1439) devote at least three single song poems to treating *qi*, none of them touches upon the relation between the obsession and the masculine model of *yingxiong*.³⁴ However, it does not mean that Zhu Youdun pays no attention to how *qi* connected with masculinities; rather, it is two other masculine models that have preoccupied him.

Anger and the Masculine Models of *Haohan* and *Xiaozi*

Similar to other poets mentioned above, Zhu Youdun is also concerned with the menace of *qi* to one’s life, asserting in a song poem to the tune “Xihe liu” 西河柳 that: “*Qi* has shortened the life of noble men” 氣誤了高人性命.³⁵ Nevertheless, what distinguishes Zhu’s conception of the obsession is his anxiety over its subversive potential for undermining social orders, which he expresses in the song poem below:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 【北雙調·快活年】 氣 | To the Tune “Kuaihuo nian” [northern <i>shuangdiao</i> key]: On <i>Qi</i> |
| 志氣昂昂逞豪家 | The ambitious <i>qi</i> soars and surges in the noble households. |
| 我其實怕他怕他 | In fact, I’m afraid of that, afraid of that. |
| 休道剛強敢矜誇 | Don’t say that staunch toughness is worth boasting about. |
| 膽氣天來大 | When bold <i>qi</i> is as capacious as Heaven, ³⁶ |

³⁴ For the three song poems of Zhu Youdun 朱有燉 (1379-1439), see Xie Boyang 謝伯陽, ed., *Quan Ming sanqu* 全明散曲 (Ji’nan: Qilu shushe, 1993), 1: 290, 292, 320; the first two song poems are also cited in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 48-50.

³⁵ Xie Boyang, *Quan Ming sanqu*, 1: 290; although it is not gender specific, the phrase *gaoren* 高人 clearly refers to men here based on the remaining parts of the song poem.

³⁶ A looser translation of *danqi* 膽氣 can be the word “guts.”

禮法難容納
不是耍

Even ritual and law can't accommodate it.
This is no joke.³⁷

Here, Zhu Youdun warns that *qi* may transgress both ritual and legal constraints, which well coheres with a character's note of caution in his *zaju* play entitled *Xinbian Li Yaxian huajiu Qujiang chi* 新編李亞仙花酒曲江池 (Newly Compiled Li Yaxian amid Flowers and Wine at the Serpentine Stream Pond, preface 1409).³⁸ In a quasi-*yuanben* 院本 (farce) section of this play, Zhu Youdun uses three male characters, along with the male lead, to represent the four obsessions.³⁹ Ji the Tiger, who embodies the proclivity for *qi*, introduces himself as follows: “With an extraordinary timber, I’ve been full of *qi* and mettle. They soar and surge in my chest, being able to sweep away the Yangtze and the Huai Rivers. But now, I walk along the street to beg for food. It’s because I was bellicose before” 一生氣概不凡材，昂昂胸次捲江淮。今朝乞食沿街走，只為從前好鬪來。⁴⁰ He goes on to explain that: “I couldn’t stand others’ provocations and was belligerent. ... Earlier, I fought for idle *qi* and killed a person with one single fist. ... Now I’m in the street as well, begging to earn my living” 因

³⁷ Xie Boyang, *Quan Ming sanqu*, 1: 292.

³⁸ I have combined the translations of the play title in W. L. Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379-1439)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 35; C. T. Hsia, Wai-ye Li, and George Kao, eds., *The Columbia Anthology of Yuan Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 226. For the date of the preface, see Liao Li 廖立 and Liao Ben 廖奔, eds., *Zhu Youdun zajuji jiaozhu* 朱有燾雜劇集校註 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2017): 1: 179; Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 35.

³⁹ For a concise introduction to this section, see Hu Ji 胡忌, *Song Jin zaju kao* 宋金雜劇考, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 66-67; also see Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 131. For general discussion of the *yuanben* 院本 genre, see West, *Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 6-7, 10-44; Idema and West, *Chinese Theater, 1100-1450: A Source Book* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), 85-87, 137-38, 204; Idema, “*Yüan-pen* as a Minor Form of Dramatic Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 6.1/2 (1984): 53-75.

⁴⁰ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 1: 3.196. Note that the phrase *ang'ang* 昂昂 has also appeared in the song poem cited above to the tune “Kuaihuan nian” 快活年.

我受不得人的氣，好爭鬪。。。。前者為我爭閒氣，一拳打死了一箇人。。。。如今也在街上，叫化過日子。⁴¹ Hence, Ji the Tiger's own *qi*, along with others' provocation, has led him to commit manslaughter, and thus, violate the legal statutes. Most pertinently, when faced with another character's ridicule, he claims that: "I once used to be a stalwart" 我也曾作好漢來。⁴² His words affirm the concomitance of *qi* with his *baohan* masculinity, on the one hand; on the other hand, the past tense of his claim indicates that the subversive edge of the obsession has also undercut his association with this masculine identity. Therefore, the obsession similarly forms a paradoxical linkage with the *baohan* masculinity in this play.

In one of his two later plays on the *Shuibu* 水滸 (Water Margin) story cycles, however, the playwright has related the masculine model in a different way to anger, the paramount emotional manifestation of *qi*. The play in question is entitled *Baozi beshang zì huansu* 豹子和尚自還俗 (A Leopard Monk Returns to the Laity of His Own Accord, preface 1433; hereafter *Baozi beshang*).⁴³ It begins by recounting how the outlaw Tattooed Monk Lu Zhishen, whom the role type of *mo* 末 (male lead) plays, departs the Liangshan marshes and resumes his monkhood. With a series of schemes, the bandit head Song Jiang

⁴¹ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 1: 3.196.

⁴² Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 1: 3.196.

⁴³ I have adopted the translation of the play title in West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals: Eleven Early Chinese Plays* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2010), 314. Unless otherwise noted, I will refer to West and Idema's complete translation of the play in the following discussion. The other play by Zhu Youdun on the *Shuibu* 水滸 story cycles is entitled *Hei xuanfeng zhangyi shucui* 黑旋風仗義疏財. The playwright dated his preface to the *Baozi beshang zì huansu* 豹子和尚自還俗 as the first day of the last lunar month in the eighth year during the Xuande reign (1433). Hence, the *Zhangyi shucui*, whose preface "is dated to a 'lucky day' of the same month," is more likely to be written later than the *Baozi beshang*; see Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 1: 599; 2: 624; Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 178.

eventually manages to make the monk rejoin the bandits.⁴⁴ In the play, anger has repeatedly figured as Lu Zhishen's primary response to other characters' varied attempts at persuading him to return.⁴⁵ Not only does the emotion crucially contribute to restoring him as a *baohan* without undermining his resumption of this masculinity, but also proves pivotal in further evidencing his masculine identity as a *xiaozhi*.

What has initially enraged the male lead is a succession of challenges to his *baohan* masculinity. At the start of the play, Song Jiang explains why Lu Zhishen has left the outlaw brotherhood in the first place: "Because he took it on himself to kill some ordinary commoners, I gave him forty strokes of the big rod. Because he couldn't suppress his anger with the affront, he ran off to the Clear Stillness Monastery in Clear Brook Harbor, where he shaved off his hair and became a monk" 只有花和尚魯智深一人，為因他擅自殺害了平人，我打了他四十大棍，他受不得這一口氣，走往清溪港清靜寺內，削髮為僧。⁴⁶ In his self-introduction, Lu Zhishen himself also confirms that it is since he "couldn't suppress [his] anger with such an affront" 我受不得這一口氣 that he has left the Liangshan marshes.⁴⁷ Thus, the emotion has played a fundamental role in triggering the ensuing dramatics. Then comes the first instigator of Lu Zhishen, namely, Black Whirlwind Li Kui,

⁴⁴ For a more detailed recap of the play, see Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 181-87; also see West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 319-20.

⁴⁵ The prominence of Lu Zhishen's anger is evident in the summary of the play in Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 183-84.

⁴⁶ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.600; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.324-25; I have rendered the number of killed commoners as plural and highlighted the emotion of anger when translating the phrase *yikouqi* 一口氣.

⁴⁷ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.600; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.325. I have modified the translation to propose that it is Lu Zhishen's anger rather than that of Song Jiang here. For an alternative version of this passage based on a similar understanding, see Zhou Yibai 周貽白, ed., *Mingren zaju xuan* 明人雜劇選 (Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 1958), 171.

another bandit who initially tries to attract the male lead back to the Liangshan marshes by stating that: “Come with me! We bandits have gold and silver. We fine fellows get other people’s possessions without turning a hand” 你根俺去來。俺做賊的有金銀，好男子，白著手得人財物。⁴⁸ Since *hao nanzi* 好男子 (good fellows) is synonymous with *baohan*, Li Kui has notably associated the masculine model with both an outlaw’s possession of fortunes and the ease of obtaining them.⁴⁹ By implication, Lu Zhishen’s alienation from the Liangshan banditry simultaneously distances himself from the *baohan* masculinity. In response, the male lead points out that:

You bandits live in constant fear and worry. It’s hush-hush here and hush-hush there. You jump across someone’s wall, but when they are on to you, you have to turn around and jump back over. And if you don’t escape, you get caught. (Lu Zhishen *sings*.)

People like you

Who are robbers one day get caught and sentenced on the spot!

(Lu Zhishen *imitates the posture of someone wearing a cangue, sings*.)

A big, heavy

Cangue is clamped around your neck

And thick hemp cords

Tie your hands behind your back.⁵⁰

你那做賊的驚心怕膽，這邊哧哧地，那邊哧哧地，跳過人家牆，有些人警覺了，翻身又跳出牆來，若還出不來，被人拿住。[末唱]似你這做賊的有一日拿住賊。[末學帶枷軀老就唱]大沉枷 膊項上搨，籠麻繩背後綁。

⁴⁸ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.600-1; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.326-27; I have modified the translation of *baohan* 好漢 into “good fellows” for the sake of consistency.

⁴⁹ For the equivalence of *baohan* and *hao nanzi* 好男子, see W. J. F. Jenner, *A Knife in My Ribs for a Mate: Reflections on another Chinese Tradition* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1993), 15, 26; also see the expanded version of this book in Jenner, “Tough Guys, Mateship and Honour: Another Chinese Tradition,” *East Asian History* 12 (1996): 8, 18.

⁵⁰ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.601; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.327-28.

Having listed the dangers and vicissitudes of a bandit's life, Lu Zhishen sarcastically claims that: "Now you are 'a real man who relies on his strength'" 那些箇男兒當自強, and thus, directly questions the association that Li Kui suggests.⁵¹

Although he has easily dismissed Li Kui's first attempt at conversion, Lu Zhishen becomes increasingly furious, particularly over the direct challenges to his physical prowess and martial attainments, both of which are crucial facets of the *baohan* masculinity.⁵² After initially failing in persuading Lu Zhishen to return to Liangshan, Li Kui resorts to throwing doubts upon the male lead's manhood, ridiculing him as follows: "You are just a wimp, a sissy. You're no good fellow. In all those years you never contributed anything to our successes in robbing camps and strongholds, committing murder and arson" 你也只是軟弱, 膽兒小, 不是好男子。俺這幾年的偷營劫寨, 殺人放火的功勞, 你也不曾有一些兒。⁵³ If he only implies that Lu Zhishen is not *hao nanzi* earlier, Li Kui here explicitly excludes the male lead from this masculine model. Such insults have enraged Lu Zhishen so much that he "angrily tuck[ed] up his sleeves" 末怒, 揎起袖 and rebuts him by saying:

Who says I did not contribute to your successes? Who says I am a wimp and a sissy?
(Lu Zhishen, *striking posture, sings*:
(*Jisheng cao*)
You relied on me to
Employ outstanding fierceness,
Show off powerful strength!
You relied on my
King of beasts posture, that could uproot mountains and lift tripods,
My kraken dragon capacity, that could make rivers roll and oceans roil,

⁵¹ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.601; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.328.

⁵² Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities*, 104, 106,

⁵³ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.601; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.329.

My gibbonlike nature that could fly along the eaves and run across walls.⁵⁴
誰說我無功勞，誰說我膽小軟弱！[末做軀老唱]【寄生草】憑著我施英猛，
逞力強。憑著我拔山舉鼎俊猊像。翻江攪海蛟龍量，飛簷走壁猿猱樣。

However, it immediately occurs to Lu Zhishen that he has resumed his monkhood.⁵⁵

Subsequently, he “[stopped] striking postures anymore but press[ed] the palms of his hands together” 末不做軀老卻合掌, using the Buddhist gesture to contain his anger.⁵⁶

Nonetheless, Li Kui continues to directly debase him, claiming that: “You’re just afraid to die. You’ve grown old and don’t have the guts to go. But even if you went, you’d enter not a single success on the ledger of merit” 你也只是怕死，如今年紀老了，不敢去了。便去呵，功勞簿上，也無你的一件功勞。⁵⁷ Ascribing both senility and incompetence to Lu Zhishen, Li Kui thus calls his masculine identity as a *baohan* into further question. Such denigration infuriates the male lead for a second time, who “again acts out being angry [as well as] striking postures [and] sings” [末又做怒科] [末做軀老，唱]:

(Reprise)

You say that I
Have grown too old;
I say that my
Gall is unyielding.
Once upon a time
I blocked a bandit in a great fray in Chrysanthemum Valley,
Once upon a time
I wasted a monkey-bitch during a nighttime raid with Black Whirlwind,
And once

⁵⁴ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.602; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.329.

⁵⁵ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.602; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.330.

⁵⁶ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.602; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.330.

⁵⁷ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.602; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.330.

I raised the golden pitchfork on the sly with Red-bearded Ghost!⁵⁸

【么】你道我年紀大，我道是膽氣剛。我也曾黃花峪大鬧把強人擋，也曾共黑旋風夜劫把猱兒喪，也曾共赤髮鬼悄地把金釵颺。

Not only has Lu Zhishen's anger figured through his stylized postures designated as *qulao* 軀老 (literally “the body”),⁵⁹ but the musical pattern also foregrounds his emotional response.⁶⁰ More precisely, the only repeated tune in this act is the tune “Jisheng cao” that accompanies the male lead's outbursts of anger. The recurring tune musically distinguishes his emotion from the surrounding dramatic actions. Eventually, Lu Zhishen manages to restrain his rage again through the Buddhist gesture mentioned above.

Having failed to summon the male lead back, Li Kui returns to the Liangshan marshes.⁶¹ Afterwards, Song Jiang sends Lu Zhishen's mother to persuade her son instead, and notably, she restages the provocation of the male lead by similarly disputing his *baohan* masculinity. When Lu Zhishen first declines her request for his return to the Liangshan banditry, his mother laments that: “My child, when you were young, you were a good fellow. But now you have become such a weakling” 孩兒，你年紀小時做好漢來，如今這等軟

⁵⁸ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.602; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.330.

⁵⁹ For the meaning of *qulao* 軀老, see Wang Xueqi 王學奇 and Wang Jingzhu 王靜竹, eds., *Song Jin Yuan Ming Qing quci tongshi* 宋金元明清曲辭通釋 (Beijing: Yuwen chubanshe, 1999), 895.

⁶⁰ For discussion of Zhu Youdun's musical innovation, see Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre*, 39, 53, 66, 81, 92, 110.

⁶¹ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 1.603; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 1.332.

善了。⁶² She has thus directly denied her son's possession of the *baohan* masculinity. Then, she proceeds to relate other Liangshan bandits' debasing remarks to her son:

Your brothers at the mountain stronghold all make fun of you. They say you have grown weak and frail and that you never contributed to their success. That you never contributed to their success – unlike Black Whirlwind, Mountain Lad Li! (Lu Zhishen *speaks*.) Who said I never contributed to their success? (Mother *speaks*.) At the stronghold they all say you never contributed to their success – unlike Black Whirlwind, Mountain Lad Li!⁶³

你哥哥每在山寨上，都笑話你，說你軟弱尪羸，又無一些功勞。說你無一些功勞哩，不如黑旋風李山兒。[末云]誰說你兒沒功勞。[卜云]山寨上的都說你無功勞，不如李山兒。

Her reiteration of Li Kui's earlier challenges to her son's physical strength and martial achievements again fuels the male lead's rage:

(Lu Zhishen *acts out being angry*.) (*After Lu Zhishen has taken off his cassock, he strikes a posture and sings*.)

(*Dai gudu*)

This vexes me until
I can't control my thumping rage!

There's no way –
Weak and feeble!

I don't believe
That this Tattooed Monk, Zhishen

Is any less than
That Black Whirlwind Li Kui!⁶⁴

[末做怒科] [末脫了袈裟，做軀老唱] 【呆骨朵】惱得我撲登登按不住心頭氣，我那些兒軟弱尪羸。不信這花和尚魯智深，不如那黑旋風李逵。

⁶² Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 3.608; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 3.344.

⁶³ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 3.608; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 3.344.

⁶⁴ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 3.608; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 3.344.

Although he again manages to rein his anger back, Lu Zhishen's emotional responses have constantly betrayed his continued self-identification with the masculine model of *baoban* despite his purported monkhood, foreshadowing his reassertion of this masculinity.⁶⁵

In the last act, Lu Zhishen's anger arises for a third time, and his mother again plays a pivotal role in triggering the emotion. However, it is not her words, but suffering from violent beating that infuriates the male lead. Similarly failing in restoring him to the Liangshan banditry, Lu Zhishen's mother decides to reside near her son's monastery instead.⁶⁶ After learning about this, Song Jiang comes up with a final scheme and dispatches two underlings to beat her up.⁶⁷ Upon seeing his mother tormented, Lu Zhishen immediately flies into a fury:

(After Lu Zhishen hastily takes off the upper garment of his cassock, he strikes postures and sings:)

(*Shiliu bua*)

This vexes me so my mind is in turmoil,
My arms and legs shake like mad,
Ethers of rage stuff my breast!
I just want to
Clench my fists, roll up my sleeves, and beat these damned good-for-nothings!

Only now I believe

“A man without poison is no man at all!”⁶⁸

[末忙脫了直掇上蓋衣] [末做軀老唱] 【石榴花】惱得我意獐狂手腳戰篤速，
忿氣滿胸脯。我便待揎拳捋袖打這潑無徒，方信道無毒不丈夫。

⁶⁵ In the context of this play, monkhood is mutually exclusive with the *baoban* masculinity, which, however, is not necessarily so within the larger repertoire of popular literature in late imperial China; see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 66, 79.

⁶⁶ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 3.609-10; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 3.346-47.

⁶⁷ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.610; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.348.

⁶⁸ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.611; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.350.

Again, the stylized postures accompany Lu Zhishen's articulation of rage. According to his last exclamation, the male lead holds indifferent inaction regarding the beating of his mother to be indicative of his lack of manhood. He deems wrathful violence a plausible way of reaffirming his own masculinity.

However, Lu Zhishen again constrains his anger and vainly tries to dissuade the two underlings from torturing his mother.⁶⁹ Finally, the male lead gives free rein to his rage and comes close to beating the two underlings:

(Lu Zhishen *speaks*.) You aren't listening to me! I'm getting pissed! (Lu Zhishen *sings*.)
(*Reprise*)

So pissed that
My rage is pounding!
I control myself
Till I'm awash with sweat:
How I'd like
To crush their skulls,
Snap them at the waist,
Trample their chests!⁷⁰

[末云]您真箇不聽我勸，我惱了也。[末唱]【么】惱的我氣撲撲，忍的我汗淥淥。我待打碎他天靈，折折他腰截，蹉躑他胸脯。

When a friend of his reminds him that: "Don't get rashly carried away! Please still your rage" 師傅莫要性麓糙，且息怒咱, Lu Zhishen emphasized the impossibility of containing his rage any more:

You tell me
"Don't get carried away,"
"Please still your rage."
But how
Do you want me to still my rage?
Even if you had

⁶⁹ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.612; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.351-52.

⁷⁰ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.612; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.352.

Four Diamond-demons, they couldn't keep me back.⁷¹
你勸我莫性籠，且息怒。你教我怎生息怒，便有箇四金剛也擋攔不住。

What ultimately unleashes the male lead's wrath proves to be his filial devotion to his mother, as his claim immediately before beating the underlings reveals: "Because of my mother and my feelings of filial piety, I cannot successfully conclude my practice of austerities. So be it" 為我的母親，孝道的心，便修行不成也罷。⁷² Hence, Lu Zhishen has prioritized his filial duties over Buddhist cultivation. His violent raging verifies his *xiaozi* masculinity, while ridding him of the monkhood.⁷³ In view of its affirmation of the male lead's filiality, anger further contributes to Zhu Youdun's agenda of inverting the genre conventions of a typical deliverance play through the *Baozi beshang*.⁷⁴ On the one hand, the presence of Lu Zhishen's mother breaks the persistent silence of most, if not all, deliverance plays over the delivered characters' parents. On the other hand, the male lead's anger reinstates his filial manhood rather than propel him toward his ultimate transcendence. Put differently, the emotion reinserts him into the normative Confucian nexus instead of severing his secular ties.

Furthermore, the restoration of Lu Zhishen's *xiaozi* masculinity paves the way for his eventual return to the Liangshan banditry, and by extension, his resumption of the masculine

⁷¹ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.612; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.352.

⁷² Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.612; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.352.

⁷³ For an observation on how "mother-son fulfils a number of specific functions in the production of orthodox masculinity" in the context of the Qing dynasty novel entitled *Yesou puyan* 野叟曝言, see Maram Epstein, *Orthodox Passions: Narrating Filial Love during the High Qing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), 240, 243.

⁷⁴ For an apt characterization of this play as "a mirror image of the ordinary deliverance play;" see West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 320.

identity as a *baoban*. Later when “Lu Zhishen acts out fighting with the two underlings” 末做打二婁羅科, Song Jiang hastily goes up on stage to stop the male lead and reveal the schemes to him:

(Song Jiang *speaks*:) Brother, come back with us to the mountain stronghold! I will tell you the truth: these two merchants are just a couple of lackeys. I tricked you by strategy! (Lu Zhishen *sings*:)

(*Qitian le*)

My brother's
Hundred schemes or so
Were so cleverly dissembled. ...

Now I'll
Return with my mother!
I forgive my brothers.
Let us now, as soon as possible, get on the road. ...

(*Hongshan'er*)

I will not stay on in Clear Brook
But go straight back to Liangshan!

Now I'll
Puff out my chest,
Puff out my chest,
To be a robber once more
And return to the laity,
And return to the laity.

(Lu Zhishen *speaks*:) Brother, there was nothing else I could do! ... (Lu Zhishen *sings*:)

(Reprise)

I'll be reunited with my old mother
And we brothers will live all together.⁷⁵

[外云]兄弟根俺回山寨去來。我實對你說，這兩箇客人，是兩箇小婁羅，俺智賺你來。[末唱]【齊天樂】俺哥哥百般機謀，直恁地喬粧做。。。我如今奉母親回，將兄弟恕，疾便索登途。。。【紅衫兒】不在清溪住，徑往梁山去。我如今腆着胸脯，腆著胸脯，還把賊來做。便還俗，便還俗。[末云]哥哥我也無奈何了。。。[末唱]【么】老母相完聚，兄弟同居處。

After the revelation, Lu Zhishen decides to go back to the Liangshan marshes, and significantly, refers to Song Jiang and other bandits as *gege* 哥哥 (elder brother) and *xiongdì* 兄

⁷⁵ Liao Li and Liao Ben, *Zhu Youdun zajuji*, 2: 4.613; West and Idema, *Monks, Bandits, Lovers, and Immortals*, 4.353-54.

弟 (brothers) repeatedly. The male lead's recurrent addresses indicate that he will not only return to the banditry physically, but has already rejoined the *baohan* fellowship mentally. Moreover, Lu Zhishen constantly precedes the references to his *xiongli* with the mother-son reunion, suggesting that the restoration of his filial manhood is fundamental to that of his *baohan* masculinity. Considering the importance of the emotion to his *xiaozhi* identity, anger ultimately lies at the root of Lu Zhishen's resumption of the *baohan* manhood as well.

The transformative influence of anger upon male characters' association with the masculine models of *baohan* and *xiaozhi* also figures in a *huaben* 話本 (colloquial short story) entitled "Ren xiaozhi lixing weishen" 任孝子烈性為神 (Ren the Filial Son with a Fiery Disposition Becomes a Deity) collected in Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說 (Stories Old and New, 1620).⁷⁶ Tentatively dated to what Patrick Hanan terms "the middle period" (1400-1575), the story tells how the male protagonist Ren Gui kills, among others, his wife and her lover, and then, becomes a deity.⁷⁷ Not only does the story share with the *Baozhi heshang* the similar concern with how anger shapes the male protagonist's identities as *baohan* and *xiaozhi*, but also bears witness to different interrelations

⁷⁶ I have adopted the translation of the story title in Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646), comp., *Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection*, trans. Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2000), 669; I have replaced the word "god" with "deity." I will refer to this translation regarding the main body of the story and note my modification below. For the dating of the *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說, see Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story: Studies in Dating, Authorship, and Composition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 5; Shuhui Yang, *Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1998), 1.

⁷⁷ For a more detailed summary of the story and a partial translation, see Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 66-67.

between the emotion and the masculine models.⁷⁸ More precisely, although anger still facilitates his attainment of the *haohan* manhood, the emotion in fact casts doubt upon Ren Gui's identity as a filial son. Despite labelling him as a *xiaozi* in the title, the story makes it clear that such a designation is sarcastic from the start. When introducing Ren Gui, the narrator claims him to be *daxiao* 大孝 (greatly filial), but then, notes that: "Every day, Ren Gui ... said good-bye to his father and did not greet him until he returned at night" 每日辭父出，到晚才歸參父。⁷⁹ Not without irony, the narrator further adds that: "Such is his [Ren Gui's] way of being filial" 如此孝道, highlighting the lateness of his return, and by implication, hinting at his neglect of the blind father.⁸⁰

As the story unfolds, Ren Gui, at his wife's provocation, becomes angry with his own father, and the emotion signals the male protagonist's further deviation from the orthodox masculine ideal of *xiaozi*. Still as an unmarried maiden, Ren Gui's wife Liang Shengjin has been romantically involved with her neighbor Zhou De, but her marriage takes her far away from home, and thus, disrupts the illicit affair.⁸¹ Later, Zhou De visits her at her new place and resumes their adulterous relationship, "when the Qiantang River was at its

⁷⁸ For an observation on the common plotline of slaughtering an adulterous couple between the story and the *Shuibu zhuan* 水滸傳, see Liangyan Ge, *Out of the Margins: The Rise of Chinese Vernacular Fiction* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 115.

⁷⁹ Feng Menglong, comp., *Yushi mingyan xinzhu quanben* 喻世明言新註全本, ann. Chen Xizhong 陳曦鐘 (Beijing: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1994), 38.662; unless otherwise noted, all references to the story come from this edition. Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.669; I have modified the translation to highlight the sarcasm.

⁸⁰ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.662; there is no corresponding translation to this sentence in the Yangs' translation. For the characterization of Ren Gui as committing a "relatively blameless folly," see Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 67; however, considering the sarcastic tone noted here and the role Ren Gui's absence plays in his wife's adulterous affair, I do not think "blameless" is an appropriate descriptor for the male protagonist.

⁸¹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.663; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.670.

highest tide of the year[, and all] the fashionable men and women of the city turned out to watch the tide” 潮生日，滿城的佳人才子，皆出城看潮。⁸² The carnivalesque ambience forms the backdrop for the illicit couple’s reconnection, at whose brimming desire the water-related imagery hints.⁸³ Pretending to be her cousin, Zhou De frequents Ren Gui’s house afterwards to have sex with Liang Shengjin thanks to the male protagonist’s regular absence.⁸⁴ One day, she indulges in the intimate activities with her lover so much that she totally neglects to arrange lunch for her father-in-law.⁸⁵ Not until then does Ren Gui’s blind father become suspicious of their relationship: “Hungry in his belly and angry in his heart, Mr. Ren Senior thought to himself, ‘How come that cousin of hers spent a whole day up there?’ ... Swallowing his anger, Mr. Ren [thought to himself,] ‘There must be something fishy going on. ... I’ll ask my son tonight when he returns’” 這任公肚中又飢，心下又氣，想道：“這阿舅今日如何在樓上這一日？”。。。任公忍氣吞聲，。。。心中暗想：“必有蹊蹺，今晚孩兒回來問他。”⁸⁶ Hence, anger plays a key role in both eliciting the patriarch’s suspicion and initiating the revealing of the adulterous affair. Having heard his father’s report, “Ren Gui seethed with anger ... and stormed up the stairs in a rage” 任珪聽

⁸² Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.663-64; Feng Menglong, *Stories, Old and New*, 38.670-72.

⁸³ For discussion of sexual connotations of water-related imagery, see Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 142; for an observation on water’s symbolization of potential threats, again in the context of the *Yesou puyan*, see Stephen J. Roddy, *Literati Identity and Its Fictional Representations in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 160.

⁸⁴ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.665; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.672.

⁸⁵ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.665; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.673.

⁸⁶ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.665; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.673.

罷，心中大怒，火急上樓。。。。當時任珪大怒上樓 to where Liang Shengjin stays.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, Ren Gui eventually decides to “control [himself] for the moment and see what this woman has to say for herself” 我且忍住，看這婦人分豁。⁸⁸ However, not only has his inquiry enraged Liang Shengjin into a tantrum (*jiaozao fazuo* 焦躁發作), but also alerted her to her father-in-law’s suspicion.⁸⁹ Later, she discusses this with Zhou De, who tells her to catch a cat and hold it on her chest.⁹⁰ In this way, she can get some scratches and blame her father-in-law for injuring her when attempting at molestation.⁹¹ Liang Shengjin follows her lover’s instruction and accuses her father-in-law in front of Ren Gui accordingly.⁹² As a result, “a smoldering rage burned his [Ren Gui’s] heart, and resentment arose from beside his guts” 怒從心上起，惡向膽邊生。⁹³ The male protagonist’s angry response throws into question the narrator’s immediately preceding description of him as “a person with great filiality” 大孝之人。⁹⁴ Moreover, the commentator rhetorically asks: “How can a filial son not know his father’s character” 焉有孝子而不能諒親之素行，⁹⁵ and thus, explicitly disputes

⁸⁷ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.665-66; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.673-74.

⁸⁸ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.666; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.674.

⁸⁹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.666; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.674.

⁹⁰ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.667; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.675.

⁹¹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.667; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.675.

⁹² Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.667-68; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.675-76.

⁹³ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.668; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.676; I have added the translation of the latter half of the proverb to the Yangs’ shortened translation.

⁹⁴ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.668; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.676.

⁹⁵ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.668; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.676.

Ren Gui's *xiaozi* masculinity. Therefore, anger has alienated the male protagonist from the filial masculine model.

Having problematized his *xiaozi* identity, the story goes on to deny Ren Gui the *haoban* masculinity. After this incident, he sends his wife back to her parents' place, where she continues indulging herself with her lover.⁹⁶ One night, the illicit couple are intimately engaged, but Ren Gui unexpectedly arrives at his parents-in-law's house and unknowingly interrupts the liaison.⁹⁷ Zhou De immediately hides himself in the privy, and later, Ren Gui goes there and encounters the adulterer in the dark, who in turn calls the male protagonist a thief.⁹⁸ At that moment, the adulteress and her family rush out and give her husband a good beating instead.⁹⁹ Despite "swallowing his anger" 忍氣吞聲 at first, Ren Gui later wonders: "Could it be that they hid someone there and beat me up only because I stumbled upon their secret" 莫不是藏甚麼人在裡面，被我衝破，到打我這一頓, and thus, leaves his in-laws' house "in no good mood" 那有好氣.¹⁰⁰ When he is waiting for the Tide Watching Gate to open so that he can exit the city, Ren Gui overhears some people remarking on what has happened to him the previous night.¹⁰¹ Functioning as the internal narrator, an anonymous character inadvertently exposes to Ren Gui how Zhou De is involved with his

⁹⁶ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.668-69; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.676-77.

⁹⁷ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.669; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.677.

⁹⁸ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.669; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.677. For the transitional significance of "having a character leave to urinate," see Keith McMahon, *Causality and Containment in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (E. J. Brill, 1988), 20.

⁹⁹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.669; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.678.

¹⁰⁰ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.669-70; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.678.

¹⁰¹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.670; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.678-79.

wife and has him beat up.¹⁰² In this sense, the city gate's name has foreshadowed the revelation of the illicit couple's brimming desire to the male protagonist. Subsequently, a second character laughingly dismisses Ren Gui as "such a useless pushover" 有這等沒用之人, and another goes even further to directly deny the male protagonist's *haohan* masculinity: "That man is no good fellow, all right. Must be a stewed rotten turtle" 那人必定不是好漢, 必是個煨爛板烏龜.¹⁰³ Not only is *wugui* 烏龜 (turtle) a derogatory term for a cuckold that is partially homophonic with Ren Gui's name, but the term's preceding descriptors also attack his manhood by intimating his sexual impotence.¹⁰⁴

After hearing their conversation, Ren Gui increasingly flies into a fury, and the emotion in turn provides the opportunity for him to reaffirm his masculine identity as a *haohan*. Rather than exiting the city gate, a liminal locus that spatially marks his changing masculinity, Ren Gui goes to an ironsmith's shop and buys a knife there.¹⁰⁵ He then trusts his sister with his blind father, apologizing to the patriarch and rhetorically asking: "How am I to vent such anger" 這口氣如何消得?¹⁰⁶ In response, the father tries to soothe him,

¹⁰² Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.670; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.678-79. For discussion of certain characters as the internal narrators in the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅, another *Shuibu*-related work, see Wei Shang, "The Making of the Everyday: *Jin Ping Mei cibua* and Encyclopedias for Daily Use," in *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation: From the Late Ming to the Late Qing and Beyond*, eds. David Der-wei Wang and idem. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 85; Shang, "Fushi xiaoshuo de goucheng: Cong *Shuibu zhuàn dào Jin Ping Mei cibua*" 複式小說的構成: 從《水滸傳》到《金瓶梅詞話》, *Fudan xuebao: Shehui kexue ban* 復旦學報: 社會科學版 5 (2016): 55.

¹⁰³ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.670; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.679; I have adopted a more literal translation of the phrase than that of the Yangs.

¹⁰⁴ Yenna Wu, ed., *The Lioness Roars: Shrew Stories from Late Imperial China* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 134.

¹⁰⁵ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.670-71; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.679.

¹⁰⁶ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.671; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.680; translation modified to highlight the emotion.

replying that: “Why do you have to be so angry” 何須嘔氣?¹⁰⁷ Later, Rui Gui “took leave of his father and sister and went to the city in great rage” 辭了父親並姐姐，氣忿忿的入城， where his employer similarly assuages his anger and asks him to *rennai* 忍耐 (be patient).¹⁰⁸ After some serious inner struggles, nonetheless, Ren Gui’s “rage mount[ed] higher and higher, until he was unable to contain the furious flame in his heart any longer” 越想越惱，心頭火按捺不住。¹⁰⁹ Then, he goes to his parents-in-law’s house and beheads his wife, her whole family, and the adulterer so that he “finally gave vent to his anger” 這口怒氣出了。¹¹⁰ As noted above, the emotion both motivates and pervades Ren Gui’s revenge upon the adulterous couple. More significantly, his rage and its consequent killing further initiate the ensuing actions that enable the male protagonist to assume the *haohan* masculinity. Having gorily slaughtered his wife’s family along with her lover, Ren Gui decides not to escape, thinking to himself that: “To get caught fleeing from the scene is by no means a good fellow’s deed. I’d be better off surrendering myself to the authorities” 被人捉住，不為好漢，不如挺身首官。¹¹¹ Hence, he has modeled himself after the masculine model of *haohan*. Indeed, his decision is acutely reminiscent of that of Wu Song in the *Shuihu zhuan*, the

¹⁰⁷ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.671; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.680; translation modified to highlight the emotion.

¹⁰⁸ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.671-72; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.680; translation modified to highlight the emotion.

¹⁰⁹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.672; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.681; I have modified the Yangs’ translation into a more literal one.

¹¹⁰ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.673; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.682; again, I have adopted a more literal translation than that of the Yangs to highlight the emotion of anger.

¹¹¹ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.673; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.682; I have adopted a more literal rendition of the word *haohan*.

archetypal *haohan* who similarly stays around after killing Pan Jinlian and Ximen Qing.¹¹² Apart from his self-alignment with the masculine model, other characters further confirm his possession of the *haohan* masculinity from various perspectives. For instance, upon seeing the decapitated heads, the neighbors exclaim that: “What a good fellow” 真好漢子, and thus, deem Ren Gui’s furious killing indicative of his masculine identity as *haohan*.¹¹³ After he goes to prison, “Ren Gui won the general admiration and respect of everyone there for being a good fellow” 眾人見他是個好男子, 都愛敬他.¹¹⁴ Lastly, even the magistrate and his officers adjudicating the case agree that “Ren Gui is a stalwart with a fiery disposition” 任珪是個烈性好漢.¹¹⁵ All these references to the male protagonist as *haohan* consolidate his affiliation with this masculine mode, but we should not forget that it is anger that ultimately commences his resumption of the *haohan* masculinity.

In this section, I have demonstrated that anger dynamically interacts with both the *haohan* and the *xiaozi* masculinities across a wide range of popular genres. Not only can the emotion enable a male character to assume either of the masculine models, but may also deprive him of both. Especially in the case of the *haohan* masculinity, moreover, its

¹¹² For Wu Song’s decision in the *Shuibu zhuan*, see Wang Liqi 王利器, ed., *Shuibu quanzhuan jiaozhu* 水滸全傳校註 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2008), 4: 27.1307; the base text of Wang Liqi’s extensively annotated volume is a one-hundred chapter edition with the preface by Tiandu waichen 天都外臣. At the end of the chapter prior to that on Wu Song’s killing, the narrator explicitly praises him as *haohan*; see Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 4: 26.1287. In the *Jin Ping Mei*, however, Wu Song hastily escapes after slaughtering Pan Jinlian; see Liu Hui 劉輝 and Wu Gan 吳敢, *Huiping huijiao Jin Ping Mei* 會評會校金瓶梅, rev. ed (Hong Kong: Tiandi tushu youxian gongsi, 2010), 5: 87.1842.

¹¹³ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.673; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.683; translation modified to highlight the word *haohan*.

¹¹⁴ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.675; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.684; translation modified for a literal rendition of *hao nanzi*.

¹¹⁵ Feng Menglong, *Yushi*, 38.675; Feng Menglong, *Stories Old and New*, 38.684; translation modified to not only render *haohan* literally, but also harken back to the title of the story.

interconnection with anger has further emerged from the different treatment of how two good fellows join the Liangshan banditry in the two recension systems of the *Shuibu zhuàn*.

Correlating Anger with *Haohan* in Two Recension Systems of the *Shuibu zhuàn*

In his *Youmengying* 幽夢影 (Faint Dream Shadows, 1681-97), the Qing dynasty writer Zhang Chao 張潮 (fl. late seventeenth century) calls the *Shuibu zhuàn* a *nushu* 怒書 (a book fraught with anger).¹¹⁶ Indeed, not only is the novel construed within critical discourse as “a work of venting indignation” 發憤之所作也, but also strewn with numerous plots fraught with wrath.¹¹⁷ Two particular episodes stand out for their extensive depiction of the characters’ anger, respectively revolving around how the military commander Qin Ming and Lu Junyi, a *yuanwai* 員外 (supernumerary), join in with the Liangshan outlaws.¹¹⁸ As previous scholarship makes abundantly clear, there exist both *jianben* 簡本 (the simpler recension) and *fanben* 繁本 (the full recension) of the *Shuibu zhuàn*.¹¹⁹ Significantly, each character’s fury, along with his assumption of the *haohan* masculinity, has enjoyed differing degrees of attention within the

¹¹⁶ Zhang Chao 張潮, *Youmengying* 幽夢影, ann. Wang Feng 王峰 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 1.108. For the translation of the book title and an extensive study of the publication process of the book, see Suyoung Son, *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018), 11, 27-54.

¹¹⁷ Shi Nai’an 施耐庵 and Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, *Rongyutang ben Shuibu zhuàn* 容與堂本水滸傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 2: 1488. For the translation of the sentence and how various critics position the novel in relation to the *fafen* 發憤 tradition, see Ge, *Out of the Margins*, 174-77.

¹¹⁸ I follow the translation of the term *yuanwai* 員外 in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 597; for an alternative translation of the word as “magnate,” see Sidney Shapiro, trans., *Outlaws of the Marsh* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1999), 4: 61.1849.

¹¹⁹ For a comprehensive overview of the *jianben* 簡本 and the *fanben* 繁本 recensions of the *Shuibu zhuàn* and the translation of both terms, see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 280-302; for a brief summary, also see Ge, *Out of the Margins*, 106-8; William C. Hedberg, *The Japanese Discovery of Chinese Fiction: The Water Margin and the Making of a National Canon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 197.

two recension systems of the novel. Rather than enmeshing myself in the highly speculative controversy over which recension precedes which, I will tease out the differences between the two recensions in treating both characters' anger and their relation to various masculine models.

Let us begin by examining the case of Qin Ming in such *jianben* editions as the *Xinkan jingben quanxiang chazeng Tian Hu Wang Qing zhongyi Shuibu quanzhuan* 新刊京本插增田虎王慶忠義水滸全傳 (Full Story of the Loyal and Righteous Outlaws of the Marsh, Newly Printed Edition from the Capital with the Additional Insertion on Tian Hu and Wang Qing) and Yu Xiangdou's 余象斗 (ca. 1560-ca. 1637) *Shuibu zhizhuan pinglin* 水滸志傳評林 (Forest of Comments on the Water Margin).¹²⁰ The narrator in these *jianben* editions introduces Qin Ming as *xingji* 性急 (having a rash temper), a recurrent phrase that characterizes the commander's hasty disposition.¹²¹ Even more revealing of Qin Ming's irascible temper is his appellation "Pili huo" 霹靂火 (Thunderbolt Flame), since flame is a typical conceptual metaphor for anger.¹²² Indeed, his outbursts of rage duly punctuate the critical junctures during the bandits' initial capture of him in the *jianben* editions. For instance, Qin Ming's wrath initially arises when he reads the report of the military official

¹²⁰ I start with the *jianben* editions without assuming their precedence.

¹²¹ Y. W. Ma 馬幼垣, ed., *Chazengben jianben Shuibu zhuan cunwen jijiao* 插增本簡本水滸傳存文輯校 (Hong Kong: Lingnan University Chinese Department, 2004), 1: 33/32.205; the first chapter number indicates that in the *Xinkan jingben chazeng Tian Hu Wang Qing zhongyi Shuibu quanzhuan* 新刊京本插增田虎王慶忠義水滸全傳, while the second that in Yu Xiangdou's 余象斗 *Shuibu zhizhuan pinglin* 水滸志傳評林; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.997; translation modified.

¹²² Y. W. Ma, *Chazengben*, 1: 33/32.205; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.997; translation modified to highlight the flame imagery.

Hua Rong's rebellion, triggering Qin to attack the outlaws in the first place.¹²³ After a while of chasing, the commander "furiously leads his armies" 怒領軍馬, "rage filling his chest" 氣滿胸脯.¹²⁴ Upon seeing Song Jiang and Hua Rong drinking together, Qin Ming feels "having no way to vent the anger in his heart" 心中沒出氣處.¹²⁵ When his armies are drowned, Qin Ming's "anger spurted to the heavens" 怒氣衝天 so that he charges toward a small lane, where he finally falls into a trap.¹²⁶ As the commentator suggests in the *fanben* edition published by the Rongyutang, the constant rise of Qin Ming's fury plays a pivotal role in the success of the bandits' scheme for capturing him.¹²⁷

Compared to *jianben*, Qin Ming's rage features greater intensity in all *fanben* editions thanks to the increased occurrence of the word *nu* 怒 and other expressions associated with the emotion. Instead of merely emphasizing Qin Ming's rash temper, the *fanben* narrators have consistently amplified the commander's characterization into *xingge jizao* 性格急躁 (having a rash and irascible temper), and thus, incorporated his proclivity for anger into the

¹²³ Y. W. Ma, *Chazhengben*, 1: 33/32.205; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.997.

¹²⁴ Y. W. Ma, *Chazhengben*, 1: 33/32.206-7; no exactly corresponding rendition due to the discrepancy between the *jianben* editions and the base text of Shapiro's translation, namely, Jin Shengtan's 金聖歎 truncated edition.

¹²⁵ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, in *Guben xiaoshuo congkan di shi'er ji* 古本小說叢刊第十二輯, eds. Liu Shide 劉世德, Chan Hing-ho 陳慶浩, and Shi Changyu 石昌渝 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 1: 32.321; Y. W. Ma's volume has omitted the passage from the *Pinglin* because there is no corresponding section extant in the *Chazhengben*; nor is there corresponding translation by Shapiro.

¹²⁶ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 1: 32.321; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1003, 1005.

¹²⁷ Chen Xizhong 陳曦鐘, Hou Zhongyi 侯忠義, and Lu Yuchuan 魯玉川, eds., *Shuibu zhuan huipingben* 水滸傳會評本 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1981), 1: 33.630.

introductory descriptor.¹²⁸ Furthermore, with the exception of Jin Shengtān's 金聖歎 (1608-1661) truncated edition, all major *fanben* editions include three additional verses that repeatedly connect Qin Ming and his armies with either anger or the flame imagery.¹²⁹ The pertinent lines read that:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 烈烈旌旗似火 森森戈戟如麻 | Banners resembled flaming fire. Glaives and guisarmes were as dense as hemp. ¹³⁰ |
| 盔上紅纓飄烈焰 錦袍血染猩猩 | The red tassels in [Qin Ming's] helmet resembled tossing flames. [His] embroidered robe [seemed to have been] soaked in chimpanzees' blood. |
| | |
| 怒時兩目便圓睜 性如霹靂火 虎將是秦明 | When angry, his eyes were round open. His temper was like thunderbolt flame. This tiger-like commander was Qin Ming. ¹³¹ |
| 舞狼牙棒的將軍 怒氣起如雷電發 | The commander wielding the mace, ¹³² His anger arose like flash lightning. ¹³³ |

¹²⁸ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1529; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.486; for the corresponding passage in the edition published by Yuan Wuya 袁無涯, see Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping zhongyi shuibu quanzhuan* 李卓吾批評忠義水滸全傳 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1991), 1: 34.418; for that in Jin Shengtān's early Qing edition, see Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu buiping*, 1: 33.626. In the Yuan Wuya edition, the commentator further asserts the superiority of 燥 *zao* over 躁 *zao*. Not only does the claim harken back to the "Fafan" 發凡 section of this edition, where the editor singles out 燥 *zao* for collation, but may also hinge on the resonance between the fire radical of 燥 *zao* and the conceptual metaphor of flame for anger; for the corresponding passage in the "Fanfan," see Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 5.

¹²⁹ Albeit truncated, Jin Shengtān's edition still counts as one of the *fanben* editions; see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 292-93; Ge, *Out of the Margins*, 105. The verses are the same across the various *fanben* editions.

¹³⁰ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1530; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.486; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.419.

¹³¹ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1530; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.486; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.419.

¹³² Qin Ming's weapon is a mace.

¹³³ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1533; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.488; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.420.

Compared with flaming fire in the first two verses, the banners of Qin Ming's armies and the red tassels in his helmet hint at the commander's bursting rage. More directly, the latter two verses foreground anger as Qin Ming's most prominent emotion by respectively highlighting his furious staring and fighting momentum.

Besides the poetic elaboration upon the emotion, the prose sections in the *fanben* editions have further augmented Qin Ming's wrath as well. For instance, having mentioned the commander's anger with Hua Rong's subversion, as in the *jianben* editions, the narrator reiterates Qin Ming's fury with the saying, "[his] anger originated in the heart, hatred arose from the liver" 怒從心上起，惡向膽邊生, in both the Rongyutang edition and that with Tiandu waichen's 天都外臣 preface.¹³⁴ When the commander subsequently mounts his horse and is about to attack the bandits, the *fanben* narrators portray him as either *qifenfen* 氣忿忿 (fraught with wrath) or *nufenfen* 怒忿忿 (fraught with rage).¹³⁵ Furthermore, during his mindless pursuit of Hua Rong, the *fanben* editions pay close attention to Qin Ming's emotional states. Having chased Hua "in great fury" (*danu* 大怒), Qin "became even more angry in his heart" 心中越怒 when his enemy deliberately avoids him.¹³⁶ After the initial

¹³⁴ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1529; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.486; I have adopted the translation of the saying in Roland Altenburger, "The Avenger's Coldness: On the Emotional Condition of Revenge as Represented in Pre-modern Chinese Fictional Narrative," in *Love, Hatred, and Other Passions: Questions and Themes on Emotions in Chinese Civilization*, eds. Paolo Santangelo and Donatella Guida (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 363; the saying is missing from both Yuan Wuya's and Jin Shengtian's editions.

¹³⁵ For *qifenfen* 氣忿忿, see Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1529; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.486. For *nufenfen* 怒忿忿, see Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.418; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.626; for an alternative translation, see Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.997.

¹³⁶ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1533; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.488; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.421; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.628; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1001; translation modified.

setback of his armies, “flames arose in [Qin Ming’s] heart” 心頭火起 in most *fanben* editions.¹³⁷ Without resorting to the flame metaphor, Jin Shengtan’s edition more straightforwardly points out that “Qin Ming was extremely angry” 秦明怒極.¹³⁸ Faced with Hua Rong’s constant provocation, the commander is so infuriated that he “couldn’t help grinding his teeth almost to powder” 恨不得把牙齒都咬碎了, “his anger spurting to the heavens” 怒氣衝天.¹³⁹ Even before seeing Song Jiang, Qin Ming has already “lost all control of his temper” 怒不可當 in the *fanben* editions, where the commander gets “even madder with rage” 秦明越怒 after Hua Rong laughingly dismisses him.¹⁴⁰ When seeing his troops drowning, Qin Ming eventually becomes so furious that his “brain was bursting with rage” 怒得腦門都粉碎了.¹⁴¹ Moreover, Jin Shengtan has gone so far as to repeat almost each and every occurrence of the word *nu* in the commentaries on his truncated edition, and thus, further enhanced the intensity of Qin Ming’s anger.¹⁴² Significantly, it is only in the *fanben* editions that the commander’s furious responses receive such extensive treatment.

¹³⁷ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1534; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.488; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.421.

¹³⁸ Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.628; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1001; translation modified to heighten the intensity of Qin Ming’s rage.

¹³⁹ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1534; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.489; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.421-22; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.629; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1003.

¹⁴⁰ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1535-36; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.489-90; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.422; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.630; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1005.

¹⁴¹ Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.423; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.631; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1005. both the Tiandu waichen and the Rongyutang editions reiterate *nuqi chongtian* 怒氣衝天 before the phrase *naomen fensui* 腦門粉碎, see Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1536; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.490.

¹⁴² Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.628-31.

We see something similar in the case of Lu Junyi. On his way to Mount Tai, Lu first encounters Li Kui, who in turn intercepts and provokes the supernumerary.¹⁴³ Then follows Lu Zhishen, who extends the outlaw leaders' invitation to the magnate to join the Liangshan banditry.¹⁴⁴ Only the narrators of the *fanben* editions notice that Lu Junyi becomes *jiaozao* 焦躁 (vexed and annoyed) upon hearing the invitation.¹⁴⁵ When he later sees his servants bound up, Lu Junyi's "heart burst into flames" 心如火熾 in both recension systems, but the *fanben* editions alone note that "rage engulfed him like smoke" 氣似煙生.¹⁴⁶ Still it is only in the *fanben* editions that Lu Junyi, upon seeing Song Jiang and his entourage, "grew even more angry and cursed them by name" 盧俊義見了越怒，指名叫罵.¹⁴⁷ In reply, "Wu Yong tried to soothe him, saying, 'Brother, please still your anger.'" 吳用勸道：「兄長且須息怒」.¹⁴⁸ Compared to the *jianben* editions, the *fanben* ones have highlighted Lu Junyi's rage to

¹⁴³ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 2: 49.601; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2407; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.909; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.768; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1114; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1863.

¹⁴⁴ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 2: 49.601; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2407; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.909; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.768; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1114; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1865; both the Yuan Wuya and the Jin Shengtian editions specify that the invitation comes from Wu Yong.

¹⁴⁵ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2407; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.909; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.768; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1115; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1865; translation modified. The Rongyutang, Yuan Wuya, and Jin Shengtian editions all opt for *zao* 躁 instead of *zao* 躁 to depict Lu Junyi's annoyance.

¹⁴⁶ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 13.49.602; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2409; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.910; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.769; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1116; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1867; more exactly, Jin Shengtian's edition has *bili yansheng* 鼻裡煙生 instead.

¹⁴⁷ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2410; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.911; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.769; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1116; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1869.

¹⁴⁸ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2410; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.911; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.769; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1116; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1869.

a greater extent through both the narrator's much more extensive references to, and another character's further confirmation of, the magnate's furious responses.

Not only are the *jianben* and the *fanben* editions dissimilar in terms of the vehemence of Qin Ming and Lu Junyi's anger, but there also exist notable differences between the two recension systems in terms of the portrayal of their masculinities. More precisely, the *fanben* editions have more clearly specified the masculine identities and brought their changes into sharper relief. Take Qin Ming, for example. Initially when the commander is leaving his base for the bandits' stronghold, his superior in *fanben* exclaims over Qin Ming's "unrivaled heroicness" 英雄無比.¹⁴⁹ The *fanben* editions have explicitly ascribed the masculine model of *yingxiong* to the commander, whereas such ascription is totally absent from the *jianben* editions. When it comes to designating the *baohan* masculinity, the *jianben* editions do not seem to drastically differ from their *fanben* counterparts at first glance. After the outlaws capture Qin Ming, they bring the commander in front of the bandit leaders, to whom the narrator refers as "five stalwarts" 五位好漢 in both recension systems.¹⁵⁰ Without knowing who Song Jiang is, Qin Ming, however, singles him out and calls him *baohan*.¹⁵¹ Although Qin Ming later declines to join them, the bandit leaders still hold a banquet for the commander,

translation modified. For an observation of the dialogue-heavy feature of the *fanben* editions, see Ge, *Out of the Margins*, 231.

¹⁴⁹ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1530; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.486; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.419; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.627; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.997.

¹⁵⁰ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 1: 32.322; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1537; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.490; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.423; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.631; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1007; translation modified.

¹⁵¹ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 1: 32.322; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1537; Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.491; Shi Nai'an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.423; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.632; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1007; translation modified.

during which the narrator in both the *jianben* and the *fanben* editions designates them again as “five stalwarts.”¹⁵² So far, both recension systems have duly noted the outlaws’ *haohan* masculinity, and by extension, suggested Qin Ming’s exclusion from this masculine model. In the section after the commander wakes up the next day, the *fanben* editions continue referring to the bandit leaders as *haohan*, but this masculinity designation entirely fades out of the *jianben* editions. For instance, it is *zhong haohan* 眾好漢 (a flock of stalwarts) that try to persuade Qin Ming to stay for breakfast in *fanben*.¹⁵³ Then, the commander returns to his base, but only finds that someone has posed as him and assaulted there earlier.¹⁵⁴ As a result, his superior has executed all his family members.¹⁵⁵ Qin Ming has no choice but to “let his horse wander back along the road on which he had come” 縱馬再迴舊路, where he meets midway the bandit leaders, or to use the exact words from the *fanben* editions, “the five stalwarts” 五個好漢.¹⁵⁶ The word *haohan* does not stop recurring to designate the bandit leaders’ masculine identity until they invite Qin Ming back to their stronghold.¹⁵⁷ Finally, the

¹⁵² Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 1: 32.323; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1539; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.491; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.424; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.633; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1009; translation modified.

¹⁵³ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1539; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.492; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.424; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.633; Shapiro has glossed over the word *haohan*; see Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1011.

¹⁵⁴ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1540; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.492; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.425; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.634; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1011.

¹⁵⁵ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1540; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.492; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.425; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.634; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1011.

¹⁵⁶ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1541; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.493; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.426; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.635; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1013; translation modified.

¹⁵⁷ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1541; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.493; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.426; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.635; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1013; translation modified.

commander agrees to join the banditry and offers to persuade his subordinate Huang Xin to do so as well.¹⁵⁸ Upon meeting Huang, Qin Ming notably praises Song Jiang for “befriend[ing] every good fellow under Heaven” 結識天下好漢, inadvertently implying himself as one of the recognized *baoban*.¹⁵⁹ Despite similarly applying the designation to the bandit leaders, the *jianben* editions, however, have in no way emphasized their *baoban* masculinity to the extent as the *fanben* ones do. The extensive references of the *fanben* editions to this masculine model, along with their initial specification of Qin Ming as a *yingxiong*, have distinctly delineated the transformation of the commander’s masculinity.

This observation is equally applicable to the differing depictions of Lu Junyi’s masculinities between the two recension systems. To start with, there is only one reference to Lu’s understanding of manhood in the *jianben* editions. When an inn owner warns him about the Liangshan outlaws, Lu Junyi, in response, writes in a banner that: “[I] have set my mind on catching the bandits; only then [will I] demonstrate my ambition as a man” 一心只要捉強人，那時方表男兒志。¹⁶⁰ Thus, Lu Junyi deems the apprehension of Liangshan bandits to be affirmative of his manhood. Similarly containing this moment, the *fanben* editions clearly portray him as aspiring for the official endorsement of his accordance with the orthodox masculine ideal. When a retainer tries to dissuade him from going to Mount Tai prior to the magnate’s departure, Lu Junyi retorts that: “In fact I’ll go and nab [the oafs

¹⁵⁸ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1542-43; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.494; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.427; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.637; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1015.

¹⁵⁹ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 5: 34.1543; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 1: 34.494; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 1: 34.427; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 33.637; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 2: 34.1017.

¹⁶⁰ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 2: 49.600; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2404; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.908; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.768. Jin Shengtan’s edition contains a different line so that Shapiro has not provided a corresponding translation of the line above.

in Liangshan Marshes]. My prowess with weapons will show those under Heaven what a real man is like” 兀自要去特地捉他。把日前學成武藝，顯揚於天下，也算個男子大丈夫。¹⁶¹ Here, the magnate’s manhood hinges upon not only his capturing of the outlaws, but also the acknowledgement of “those under Heaven.” Nonetheless, it turns out that what Lu Junyi seeks in particular is the official recognition, since he later claims that: “I’ll deliver [the bandits’] chief to the capital and claim the reward. That will satisfy my wish of a lifetime” 把這賊首解上京師，請功受賞，方表我平生之願。¹⁶² Accordingly, the imperial authorities’ potential appreciation motivates him to catch the outlaws, and thus, decides whether he will establish his manhood, at least in his perception. Considering its entailment of orthodox sanction, this manhood implicitly connotes the masculine model of *yingxiong*.¹⁶³ Indeed, a bandit has applied precisely this designation of masculinity to Lu Junyi later.¹⁶⁴

Along with Lu’s heightened ambition in the *fanben* editions is the persistent specification of the bandits’ *haohan* masculinity, whereas the *jianben* editions make no use of this designation when referring to their masculine identity. When Li Kui initially intercepts Lu Junyi, for instance, the narrator describes the outlaw’s way of appearing as “out leaped a

¹⁶¹ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2400; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.906; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.764; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1110; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1857.

¹⁶² Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2405; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.908; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.767; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1113; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1863.

¹⁶³ For the importance of “political ambitions as well as a desire to be ‘real men’” to the *yingxiong* masculinity, see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 79.

¹⁶⁴ Yu Xiangdou, *Pinglin*, 13.61.605; Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2413; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.913; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.771; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1119; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1871; Shapiro understands the word *yingxiong* as the bandit’s self-reference, with which I disagree.

good fellow” 托地跳出一籌好漢.¹⁶⁵ Lu Junyi then fights with another bandit, to whom the narrator of the *fanben* editions again refers as *baohan*.¹⁶⁶ Last come the two bandits named Zhu Tong and Lei Heng, both of whom the *fanben* narrators consistently use *baohan* to describe.¹⁶⁷ Thus, it is much more explicit in *fanben* that the bandits are *baohan*, and that it is this masculine identity that Lu Junyi is about to assume after shedding his aspiration for the *yingxiong* masculinity. Compared to those in the *jianben* editions, the episodes on Qin Ming and Lu Junyi in *fanben* have both augmented the intensity of the two characters’ anger, while more clearly delineating their initial exclusion from and eventual assumption of the *baohan* masculinity. In other words, the vehemence of the emotion positively correlates with the distinctness of the change to both characters’ masculinities. The analysis above has shown that the angrier Qin Ming and Lu Junyi are, the clearer the transformation of their masculinities is, and vice versa.

Concluding Remarks

Across a gamut of popular genres, *qi* and its emotional manifestation via anger have shaped a character’s masculinities in a variety of ways. A series of paradoxical relations emerges from the analysis above. Albeit conducive to his masculine identity as a *yingxiong*, a man’s proclivity for *qi* also has the potential for undercutting his life, and by extension, his masculinity according to the pertinent *sanqu*. Similarly, anger has both facilitated and hindered male

¹⁶⁵ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2406; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.909; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.767; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1114; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1863; translation modified.

¹⁶⁶ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2408; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.910; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.768; the word *baohan* here is absent from Jin Shengtan’s edition.

¹⁶⁷ Wang Liqi, *Quanzhuan*, 7: 61.2409; Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong, *Rongyutang*, 2: 61.910-11; Shi Nai’an, *Li Zhuowu piping*, 2: 61.769; Chen, Hou, and Lu, *Shuibu huiping*, 1: 60.1116; Shapiro, *Outlaws*, 4: 61.1867; Shapiro has not rendered the word *baohan*.

characters' attainment of the *xiaozhi* masculinity, as the respective cases of Lu Zhishen and Ren Gui show. A last paradox arises from the impact of anger upon the *haohan* masculinity. The textual differences between the *jianben* and the *fanben* editions of the *Shuibu zhuan* point to the correlation between the masculine model and the emotion. As Zhu Youdun conceives in his *zaju* plays, not only can anger divest a man of the masculine identity as a *haohan*, but also contribute to his assumption of this masculinity.

Chapter Five

Sex, Silence, and Sickness: Re-Diagnosing Women's Anger in the *Jin Ping Mei*

The discourse of the four obsessions occupies a prominent place in the two major recensions of the sixteenth-century novel *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (The Plum in the Golden Vase; hereafter *JPM*).¹ Specifically, four corresponding lyrics to the obsessions immediately precede the novel proper in the *Xinke Jin Ping Mei cibua* 新刻金瓶梅詞話 (The Plum in the Golden Vase Chantefable Newly Carved; hereafter the *cibua* recension).² In the *Xinke xiuxiang piping Jin Ping Mei* 新刻繡像批評金瓶梅 (The Plum in the Golden Vase with Illustrations and Commentaries Newly Carved; hereafter the Chongzhen recension), on the other hand, an extended exposition of the four obsessions opens the novel as part of its main body.³ At first appearance, both recensions seem to have gendered the discourse by

¹ For the claim of the discourse on the four obsessions as “a major framework of meaning” for the four masterworks of the Ming dynasty, including the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅; see Andrew Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel: Su ta ch'i-shu* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 154. For the observation of *Jin Ping Mei* as “the first full-length novel to focus on the intricate relationships among these four obsessions as well as their direct consequences,” see Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 104. For two monographs organized around the four obsessions, see Chen Baowen 陳葆文, *Jiu Se Cai Qi Jin Ping Mei* 酒色財氣金瓶梅 (Taipei: Lianhe baiken dianzi chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2016); Chen Weizhao 陳維昭, *Gudian mingzhu zhong de jiu se cai qi* 古典名著中的酒色財氣 (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1992). For general overviews of the textual systems of the work, see Xiaofei Tian, “A Preliminary Comparison of the Two Recensions of *Jinpingmei*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62.2 (2002): 347; Wang Rumei 王汝梅, *Wang Rumei jiedu Jin Ping Mei* 王汝梅解讀金瓶梅 (Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 2014), 143.

² Lanling Xiaoxiao sheng 蘭陵笑笑生, *Mengmeiguan jiaoben Jin Ping Mei cibua* 夢梅館校本金瓶梅詞話, 3rd ed (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2009), 1: 2; David Tod Roy, trans., *The Plum in the Golden Vase, or Chin P'ing Mei* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993-2013), 1: 10-11; I will consistently convert the Wade-Giles spellings in Roy's translation into *pinyin*. For introductions to the *cibua* 詞話 edition of *Jin Ping Mei*, see P. D. Hanan, “The Text of the Chin P'ing Mei,” *Asia Major* n. s. 9.1 (1962): 2-5; Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 65-67; Wang Rumei, *Wang Rumei jiedu*, 150-51. For a note on the prominence of the four-obsession discourse in the *cibua* recension, see Stephen J. Roddy, *Literati Identity and Its Fictional Representations in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 286.

³ Liu Hui 劉輝 and Wu Gan 吳敢, eds., *Huiping huijiao Jin Ping Mei* 會評會校金瓶梅, rev. ed. (Hong Kong: Tiandi tushu youxian gongsi, 2010), 1: 1.56-59. This edition is based on Zhang Zhupo's 張竹坡 (1670-

ascribing the four obsessions to a male subject. Apart from implying a male subject in the prefatory lyric on the obsession with *se* 色 (lust), the narrator of the *cibua* recension begins the novel proper by associating *qi* 氣 with Xiang Yu 項羽 (232 BC-202 BC), paragon of this obsession.⁴ Xiang Yu in turn calls Liu Bang 劉邦 (256 BC-195 BC) *jiu se zhi jun* 酒色之君 (a ruler addicted to wine and women), and thus, attributes two obsessions to the first emperor of the Han Dynasty (202 BC-220) at one stroke.⁵ As for the remaining obsession with avarice, the narrator refers to another man who “squandered wealth enough to splash against the sky” 丟了潑天哄產業, namely, the male protagonist Ximen Qing.⁶ The Chongzhen

1689) early Qing edition that largely resembles the Chongzhen recension; for introductions to the Zhang Zhupo edition and its relation to the Chongzhen recension, see Wang Rumei, *Wang Rumei jiedu*, 143-48; Hanan, “The Text,” 10-11; Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 65; David L. Rolston, “Introduction: Chang Chu-p’o and His ‘*Chin Ping Mei* tu-fa’ (How to Read the *Chin Ping Mei*),” in *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, ed. idem. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 201; Xiaofei Tian, “A Preliminary Comparison,” 347. The following discussion mainly refers to this modern edition because of its collection and collation of extensive commentaries. Whenever there are significant textual differences between the *cibua* and the Chongzhen recensions, I will resort to the collation notes in the third volume of Qin Xiurong 秦修容, ed., *Jin Ping Mei: Huiping huijiao ben* 金瓶梅：會評會校本 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998). If I do not list Qin Xiurong’s version in the following notes, it means either there is no significant difference between the two recensions, or the relevant passages are absent from the *cibua* recension. See the various explanations for why the Chongzhen recension changes the beginning of the *cibua* recension in Hanan, “The Text,” 34-35. For observations on the greater prominence of the four obsessions in the Chongzhen recension, see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 77, 154. Although I will consistently discuss the *cibua* before the Chongzhen recension below, I do not imply the former’s precedence over the latter. There has still been no consensus regarding which of the two earliest recensions appeared first. For contentions for the *cibua* recension as the earlier one; see Hanan, “The Text,” 33; Wei Shang 商偉, “Fushi xiaoshuo de goucheng: Cong *Shuibu zhuan* dao *Jin Ping Mei cibua*” 複式小說的構成：從《水滸傳》到《金瓶梅詞話》，*Fudan xuebao: Shehui kexue ban* 復旦學報：社會科學版 5 (2016): 33; for reservations about the precedence of the *cibua* over the Chongzhen recension, see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 66; Xiaofei Tian, “A Preliminary Comparison,” 350.

⁴ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 1.1526-27; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 1.12-13. For Xiang Yu 項羽 as the paragon of the obsession with *qi*, see Cheng Pei-kai 鄭培凱, “Jiu se cai qi yu *Jin Ping Mei cibua* de kaitou – Jianping *Jin Ping Mei yanjiu de suoyin pai*” 酒色財氣與金瓶梅詞話的開頭-兼評金瓶梅研究的索隱派, *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 12.4 (1983): 64; for some *sanqu* 散曲 that use Xiang Yu as the prototype for the obsession with *qi*, see Zhou Yubo 周玉波 and Chen Shulu 陳書錄, eds., *Mingdai mingge ji* 明代民歌集 (Nanjing: Nanjing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 8. I will discuss this obsession in the following section below.

⁵ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 1.1527; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 1.13.

⁶ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 1.1528; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 1.16.

recension seems to have even more explicitly gendered the subject of its opening discourse on the four obsessions as male. When elaborating upon the obsessions with lust and avarice, the narrator in this recension mentions *qizi* 妻子 (the wife and children) of the subject in question and contrasts him with a series of male exemplars who refrain from sexual desire.⁷ As he further discourses about the obsession with *qi*, the narrator again implies the discursive subject as male by referring to his *qinu* 妻孥 (the wife and children) and listing Xiang Yu as the embodiment of the obsession.⁸ Hence, both recensions of *JPM* appear to have explicitly attributed the four obsessions to men, a gendered attribution that is in fact so entrenched that it impinges upon the current scholarship on the novel. One case in point is Martin W. Huang's otherwise insightful analysis of the four-obsession discourse, in which he exclusively focuses on Ximen Qing's obsessions without considering whether his analysis applies to the far greater number of female characters in the novel.⁹ However, I will contend that *qi* has figured in both recensions as a prominent obsession of women as well. I will further use an episode that centers on a divining session for Ximen Qing's three wives to demonstrate how the novel highlights women's anger, arguably the paramount emotional instantiation of the proclivity for *qi*.¹⁰

⁷ These male exemplars include Zhan Huo 展獲, more commonly known as Hui from Liuxia, the man of the Lu state, that is, Master Yan Shu, and lastly, Guan Yu 關羽 (?-220); see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 1.56-57; absent from the *cibua* recension.

⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 1.57-58; absent from the *cibua* recension.

⁹ Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 103-7. Chen Baowen's recent study amounts to a corrective to this gendered oversight; see, particularly, Chen Baowen, *Jiu se cai qi*, 232-78.

¹⁰ This obsession is so easily confused with anger that Huang rightly reminds us of the wider semantic scope of *qi* than that of the emotion; see Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 104.

After foregrounding women's anger in the *JPM* through the first section, I will proceed to advance a threefold argument. I will begin by exploring the ways in which female characters in the novel cope with the emotion and the factors that give rise to these varied ways. In particular, Li Ping'er, Ximen Qing's sixth and favorite wife, starkly contrasts with his fifth wife Pan Jinlian in terms of how they regulate their anger. More precisely, silent fuming stands out as the primary approach that Li Ping'er adopts to contain her vexation, whereas Pan Jinlian constantly resorts to verbal and physical violence in order to vent her fury. Despite their drastic differences, the two women's varied approaches to anger both correlate with the underlying factors of sexual fulfillment and frustration. Furthermore, I will examine the various strands of discourse that revolve around Li Ping'er's anger, and how the emotion relates to her deadly illness accordingly. Not only has the concubine's anger received prognostic remarks, but also been subject to a range of diagnostic discourses from such characters as authoritative physicians, dubious charlatans, the nursemaid of Li Ping'er's son, and the male protagonist.¹¹ Measuring these discursive strands against each other reveals both the prominent role that anger plays in Li Ping'er's death and the glaring absence of the emotion from certain characters' understanding of her fatal sickness. Since the *JPM* devotes considerable narrative energy to portraying its characters' pathological symptoms by appropriating a large number of medical terms, previous scholarship has duly paid attention to the relation between the novel and its contemporary medical discourse. So far, a reflective

¹¹ For discussion of the "pluralistic perspectives on the cause of illness" in the novel, see Chen Hsiufen 陳秀芬, "Between Passion and Repression: Medical Views of Demon Dreams, Demonic Fetuses, and Female Sexual Madness in Late Imperial China," *Late Imperial China* 32.1 (2011): 71; Christopher Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*," *History of Science* xxxi (1993): 106; Laurence G. Thompson, "Medicine and Religion in Late Ming China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18.1 (1990): 58; Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature, and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 149.

mode of reading has prevailed, relegating the *JPM* to the secondary position as a mere echo of the medical corpora. For example, Christopher Cullen explicitly advocates the reflective tenor by holding that: “The author’s medical pluralism reflects what we already know about pre-modern Chinese society.”¹² In his more recent assessment of the novel, Andrew Schonebaum claims the depiction of Li Ping’er’s illness to be “more in line with an inclusive, robust medical diagnosis than with a metaphor or simple literary device.”¹³ In the last section of this chapter, however, I will reposition the *JPM* with regard to its contemporary medical discourse by seizing on the intimate intertwinement between anger, sex, and sickness in both cases of Li Ping’er and Pan Jinlian. Instead, I will argue that the novel has issued powerful critiques of the medical discourse rather than only mirror it.

Re-Gendering *Qi*, Re-Gendering Anger

Considering that it readily associates *qi* with men in its opening discourse, the *JPM* seems to resemble certain deliverance plays and *sanqu* in view of their shared gendering of the obsession as masculine. As the previous chapters make clear, neither are the female delivered associated with the obsession in deliverance plays at all; nor have song poems or suites devoted considerable attention to women’s *qi*.¹⁴ However, as the four-obsession discourse in both recensions of the novel unfolds, the narrator has in fact ascribed the propensity for *qi*

¹² Cullen, “Patients and Healers,” 106.

¹³ Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 149.

¹⁴ For instance, see the implicitly gendered male subject in the *sanqu* 散曲 listed in Cheng Pei-kai, “Jiu se cai qi,” 46-49; see also Zhou Yubo and Chen Shulu, *Mingdai ming*, 8. It is noteworthy that such gendering is in no way pronounced in some Quanzhen masters’ pertinent writings; see, for instance, Wang Zhe 王喆, *Chongyang quanzhen ji* 重陽全真集, in *Zhonghua daozang* 中華道藏, ed. Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), 26: 1.280, 8.319.

to women as well, and thus, belied the discursive gendering in the beginning.¹⁵ In the *cihua* recension, for instance, the narrator mentions the jealousy of Liu Bang's main wife Empress Lü.¹⁶ And jealousy is precisely a preeminent facet of the obsession.¹⁷ In the Chongzhen recension, *qi* has especially figured as, among other things, the force that sustains one's rivalry with others.¹⁸ Hence, when he mentions those in the novel who “compete for favors and have a desire to excel, while seeking adultery and being seductive” 鬪寵爭強，迎姦賣俏，¹⁹ the narrator not only implies these characters to be female, but also attributes the proclivity for *qi* to women. Indeed, a cluster of female characters ranging from Ximen Qing's wives, through his maids, to prostitutes, have vividly fleshed out women's engagement with this obsession. In this sense, the *JPM* has made a pioneering breakthrough within the discourse on the four obsessions by highlighting women's *qi*.

In view of the outstanding role that the emotion plays in instantiating *qi*, it is hardly surprising that the novel has, by extension, paid considerable attention to women's anger. To corroborate this point, the divining session toward the end of Chapter 46 serves as a good illustration. Having sent an abbess away together, Ximen Qing's main wife Wu Yueniang, his third wife Meng Yulou, and Li Ping'er spots an old woman at the gate and invites her into

¹⁵ For a more general observation of the incongruence between the four-obsession discourse at the start of the Chongzhen recension and the main body of the novel, see Huang Yi 黃毅, “Cong Sitanci yu zhengwen de maodun kan *Jin Ping Mei* zhong de shidai yishi” 從《四貪詞》與正文的矛盾看《金瓶梅》中的時代意識, *Hebei shifan daxue xuebao* 河北師範大學學報 24.3 (2001): 98. This article has not considered the gendered implication of the discourse.

¹⁶ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 1.1527; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 1.14.

¹⁷ Generally, *qi* connotes “intolerance, pride, jealousy, and the need to feel superior to others;” see Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 104-5.

¹⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 1.56; absent from the *cihua* recension.

¹⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 1.58; absent from the *cihua* recension.

the house to tell their fortune through tortoise oracles.²⁰ As the early-Qing commentator Zhang Zhupo 張竹坡 (1670-1698) remarks, this episode is reminiscent of another divining session that the Daoist priest Immortal Wu holds at Ximen Qing's house.²¹ On that earlier occasion, Immortal Wu issues extensive prognostic comments on a wide range of characters, including the male protagonist, all his wives, his daughter, and even Pan Jinlian's maid Chunmei.²² However, there exist some crucial differences between the two divining sessions from the perspective of gender. That is to say, not only do the two occasions feature differently gendered fortune-tellers, but also pay distinctively gendered attention to the characters' emotional proclivities, particularly those for joy and anger. It is apparent that a male fortune-teller presides over the earlier session, while a female one the later. More significantly, the gender of the characters whose emotional inclinations receive comments is consistent with that of the fortune-teller on both occasions. For instance, although Immortal Wu tells the fortune of many a character, he only remarks on Ximen Qing's emotions: "When happy, you [Ximen Qing] will exhibit: The genial atmosphere of the spring breeze. When aroused to anger, you will become like: A clap of thunder or a raging conflagration" 喜則和氣春風，怒則迅雷烈火。²³ In contrast, not only is it a female fortune-teller who holds the later divining session, but she also comments on the emotional tendencies of only

²⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 46.914; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.122.

²¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 46.899; immediately after the old woman's divining session, Pan Jinlian also recalls the earlier one; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 46.917; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.127.

²² Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 29.603-9; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 29.230-43.

²³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 29.605; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 29.233.

the three women who has invited her to the house.²⁴ Therefore, the later occasion foregrounds women's emotions, especially joy and anger, through a divining session exclusively held by and for certain female characters.

Zooming in on her remarks on their anger, we find that the old woman has hinted at the alliance of the three women's emotions through some recurrent phrases so that an emotional community emerges out of such linguistic repetition.²⁵ More specifically, the fortune-teller starts by praising Wu Yueniang for "being characterized by humanity and righteousness throughout her life" 一生有仁義, but then, goes on to note that: "When she [the main wife] is angry, she is all reverberating wrath. ... [Her] temper may occasionally flare up like windblown fire" 惱將起來鬧哄哄。。。。一時風火性。²⁶ The old woman further points out Wu Yueniang's "suffering from anger even at the cost of taking the blame for the faults of others" 替人頂缸受氣,²⁷ a recurrent phrase that the fortune-teller also applies to Meng Yulou's experience with others' anger.²⁸ Hence, the two wives' suffering from anger has bound them together on both linguistic and emotional levels. Li Ping'er is the last among the three wives to receive the old woman's prognostic remarks. The fortune-teller compliments her also on "being characterized by humanity and righteousness," and

²⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 46.

²⁵ For the definition of emotional communities as "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression," see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2; here, the fortune-teller's repeated phrases seem to set the expressive norms of the three women's emotions.

²⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 46.915; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.124; the syntactic order of the translation slightly modified.

²⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 46.915; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.124.

²⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 46.916; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.125.

thus, linguistically aligns the concubine with Wu Yueniang.²⁹ The old woman's following comments are even more pertinent to Li Ping'er's emotional engagement with anger:

She is content to let herself be taken advantage of or exploited; indeed, she is irritated if they do not take advantage of her. But she will suffer from the 'matched shoulders' in her horoscope, and find that, in everything, others will requite kindness with enmity. Truly: 'Matched shoulders,' 'penalties,' and 'banes,' will make difficulties for her; in the twinkling of an eye, they will exhibit a heartless knack for knavery. It is preferable to encounter a tiger blocking the road to your 'three births,' than to meet someone, before your very eyes, with two faces and three knives. Pray don't take what I say amiss, lady, but you're just like a bolt of fine red silk that is, unfortunately, a little shorter than it ought to be. You should try not to let yourself get so angry with things.³⁰

人吃了轉了他的，他喜歡；不吃他，不轉他，到惱。只是吃了比肩不和的虧，凡事恩將仇報。正是：比肩刑害亂擾擾，轉眼無情就放刁；寧逢虎摘三生路，休遇人前兩面刀。奶奶，你休怪我說：你儘好疋紅羅，只可惜尺頭短了些。氣惱上要忍耐些。

Apart from similarly heeding Li Ping'er's proclivity for anger, the old woman repeatedly ascertains *bijian* 比肩 (peers, literally "matched shoulders") as the main reason for the concubine's vexation. The verse that follows contains a tiger imagery, and thus, gestures toward Pan Jinlian, the concubine's most persecutory peer who constantly enrages her.³¹ Having lamented the brevity of Li Ping'er's life, the old woman ends with advising the concubine to refrain from getting angry. In this way, the fortune-teller has subtly associated the emotion with Li Ping'er's death.

As analyzed above, the old woman has threaded together the three wives' emotional disposition toward anger with certain repeated phrases, on the one hand. On the other hand,

²⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping hujiiao*, 3: 46.916; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.126.

³⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping hujiiao*, 3: 46.916; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 46.126-27; I have modified Roy's translation of this passage in the verse form into a prose and highlighted anger in the translation of the last line.

³¹ For Pan Jinlian's intimate association with the tiger imagery in the novel, see Ding Naifei 丁乃非, *Obscene Things: Sexual Politics in Jin Ping Mei* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002): xxx; 125; 144-57. Only the *cibua* recension explicitly compares a beauty with a tiger; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 1.1528.

she further comes up with some suggestions on how to deal with the potentially detrimental emotion, especially in Li Ping'er's case. Nevertheless, neither has the concubine waited until this divining session to repress her anger; nor is anger-repression the only approach that the female characters in the *JPM* have adopted to regulating the emotion. The next section will focus on the cases of Li Ping'er and Pan Jinlian in particular to examine women's ways of coping with anger and what underlies their varied approaches in the novel.

Silent Anger, Silencing Sex

Besides highlighting their anger, the *JPM* has demonstrated a cluster of ways in which its female characters deal with the emotion at the same time. In particular, the novel poses Li Ping'er and Pan Jinlian as a pair of concubines whose approaches to anger contrast with each other. That is to say, Li Ping'er's silent repression of her own anger is diametrically antithetical to her arch-rival Pan Jinlian's abundant anger-venting through both verbal and physical means.³² To begin with, silence stands out as a salient trait that characterizes Li Ping'er in the novel, as Zhang Zhupo highlights in his "Dufa" 讀法 (reading methods) essay. There, the commentator uses *buyan* 不言 (not speaking) to describe how the *JPM* portrays the concubine: "But again, he [the author] describes Li Ping'er as not speaking" 然則寫瓶兒，又每以不言寫之。³³ Indeed, when faced with Pan Jinlian's constant enragement, her silent fuming repeatedly corroborates the commentator's remark. For instance, a few

³² This contrast resonates with that between the externalization in Homeric epics and the concealment in the Bible; see Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 11-12.

³³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 5: 16.2114; for an alternative understanding of the phrase *buyan* 不言 as the author's limited depiction of the character, see Roy, trans., "How to Read the *Chin P'ing Mei*," in *How to Read*, 209. I do not agree with Roy's rendition here, since the treatment of Li Ping'er is rather extensive in the novel.

chapters before the old woman's divining session, Guan'ge, Li Ping'er's infant son, is betrothed to the daughter of Qiao Hong, Ximen Qing's rich neighbor.³⁴ Having learned about the news, the male protagonist immediately shows great favors toward the concubine, presumably thanks to the prospect of amassing more fortunes that the matrimonial bond will bring about.³⁵ All these have in turn incurred the ire of Pan Jinlian, who vents her fury by brutally beating her maid Qiuju and indirectly swearing at Li Ping'er next door.³⁶ In this way, Pan Jinlian manages to verbally abuse and provoke her arch-rival. In response, the other concubine "was so angry by it [Pan Jinlian's enragement] that her two hands turned cold, but she chose to swallow her anger and keep her own counsel. Though she dared to be angry, she dared not speak" 把兩隻手氣的冰冷，忍氣吞聲，敢怒而不敢言。³⁷ In another word, Li Ping'er has chosen to silently contain her anger, well before the female fortune-teller advises her to do so. The concubine further follows the old woman's suggestion by silently repressing her anger again on a later occasion after the divining session. Here, Pan Jinlian flies into another rage, simply because Ximen Qing has slept with the sick Li Ping'er and sends for Dr. Ren to treat her.³⁸ Accidentally stepping on a pile of

³⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.824-25; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.4-10. For brief introductions to Qiao Hong, see Roy, *The Plum*, 1: lvi; Huang Lin 黃霖, ed., *Jin Ping Mei da cidian* 金瓶梅大辭典 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1991), 20.

³⁵ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.828-29; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.14.

³⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.829-30; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.15-17.

³⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.829-30; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.17; I have replaced the word "upset" with the first "angry" to render *qi*. The earliest occurrence of the phrase *gannu er buganyan* 敢怒而不敢言 may come from Du Mu's 杜牧 (803-ca. 852) "Epang'gong fu" 阿房宮賦; see Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1987-1995), s.v. "gannu er buganyan" 敢怒而不敢言; for the original quote, see Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶, ed., *Du Mu ji xianian jiaozhu* 杜牧集繫年校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 1: 1.10.

³⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 58.1144.

dog excrement, Pan Jinlian seizes this opportunity to vent her anger by first beating the dog, and then, the same maid Qiuju, in order to startle Li Ping'er's sick son in the adjacent quarters with such jarring cacophonies.³⁹ Despite her mother and the other concubine's attempts at dissuasion, the furious Pan Jinlian continues making noises by battering the maid.⁴⁰ Again, Li Ping'er ends up "daring to be angry without daring to speak."⁴¹ Therefore, the two episodes mirror each other through the recurrent phrase,⁴² both featuring the contrastive juxtaposition of Li Ping'er's silent fuming with Pan Jinlian's verbal and physical anger-venting.

Nonetheless, Li Ping'er has in fact not always remained reticent throughout the *JPM*. As Zhang Zhupo perceptively remarks, "As for her portrayal, Li Ping'er is not entirely incapable of speaking" 一路寫瓶兒，非全不能言者。⁴³ For instance, when Wu Yin'er stays overnight at Li Ping'er's quarters, the concubine indeed complains about Pan Jinlian's *tiaobai* 調白 (incitation) of Wu Yueniang to the courtesan.⁴⁴ However, it is notable that Li Ping'er only expresses her vexation in the highly private setting of her own quarters at deep night to a courtesan who is in effect external to the Ximen household. This has in turn foiled the

³⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 58.1145; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 58.439-43. The spatial setting of Ximen Qing's house in fact contributes to Pan Jinlian's scheme, for her quarters are adjacent to those of Li Ping'er. Notably, it is Li Ping'er herself who suggests living right next to Pan Jinlian in the first place. Hence, there is a tinge of suicidal implication in her suggestion considering the fatality of Pan Jinlian's provocation; for Li Ping'er's suggestion to Ximen Qing of living next to Pan Jinlian, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 16.352; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 16.321.

⁴⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 58.1145-46; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 58.443.

⁴¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 58.1145-46; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 58.443.

⁴² Besides these two episodes, the phrase also appears in two other places in the Chongzhen recension; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 11.255; 4: 75.1547. It occurs one more time in the *cibua* recension; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 7.1575.

⁴³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 14.320.

⁴⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 3: 44.877; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 44.79.

concubine's silent concealment of anger from her fellow concubines, the male protagonist, and his main wife. Furthermore, Li Ping'er, before she marries Ximen Qing, proves perfectly capable of verbalizing her anger as viciously and eloquently as Pan Jinlian does. As a matter of fact, Hua Zixu and Jiang Zhushan, two of Li Ping'er's ex-husbands, have both suffered from her furious swearing. Having been arrested and imprisoned due to a dispute over family inheritance, Hua Zixu later gets out of prison thanks to Ximen Qing's intervention.⁴⁵ By the time when her husband returns home from prison, Li Ping'er has already moved her abundant fortunes to her then lover Ximen Qing's house.⁴⁶ Later, Hua Zixu asks her about the male protagonist's detailed expenses in facilitating his release, but this has enraged Li Ping'er so much so that she immediately flies into rage and responds with the a tirade.⁴⁷ Described as "much tongue-swaggering" 許多饒舌 by one of the commentators for the Chongzhen recension,⁴⁸ Li Ping'er's furious eloquence here not only contrasts with her later reticence, but in turn also succeeds in "reduc[ing] Hua Zixu to silence" 子虛閉口無言.⁴⁹ Li Ping'er's capacity for irate profanities soon resurfaces when she angrily curses the physician Jiang Zhushan, her next husband. Originally intending to marry Ximen Qing, Li Ping'er decides not to wait for him anymore, but chooses to marry the physician instead, because the male protagonist is involved in a political scandal and hides himself at home for quite a

⁴⁵ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.315-18; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.275-80.

⁴⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.317; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.278-79.

⁴⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.319-20.

⁴⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.320.

⁴⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.319-20; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.283.

while.⁵⁰ Soon after their marriage, Jiang Zhushan, however, proves to be unable to sexually fulfill Li Ping'er so that she angrily swears at the physician with a series of denigrating metaphors:

You're just like a shrimp or an eel," she railed at him, "with no real strength in your loins. What's the point of your buying all this junk to titillate your old lady with? I thought I was getting a real hunk of meat, but it turns out you're: Good enough to look at, but not fit to eat. You're about as much use as a 'pewter spearhead' or a 'dead turtle!'"⁵¹

你本蝦鱓，腰裡無力，平白買將這行貨子來戲弄老娘。把你當塊肉兒，原來是個中看不中吃，臘槍頭，死忘八！

What spurs her furious insults here is clearly the physician's sexual incompetence. When he later finds out their marriage, Ximen Qing becomes infuriated.⁵² He instructs two rascals to blackmail Jiang Zhushan in order to revenge himself on Li Ping'er for her hasty marriage with the physician.⁵³ When Jiang Zhushan begs her for some silver to pay the rascals, Li Ping'er again flies into a rage and curses him:

You shameless cuckold! Whose money do you think you're giving away? You've got a nerve demanding money of me. If I'd known that, even if you lost your head, you'd leave a stump of debts behind, I'd never have been blind enough to marry you. You turtle! You're good enough to look at, but not fit to eat.⁵⁴

沒羞的忘八。你遞甚麼銀子在我手裡，問我要銀子？我早知你這忘八砍了頭，是個債樁，就瞎了眼也不嫁妳！這中看不中吃的忘八！

⁵⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 17.271-79; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 17.340-55.

⁵¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 19.413; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 19.385. All of her analogues are soft objects with a pointed end. The phrase *la qiangtou* 臘槍頭 comes from the *Xixiang ji* 西廂記; see Wang Shifu 王實甫, *Xinkan dazhi kuiben quanxiang canzeng qimiao zhusi Xixiang ji* 新刊大字魁本全相參增奇妙注釋西廂記 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), 2: 4.2.239; Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema, trans., *The Story of the Western Wing* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 4.2.237.

⁵² Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 18.392-93; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 18.364.

⁵³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 19.410-11; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 19.381-82.

⁵⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping bujiao*, 1: 19.416-17.

At first glance, her anger appears to arise from the physician's request for money.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, her repeated resorts to the word *wangba* 忘八 (turtle), along with the recurrent phrase *zhongkan bu zhongchi* 中看不中吃 (good enough to look at, but not fit to eat) from her earlier swearing, betrays the real reason for her fury, namely, Jiang Zhushan's failure in sexually satisfying her.

What then has silenced Li Ping'er so much so that reticence even stands out as one of the concubine's defining characteristics? Zhang Zhupo's commentary again provides an initial response to this question. Having noted Li Ping'er's earlier ability to speak up, the commentator proposes that her silence "later results from Jinlian's oppression" 後始為金蓮所制耳.⁵⁶ Indeed, Li Ping'er herself particularly confirms the curtailing effect of her arch-rival's verbal dexterity. Once, Pan Jinlian thinks that Ximen Qing has fetched a bag of sexual implements from her quarters to stay overnight with Li Ping'er, and thus, becomes so furious that she decides to sow discord between the main wife and her rival.⁵⁷ The next day, Pan Jinlian manages to provoke Wu Yueniang by accusing Li Ping'er of speaking ill of the main wife.⁵⁸ However, since she is in good terms with Li Ping'er, Dajie, Ximen Qing's daughter, in turn goes to inform the concubine of the allegation, urging her to directly

⁵⁵ Although Li Ping'er later tells Ximen Qing that she knows that he is behind the blackmailing of Jiang Zhushan, it is unclear whether she has already seen through the two rascals' scheme here or not; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 19.423.

⁵⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.320.

⁵⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.998; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 51.221. In fact, Ximen Qing uses the bag of sexual implements with Wang the Sixth, one of his lovers; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 50.985-86; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 50.206, 209.

⁵⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.998-1000; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 51.221-23.

confront the provoker.⁵⁹ At first “rendered speechless for some time” 半日說不出話來, Li Ping’er finally responds to Dajie’s suggestion, saying that: “As though I could hope to contend with that mouth of hers” 我對的過他那嘴頭子!⁶⁰ Not only does her response convey a sense of helplessness regarding Pan Jinlian’s intimidating and overwhelming eloquence, but also confirms Zhang Zhupo’s remark on Pan Jinlian’s role in silencing her.

Nonetheless, I will further argue that Li Ping’er’s recurrent reticence also lies in the sexual fulfillment that Ximen Qing brings to her. If Jiang Zhushan’s sexual incompetence stirs her to verbally vent anger, the concubine’s later taciturnity gestures toward the silencing effect of the male protagonist’s sexual prowess instead. Notably, it is not until the prospect of marrying the sexually competent Ximen Qing emerges that the narrator refers to Li Ping’er’s silence for the very first time. Still within the mourning period for her recently late husband Hua Zixu, Li Ping’er transgresses the ritual prescriptions to attend the birthday celebration of nobody other than Pan Jinlian at Ximen Qing’s house.⁶¹ This visit is in fact not without irony considering that Pan Jinlian will later play a crucial role in leading to the death of both Li Ping’er and her son. After a few rounds of drinking, Meng Yulou and Pan Jinlian teasingly suggest that Li Ping’er should stay overnight, apparently hinting at Ximen Qing’s adulterous affair with her.⁶² In response, Li Ping’er “only smiled, without uttering a

⁵⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.1000-1; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 51.223-24.

⁶⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.1001; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 51.224.

⁶¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.321-22; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.287; in fact, Li Ping’er has deliberately lied about the duration of her late husband’s mourning period.

⁶² Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.323; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.290.

sound” 只是笑，不做聲。⁶³ It is noteworthy that this is the narrator’s first reference to her silence throughout the novel. A commentator in the Chongzhen recension seizes on her silent smile and claims it to bespeak what is actually on her mind, that is, the anticipation of marrying the male protagonist.⁶⁴ Similarly, Zhang Zhupo points out that “Li Ping’er has deemed herself to be a concubine [of Ximen Qing] 瓶兒居然以妾自待矣 when she greets the main wife in a ritually excessive manner.⁶⁵ However, neither commentator has delved into the factors that contribute to Li Ping’er’s silence here. And I hold that her reticence results from not simply the shyness with Pan Jinlian and Meng Yulou’s humorous and amorous teasing words, but more importantly, also the impending prospect of marrying a man who can finally satisfy her sexual desire in contrast to all her previous husbands.⁶⁶

Furthermore, it is precisely during Ximen Qing’s sexual withdrawal from her that Li Ping’er bursts into an extensive utterance for the last time. This corroborates the silencing effect of his sexual prowess in an inverted manner. After expelling Jiang Zhushan from her house, Li Ping’er pleads with Ximen Qing to marry her.⁶⁷ Despite agreeing to the

⁶³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.323; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.290.

⁶⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.323; this commentary comes from the Chongzhen recension preserved at the Peking University Library, whose commentator Liu Hui and Wu Gan refer to as the Xiuyi 繡乙 commentator.

⁶⁵ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.322.

⁶⁶ These also include Li Ping’er’s very first husband, Privy Councilor Liang, and her incestuous father-in-law Eunuch Sha, both of whom have supposedly had no sexual intercourse with her due to the jealousy of the former’s main wife and the latter’s castration respectively; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 10.242, 17.370. For the Chongzhen commentator’s suggestive remark on Li Ping’er’s incestuous affair with her eunuch father-in-law, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 17.370; for a note on her previous husbands’ persistent failure in sexually fulfilling her, see Zuo Jiang 左江, *Yuwang de fushibui – Jin Ping Mei renwu xiezhen* 慾望的浮世繪 – 金瓶梅人物寫真 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 2014), 50-51.

⁶⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 19.418-19; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 19.392-93.

matrimonial request, the male protagonist purposefully keeps away from her during the first three nights after their marriage as a punishment for her hasty marriage to the physician.⁶⁸ On the third night, Li Ping'er eventually decides to hang herself, but ends up being rescued by nobody other than Pan Jinlian, her deadly rival who ironically enrages her to death later.⁶⁹ The next day, Ximen Qing enters into Li Ping'er's chamber and angrily beats the concubine with a riding crop.⁷⁰ His violent beatings have forced a final abundance of utterance out of her.⁷¹ Notably, Ximen Qing's postponed fulfillment of Li Ping'er's sexual desire immediately precedes and frames her last eloquence, after which the concubine not only enjoys greater and greater sexual satisfaction, but also becomes more and more silent.

Ximen Qing's increased sexual favors toward Li Ping'er simultaneously means the deprivation of sexual fulfillment from Pan Jinlian. Such deprivation prompts Pan Jinlian to vent her anger in ways other than furious swearing. In other words, even irate insults prove insufficient to express her frustration with sexual deprivation so that she has resorted to such alternative ways of articulation as, most prominently, singing *sanqu* 散曲 (song poems). For instance, when her then husband Wu the First fails to satisfy her in terms of both appearance and sexual competence, Pan Jinlian laments about her marriage by singing a song

⁶⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 19.419-21; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 19.395.

⁶⁹ Chunmei also proves helpful in saving Li Ping'er here. In a sense, Pan Jinlian's later role in causing Li Ping'er's fatal anger balances out Li's indebtedness to Pan's rescue here; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 19.421; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 19.395-96.

⁷⁰ The riding crop may well symbolize Ximen Qing's phallic power as his household's patriarch who frequently subjects his concubines to physical penalties; for a similar episode where the riding crop figures in Ximen Qing's punishment of Pan Jinlian for her potential adultery, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 12.276-77, 283; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 12.236-37, 244. Pan Jinlian also often uses the riding crop to punish others; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 58.1145; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 58.440-42. In Chapter 26, she snatches the crop away from Ximen Qing, which may signify the transfer of his phallic power to the concubine at the zenith of her favors; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 26.554; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 26.181.

⁷¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 19.423-24.

poem to the tune “Shanpo yang” 山坡羊.⁷² Soon after Pan Jinlian murders Wu the First, Ximen Qing starts busying himself with marrying Meng Yulou and preparing for his daughter’s matrimony so that he stops visiting his then lover’s house for quite a while.⁷³ As a result, Pan Jinlian becomes so vexed as to sing some song poems to express her frustration.⁷⁴ When Pan Jinlian becomes one of his concubines, Ximen Qing again stops frequenting her chambers for quite some time due to his predilection for Li Ping’er.⁷⁵ One night when he is in the adjacent quarters, Pan Jinlian picks up her *pipa* and sings a series of song poems “in order to dispel her languor” 以遣其悶 and attract Ximen Qing’s attention.⁷⁶ All these instances evidence that the lack of sexual fulfillment has motivated Pan Jinlian to seek different ways from her usual swearing to vent her vexation. Therefore, her case has established the causation of sexual deprivation to articulations of greater intensity, reversely, reinforced the correlation of Li Ping’er’s silence with sexual satisfaction according to the rule of *modus tollens*.

So far, I have demonstrated that the *JPM* has posed Li Ping’er’s silent fuming and Pan Jinlian’s anger-venting as a contrastive pair that unravels the symbiosis between sexual fulfillment and the containment of the emotion. In the next section, I will explicate the

⁷² Although the song poems in the *cibua* recension are often absent from the Chongzhen recension, this one appears in both recensions, which shows its importance; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 1.80; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 1.28. For a discussion of the extensive borrowing of song poems and their mediation of the characters’ monologues, dialogues, and thoughts in the *cibua* recension, see Roy, *The Plum*, 1: xlv-xlvi.

⁷³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 8.203; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 8.147-48.

⁷⁴ Compared to the Chongzhen recension, there are three additional song poems in the *cibua* recension; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 8.1579; Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 8.207; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 8.155-57.

⁷⁵ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 38.780; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 38.445.

⁷⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 38.780-82; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 38.445-47; the reference to Pan Jinlian’s mood is only in the *cibua* recension; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 38.1799; Roy, *The Plum*, 445.

cluster of diagnostic discourses to which Li Ping'er's case is subject, and how the discursive relations can reposition the novel with its contemporary medical discourse.

Diagnosing, Misdiagnosing, and Re-Diagnosing Women's Anger

Despite adhering to the female fortune-teller's advice by silently containing her anger, Li Ping'er's fuming still proves deadly to the concubine. Indeed, three authoritative physicians have singled out the emotion as the paramount pathological factor that underlies her lethal sickness, embodying the diagnostic perspective according to the medical discourse contemporary with the novel. To treat the sick concubine, Ximen Qing firstly sends for the physician Dr. Ren, who attributes Li Ping'er's illness to "the damage of seven feelings to the liver and the excessive inflammation created by the element of fire in her lungs" 七情傷肝，肺火太旺.⁷⁷ In traditional Chinese medical theories, it is precisely anger that most severely impinges on one's liver when being excessive, especially with regard to the female body.⁷⁸ Moreover, flame figures as a classic conceptual metaphor for the emotion in the Chinese language as well.⁷⁹ Thus, Dr. Ren's diagnosis clearly gestures toward the emotion of

⁷⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1218; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.31; translation modified. Dr. Ren's diagnosis in the *chhua* recension reads that: "Her seven feelings have been wounded. The inflammation created by the element fire in her liver and lungs is excessive" 七情感傷，肝肺火太盛; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 61.2016; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.31.

⁷⁸ Wu Kun 吴昆, *Yifang kao* 醫方考, in *Zhongguo yixue dacheng* 中國醫學大成, ed. Cao Bingzhang 曹炳章 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), 49: 3.68; also see Thomas Ots, "The Angry Liver, the Anxious Heart and the Melancholy Spleen: The Phenomenology of Perceptions in Chinese Culture," *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry: An International Journal of Comparative Cross-Cultural Research* 14.1 (1990): 40-41. For an insightful note on anger and the female body, see Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 160.

⁷⁹ Brian King, "The Conceptual Structure of Emotional Experience in Chinese" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1989), 155-59; for flame as a conceptual metaphor for anger in English, see George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 388-89. The conceptual metaphor refers to "metaphors that we have in our minds that allow us to produce and understand abstract concepts;" see Jeannette Littlemore, "Conceptual Metaphor," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Language Sciences*, ed. Patrick Colm Hogan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 199.

anger. Moreover, not only does one commentator for the Chongzhen recension affirm the physician's initial diagnosis,⁸⁰ but Dr. Hu, the second physician, further confirms it, emphasizing that: "Anger has disrupted her [Li Ping'er's] blood vessels" 氣沖血管.⁸¹ Therefore, the next physician has similarly deemed the emotion to be a pathogenic factor of crucial importance that underlies the concubine's deadly illness. Anger again stands out in the diagnosis of the third physician Old Man He. Upon seeing Li Ping'er, the elderly physician notes that: "Her breast is tight with anger" 胸中氣急.⁸² He goes on to feel the concubine's pulse and further pinpoints the role of Ximen Qing's "semen [in] invading her menstrual blood vessels" 精沖了血管, and consequently, triggering the concubine's fatal illness in the first place.⁸³ Then, Old Man He largely reiterates Dr. Hu's ascertainment of the rootedness of her sickness in "the affliction of suppressed anger as well as the conflict between her anger and her blood" 著了氣惱, 氣與血相搏.⁸⁴ Hence, in spite of slight differences between their diagnoses, all three physicians have reached a consensus on the pathological prominence of anger in the concubine's illness. This well concurs with the title

⁸⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1218.

⁸¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1219; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.31.

⁸² Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 61.2018; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.34; this line is only present in the *cibua* recension, but absent from the Chongzhen recension.

⁸³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1221; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.35. Old Man He's diagnosis implicitly points to Ximen Qing's sexual intercourse with Li Ping'er during her menstrual period earlier in Chapter 50; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 50.990-92; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 50.219. For a reading of this episode as a morally grounded punishment that "reverses the crime of an infidel conception," see Ding, *Obscene Things*, 212-13.

⁸⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1221; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.35.

of Chapter 60 in the *cibua* recension, which reads that: “Li Ping’er Becomes Ill because of Anger” 李瓶兒因氣惹病.⁸⁵

However, not only does Li Ping’er receive three authoritative physicians’ diagnoses, but her case is also subject to a charlatan’s misdiagnosis. After Old Man He makes his diagnosis, a charlatan surnamed Zhao arrives at Ximen Qing’s house and examines the concubine.⁸⁶ Rather than teasing out the underlying role of anger in causing her illness, as the three physicians have, Dr. Zhao issues a series of misdiagnoses:

Dr. Zhao said, ... “I conclude that if it is not an externally contracted intestinal fever, it is an internally contracted miscellaneous disorder, and that if it did not develop postpartum, it must have done so prior to conception.” “That’s not what it is,” said Ximen Qing. “Please be good enough to make another careful appraisal.” “I venture to say,” said Dr. Zhao, “that it is a depression brought on by a dietary disorder resulting from overindulgence in food and drink.” “For days on end,” responded Ximen Qing, “she has hardly eaten any food at all.” “Perhaps it is a case of jaundice,” opined Dr. Zhao. “That’s not the case,” said Ximen Qing. “If that’s not the case, ... no doubt it is a case of spleen vacuity diarrhea.” “It is not a case of diarrhea,” said Ximen Qing. “If it is not diarrhea, what can it be?” said Dr. Zhao. ... After sitting in thought for some time, he said, “I’ve finally thought of something. If it isn’t a case of swelling of the lymph nodes in the groin caused by venereal disease, it must be a case of irregular menstruation.” “Since she’s a woman,” said Ximen Qing, “it’s unlikely to be a case of swelling of the lymph nodes in the groin caused by

⁸⁵ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 60.2000; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 60.489; I have deleted the word “suppressed” in Roy’s translation. For an observation of the emphasis on anger in this chapter title of the *cibua* recension; see Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 152; I have modified his translation of *qi* as “grief and anger” into “anger” alone, considering that the Chinese word for the emotion of grief is more often *bei* 悲. It is further notable that in the table of contents of the *cibua* recension, the title of Chapter 60 has *anqi* 暗氣 instead of *qi* alone. This not only justifies Roy’s use of the word “suppressed” in his translation, but also highlights the emotional connotation of the word *qi* even better; see Xiaoxiao sheng 笑笑生, *Jin Ping Mei cibua* 金瓶梅詞話 (Tokyo: Tai’an kabushiki geisha, 1963), 1: 11. For a general note on the discrepancy between the chapter titles in the table of contents of both recensions and those in the novel proper, see Xiaofei Tian, *Qiusuitang lun Jin Ping Mei* 秋水堂論金瓶梅, rev. ed. (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2002), 13.

⁸⁶ The charlatan is called Zhao Daogui 趙搗鬼 (Zhao the Quack) in the *cibua* recension, but Zhao Longgang 趙龍崗 in the Chongzhen recension instead. I have adopted Roy’s translation of the charlatan’s former appellation in Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.35.

venereal disease. But your suggestion that it might be a case of irregular menstruation is a little more reasonable.”⁸⁷

說道：「非傷寒則為雜症，不是產後，定然胎前。」西門慶道：「不是此疾。先生你再仔細診一診」趙先生道：「敢是飽悶傷食飲饌多了。」西門慶道：「他連日飯食通不十分進。」趙先生又道：「莫不是黃病。」西門慶道：「不是。」又道：「多管是脾虛洩瀉。」西門慶道：「也不是洩疾。」趙先生道：「不洩瀉，卻是怎麼？」。。。坐想了半日，說道：「我想起來了，不是便毒魚口，定然是經水不調勻。」西門慶道：「女婦人，那裡便毒魚口來，你說這經事不調倒有些近理。」

Although Dr. Zhao ends in vaguely guessing the concubine's symptoms, Ximen Qing's constant rejections manifest the preposterousness of his diagnoses. Afterward, the charlatan writes a prescription for Li Ping'er, on which Old Man He remarks: "To treat her with drugs such as these ... would only be to medicate her to death" 這等藥吃了，不藥殺人了。⁸⁸

This remark further exposes Dr. Zhao as a quack, whose misdiagnoses even the non-medically trained Ximen Qing recognizes as nonsense.⁸⁹ Intertextually resonant with a scene from Li Kaixian's 李開先 (1501-1568) play entitled *Baojian ji* 寶劍記 (Tale of the Precious Sword), this episode contrasts the first three physicians' diagnostic emphasis on anger in Li Ping'er's illness with the charlatan's reticence about the emotion.⁹⁰ "Instead of insulting

⁸⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1223; Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 61.2019-20; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.38.

⁸⁸ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 61.2020; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.39; Old Man He understates the effect of the prescription as *tailangdu* 太狼毒 in the Chongzhen recension; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1223.

⁸⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1223; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.40.

⁹⁰ For the corresponding scene in Li Kaixian's 李開先 (1501-1568) *Baojian ji* 寶劍記; see Fu Xihua 傅惜華, ed., *Shuibu xiquji: Di er ji* 水滸戲曲集：第二集 (Beijing: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 51-52. For discussion of the intertextual relation between this episode and the scene, see Hanan, "Sources of the *Chin P'ing Mei*," *Asia Major* n.s. 10.1 (1963): 50-55; Katherine Carlitz, *The Rhetoric of Chin P'ing Mei* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 125. Since the play may be "based on earlier dramatic versions," I hold "resonance" to be a more accurate description of its intertextual linkage to the novel; see Tian Yuan Tan, *Songs of Contentment and Transgression: Discharged Officials and Literati Communities in Sixteenth-Century North China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 203.

doctors and their kinds” 非借此罵岐黃流也, to use Zhang Zhupo’s words, the charlatan’s presence in fact serves to reinforce the medical authority of the three other physicians.⁹¹ On the other hand, Dr. Zhao’s misdiagnosis of Li Ping’er paves the way for debunking Ximen Qing’s understanding of the concubine’s illness, since the charlatan figures as a mirror image of the male protagonist.⁹² In the *cibua* recension, Dr. Zhao begins introducing himself by curiously specifying his dwelling “outside the East Gate, on the First Alley, beyond the Tempe of the Second Scion (Erlang shen), across the Three Bends Bridge, in the Quarter of the Four Wells” 家居東門外，頭條巷二郎廟三轉橋四眼井住的。⁹³ Apart from his clever play of numerical words, the charlatan’s note on the Quarter of the Four Wells is especially noteworthy. For it is not only where the country estate of nobody other than Ximen Qing is located, but more significantly, also where the male protagonist’s appellation *siquan* 四泉 (Four Springs) originates.⁹⁴ This subtle association hints at Dr. Zhao’s mirroring of Ximen Qing. By extension, the charlatan’s misdiagnosis simultaneously casts doubt on the male protagonist’s perspective on Li Ping’er’s deadly sickness.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1222. Alternatively, Zhang Zhupo understands this episode from the perspective of the aesthetic effect of the charlatan’s visit. More specifically, the commentator holds that the charlatan’s misdiagnosis livens up the chaotic ambience surrounding the concubine’s impending death and diminishes potential narrative monotony. It resonates with the note on the carnivalesque elements of “gaiety and laughter” commonly observable in the macabre ambience enshrouding funeral rites in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 74. Zhang Zhupo may have also suggested the internal diversity of male healers here; for a note on such diversity, see Cullen, “Patients and Healers,” 103, 115.

⁹² For the servants’ and the maids’ similar mirroring of their masters in the *JPM*, see Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*, 165.

⁹³ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 61.2018; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.35; this line is only in the *cibua* recension.

⁹⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.1015; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 51.243.

⁹⁵ My interpretation here differs from the acceptance of Ximen Qing’s understanding of Li Ping’er’s illness as reliable in Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 149.

But what has Ximen Qing been mistaken about regarding his favorite concubine's illness? To begin with, in contrast to the three authoritative physicians, his diagnosis of Li Ping'er makes no mention of anger at all. Rather, it is to the resultant sorrow from their son's death alone that he attributes her sickness. For instance, when his sworn brother Ying Bojue comes to inquire about the concubine's illness, Ximen Qing asserts in response that: "Ever since our young son died, she has been suffering from depression" 自從小兒沒了，著了憂戚。⁹⁶ When Xie Xida, another sworn brother of his, visits his house to inquire after Li Ping'er, Ximen Qing reiterates this diagnosis: "Our child is dead, but why not leave it at that? All she does is cry all night long, and it is this excess of depression that has brought on her illness" 孩子死了，隨他罷了，成夜只是哭，生生憂慮出病兒來了。⁹⁷ Therefore, Ximen Qing, similar to the charlatan, remains completely silent over Li Ping'er's anger, but exclusively highlights her *youqi* 憂戚 (depression) and *youliu* 憂慮 (depression). However, *you* 憂 (depression) and *nu* 怒 (anger) are two clearly distinctive emotions within the medical discourse contemporary to the *JPM*. According to Wu Kun's 吳昆 (1552-1620) *Yifang kao* 醫方考 (Researches on Medical Formulas, 1584), for instance, "anger damages the hepatic system, but sorrow overcomes anger; ... depression damages the pulmonary system, but joy overcomes depression" 怒傷肝，悲勝怒。。。。憂傷肺，喜勝憂。⁹⁸ Thus, not only do

⁹⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1219; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.32; translation modified. The *cihua* recension is slightly different in highlighting the extended duration of Li Ping'er's depression through the phrase *yixiang* 一向; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 61.2016.

⁹⁷ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 62.2024; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.46; I have substituted "depression" for "grief" in the translation in order to keep the consistency with the earlier translation of *youqi* 憂戚.

⁹⁸ Wu Kun, *Yifang kao*, 49: 3.68; for the significance of this work and the translation of its title and the corresponding passage, see Nathan Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," in *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in*

the two emotions impinge upon different organs, but also require different emotions for their dissolution. Considering its distinctive medical significance from that of depression, Ximen Qing's oversight of anger is glaring.

Moreover, the perspective of Ruyi'er, the wet nurse of Li Ping'er's son, on her mistress's malady throws Ximen Qing's neglect of the concubine's anger into sharper relief. More precisely, the wet nurse has singled out the prominent role of anger in triggering Li Ping'er's sickness. When Nun Wang comes to inquire after Li Ping'er and asks why the concubine has been so ill, the wet nurse immediately replies that: "Her ailment originally began as a result of suppressed anger" 原是氣惱上起的病.⁹⁹ Thus, Ruyi'er has inadvertently reached a consensus with the three authoritative physicians by foregrounding anger when explaining her mistress's malady. Admittedly, the wet nurse then confirms Ximen Qing's diagnosis of Li Ping'er as suffering from depression: "In the eighth month, her [Li Ping'er's] baby boy suffered a fright that left him in a bad way. The mistress suffered from depression day and night. ... Despite her expectations, he died. She can't help crying all day long, on top of which she is suffering from suppressed anger and suppressed resentment" 只因八月內，哥兒著了驚唬不好，娘晝夜憂戚。。。不想沒了，成日哭泣，又著了那暗氣暗惱在心裡。¹⁰⁰ Notably, the wet nurse has used exactly the same

Ancient China: Researches and Reflections (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 4-6. For a brief introduction to Wu Kun and his medical writings, see Guo Junshuang 郭君雙 et al., eds., *Wu Kun yixue quanshu* 吳昆醫學全書 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1999), 1; 569-71.

⁹⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1236; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.49.

¹⁰⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1236; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.49.

phrase *youqi* as Ximen Qing does when he talks to Ying Bojue earlier.¹⁰¹ However, she proceeds to again ascribe Li Ping'er's sickness to "suppressed anger and suppressed resentment," and thus, has highlighted the emotion of anger to a greater extent through repetition. Furthermore, the wet nurse pinpoints Pan Jinlian's constant provocations as the ultimate reason for Li Ping'er's vexation. When replying to Nun Wang's further inquiry, Ruyi'er explains that:

It is the Fifth Lady next door who has enraged our mistress. ... In the eighth month, after the little boy died, she [Pan Jinlian] took to 'pointing at the mulberry tree, but cursing the locust tree,' from her place next door, every day, expressing her gratification in a hundred different ways. Our mistress, in her room here, could hear everything she said perfectly clear. How could she help being angry? In any case, although she was secretly enraged, she didn't let the tears show. It's on account of this suppressed anger and suppressed resentment that she has developed this ailment.¹⁰²

俺娘都因為著了那邊五娘一口氣。。。八月裡哥兒死了，他每日那邊指桑樹，罵槐樹，百般稱快。俺娘這屋裡分明聽見，有個不惱的？左右背地裡氣，只是出眼淚。因此這樣暗氣暗惱，纔致了這一場病。

Accordingly, it is on Pan Jinlian's verbal enagement of Li Ping'er that the wet nurse persistently insists as the root of her mistress's malady.

In fact, it is hardly surprising that Ximen Qing remains unaware of Li Ping'er's chagrin at Pan Jinlian's repeated provocations.¹⁰³ After all, not only does Pan Jinlian always make sure to insult her arch-rival with innuendoes when their husband is away from home, but the writer has also hinted at Ximen Qing's ignorance of such enagement by consistently

¹⁰¹ For Ximen Qing's earlier use of *youqi*, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 61.1219; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 61.32.

¹⁰² Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1236; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.49; I have replaced the word "upset" in the translation with "enrage" to render the first two *qi* for the sake of consistency.

¹⁰³ Another case that evidences the limited perspective of Ximen Qing is his ignorance of Wu Yueniang's first pregnancy and subsequent miscarriage; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 33.682-83; Roy, *The Plum*, 2: 33.331-32; cited in Cullen, "Patients and Healers," 129.

highlighting his simultaneous absence. For instance, the first time when she tries to verbally provoke Li Ping'er by beating the maid Qiuju, Pan Jinlian has temporarily curbed her rage, "fearing that Ximen Qing would hear her" 又恐西門慶聽見.¹⁰⁴ The narrator notes that it is not until "the next day, when Ximen Qing had gone off to the yamen" 到次日, 西門慶衙門中去了, that Pan Jinlian resumes her indirect insults at her rival while giving the maid a violent beating.¹⁰⁵ Later, when Pan Jinlian again enrages Li Ping'er by shocking the latter's son with the noises of beating a dog and the same maid, the narrator duly attends to Ximen Qing's presence "in the house across the street" 在對門房子裡.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, these narrative details foreground the concurrence of Ximen Qing's absence with Pan Jinlian's provocation of Li Ping'er, and by extension, hint at his resultant unawareness of his favorite concubine's anger.

Moreover, the wet nurse's further diagnosis of her mistress acts as a foil for another problem in Ximen Qing's understanding of Li Ping'er's malady besides his neglect of her anger. That is, he remains ignorant of the deadly effect of the concubine's silent fuming upon herself. Having attributed her mistress's illness to suppressed anger, Ruyi'er complains to Nun Wang that: "When one is suffering from suppressed anger, it helps to discuss it with someone else, but the mistress won't let anything out. No matter how hard you press her on the subject, she won't say a word about it" 是人家有些氣惱兒, 對人前分解分解也還

¹⁰⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.829; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.15. The *cihua* recension highlights Ximen Qing's presence at Li Ping'er's quarter; see Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 41.1823. The neighboring positioning of Pan Jinlian's quarter to that of Li Ping'er forms the spatial conditioning for Jinlian's abusive and enraging soundscape.

¹⁰⁵ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.829-30; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.15.

¹⁰⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 58.1146; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 58.443.

好，娘又不出語，著緊問還不說哩。¹⁰⁷ Hence, the wet nurse teased out the role of not only anger, but more significantly, the silent containment of the emotion, in her mistress's lethal malady. Later, Ximen Qing invites Daoist Master Pan to his house as the last resort to save the concubine's life.¹⁰⁸ When all Daoist rituals prove futile, Ximen Qing lamentingly praises Li Ping'er for *buchuyu* 不出語 (not to let anything out) in front of his main wife Wu Yueniang.¹⁰⁹ One commentator for the Chongzhen recension seizes on this complimentary remark and attributes Ximen Qing's preference of Li Ping'er over Pan Jinlian to nothing other than the former's reticence.¹¹⁰ However, neither the male protagonist nor the commentator has realized the deadliness of Li Ping'er's reticence. Ironically, Ximen Qing even uses the exact same phrase as the wet nurse does to praise the concubine's lethal silence. Therefore, considering its inherent oversight of both her anger and silent anger-repression, his understanding of Li Ping'er's sickness at best amounts to another misdiagnosis.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1236; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.49.

¹⁰⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1246; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.61.

¹⁰⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1251; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.71; translation modified for the purpose of consistency.

¹¹⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1251. The commentator's affirmation of female silence echoes his earlier advocacy of the importance of *sanjian* 三緘 when commenting on Ximen Qing's furious response to Pan Jinlian's debasing remark on Guan'ge as merely the son of a concubine; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 2: 41.826-27; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 41.11-12. The phrase *sanjian* means constant reticence and originally describes the silence of Confucius; see Lu Yuanjun 盧元駿, ed., *Sbuoyuan jinzhū jinyi* 說苑今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), 10.339. For another attribution by this commentator of Ximen Qing's preference of Li Ping'er to her silence and incapacity for disputation, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.1000-1.

¹¹¹ It is noteworthy that Ximen Qing himself, when approaching his death, is similarly subject to a series of misdiagnoses. Nobody has attributed his sickness to his excessive sexual indulgence with Pan Jinlian. Some have proposed such factors as *chunqi* 春氣, *tanhuo* 痰火, *xinku laolu* 辛苦勞碌, or *biandu* 便毒 as the causes, while others blame Lady Lin and Wang Liu'er for Ximen Qing's deadly illness; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 4: 79.1686, 79.1688, 79.1690-93; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 79.630, 79.645-50. For the observation

Apart from problematizing Ximen Qing's take on the concubine's malady, Ruyi'er's words have simultaneously cast doubts upon the medical discourse that the three authoritative physicians embody. Firstly, when diagnosing her mistress, the wet nurse assumes an etiological perspective that contrasts with the pathological one of the three physicians. That is to say, rather than exclusively focusing on the bodily impacts of Li Ping'er's emotions, as the authoritative physicians have done, Ruyi'er pays more attention to what give rise to the emotional responses that cause her mistress's deadly illness.¹¹² Most pertinently, the wet nurse has repeatedly ascertained Pan Jinlian's provocation as the source of Li Ping'er's silent vexation, about which all the authoritative physicians notably remain reticent.¹¹³ Admittedly, one can easily explain this difference away by pointing out either the wet nurse's ignorance of specialized medical knowledge, or the physicians' unawareness of the two concubines' daily communication.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, it is still undeniable that the writer has not only presented the wet nurse's extensive explanations for Li Ping'er's malady, but more significantly, also used them to alert the reader to the etiological factor of Pan Jinlian's provocation that is absent from all the other diagnoses. By extension, the wet

that Ximen Qing's family members are "unaware of the true cause of his final illness," see Cullen, "Patients and Healers," 133.

¹¹² I use the word "etiological" to stress the causes of illness, while the word "pathological" the bodily effects of maladies; for the two words' distinctive emphases, see *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "aetiology/etiology," accessed December 11, 2019, <https://www-oed-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/view/Entry/3268?redirectedFrom=etiology#eid>; s.v. "pathology," accessed December 11, 2019, <https://www-oed-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/view/Entry/138805?redirectedFrom=pathology#eid>.

¹¹³ This difference resonates with that between "knowledge of the patient's human relations" and "knowledge of the body;" see Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," 4.

¹¹⁴ For instance, "women are alienated from male medical practice by the fact that the male *taiji* physicians use a technical language that is not the cultural possession of women;" see Cullen, "Patients and Healers," 130.

nurse's diagnosis further suggests the impossibility of curing her mistress merely through pathological contemplation without proper etiological consideration. A medical case from Wu Kun's *Yifang kao*, a work roughly contemporary with the *JPM*, again proves conducive to elucidating this point:

After a girl was betrothed, her husband-to-be went away on business for two years without returning. Because of this she did not eat, and miserably took to her bed as though lovesick. She had no other symptoms, but lay there all day facing the wall. Her father invited Zhu Zhenheng to treat her, and told him how it had come about. After Zhu read her pulse he said to her father: "This is an instance of *qi* congealed because of longing. It cannot be cured with medicines alone. But if something made her joyous it might clear up. Lacking that, let us make her angry." Without further ado [the father?] slapped her face and accused her of being involved with someone else. At that she became very angry, weeping and sobbing for six hours. When [Zhu] let [her father] explain [what had happened], she asked for food. The reason for this is that with sorrow her *qi* dissipated, but the anger overcame her worry. Zhu said to her father: "Although her illness has remitted, only joy will cure it." [The father] arranged for her fiancé to return. After this happened, as predicted, her illness did not recur.¹¹⁵

一女許昏後，夫經商二年不歸。因不食，困臥如癡。無他病，竟日向壁而臥。其父迎丹溪翁治之，告以故。翁脈畢，謂其父曰：「此思則氣結也。藥難獨治，得喜可解。不然，令其怒。」於是掌其面，誣以外情，果大怒而號泣者三時，令解之，即求食矣。所以然者，悲則氣消，怒則勝思故也。翁謂其父曰：「病雖瘥，得喜方已。」乃諭以夫回，既而果然，疾亦不舉。

In this widely cited case, the woman fell ill due to congealed *qi* that resulted from her worries about her fiancé, a merchant who had been away for two years.¹¹⁶ To alleviate her symptoms, the renowned physician Zhu Danxi 朱丹溪 (1281-1358) prescribed the enragement of the

¹¹⁵ Wu Kun, *Yifang kao*, 49: 3.71-72; Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," 10; also see the same page of Sivin's article for a note on an alternative version of this case in the *Danxi yi'an* 丹溪醫案. It is notable that the *Danxi yi'an* is apocryphally attributed to Zhu Danxi; see Tian Sisheng 田思勝 et al., eds., *Zhu Danxi yixue quanshu* 朱丹溪醫學全書 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2006), 1.

¹¹⁶ For other discussion of this case, see Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 61-62; Chen Hsiu-fen, "Between Passion and Repression," 55-56. Although "medical services were sought for women most often where their fertility or reproductive health was at stake," it is not certain whether this woman's illness in this case is related to the consequent lack of reproduction from her husband's absence; see Charlotte Furth, "Solitude, Silence, and Concealment: Boundaries of the Social Body in Ming Dynasty China," in *Chinese Concepts of Privacy*, eds. Bonnie S. McDougall and Anders Hansson (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 29.

women according to the medical theory of *nu sheng si* 怒勝思 (anger overcomes worry).¹¹⁷ When she got better, however, he went on to assert the temporary nature of her recovery and highlight the necessity of joy for her full recuperation.¹¹⁸ Needless to say, it is her husband's return that would be the woman's greatest joy. And indeed, the husband eventually came back home toward the end of the case, which led to her complete convalescence.¹¹⁹ However, would the woman recover from her malady if her husband finally failed to return? In the context of *JPM*, the wet nurse's etiological attention, inadvertently or not, poses a similar question to the three physicians. That is, will Li Ping'er convalesce with the continuous presence of Pan Jinlian's persistent provocation, the ultimate etiological factor that is equivalent to the husband's absence in Wu Kun's medical case? Hence, the wet nurse's etiological perspective conduces to a critique of the preoccupation with the pathological impacts of emotions within the medical discourse surrounding the novel. The contrast of the wet nurse's diagnosis with that of the authoritative physicians even features a meta-discursive quality, since it parallels with the distinction of the emphasis on the "distinct exogenous origins" of illness in the vernacular medical tradition from that on "internal issues of emotion and thought" in the elite medical tradition.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Wu Kun, *Yifang kao*, 3.68, 70; Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," 6, 10. Notably, anger is most frequently resorted to for curative purposes in the "Qingzhi" 情志 section of *Yifang kao*; see the summarizing chart of the eleven medical cases from this section in Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," 13. For another medical case on the contribution of anger to dissolving grief in the *Shishan yi'an* 石山醫案, see Cullen, "Patients and Healers," 131.

¹¹⁸ Wu Kun, *Yifang kao*, 3.70; Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," 10.

¹¹⁹ Wu Kun, *Yifang kao*, 3.71; Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," 10.

¹²⁰ Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 190; for a similar distinction between the location of "powerful forces and influences outside the individual" in possession cultures and that of Euro-American culture "within the individual," see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 117. For another resonant observation of how the threatening others are located internal or external to the self, see Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London: Routledge, 1981), 58-60.

A further critique of the medical discourse arises from the wet nurse's stress upon how Li Ping'er copes with anger that is again absent from the three physicians' diagnoses. This crucial difference helps solve the conundrum of why the arguably angrier Pan Jinlian remains robust in the *JPM*, whereas the emotion proves highly deadly to Li Ping'er instead. The authoritative physicians clearly fail to provide a satisfactory answer with their pathological considerations, but the wet nurse sheds pivotal light on this issue by paying attention to her mistress's silent anger-containment. In her diagnosis of Li Ping'er's illness cited above, not only has Ruyi'er held verbal ventilation to be effective in dissolving anger, but also contrasted her mistress's silent fuming with Pan Jinlian's incessant venting through insults insinuations, and innuendoes.¹²¹ As noted previously, Pan Jinlian, however, has in no way limited her ways of airing furies to the verbal approach alone. Indeed, apart from physically torturing Qiuju, she has also given a good beating to nobody other than the wet nurse shortly after Li Ping'er passes away.¹²² In stark contrast, Li Ping'er still prizes her own reticence even on her deathbed, claiming that: "Though Heaven does not speak, it is obvious that it is high; though Earth does not speak, it is apparent that it is low" 天不言而自高, 地不言而自厚.¹²³ The concubine has thus remained ironically unaware of the underlying role of her silent fuming in her impending death. But as Ruyi'er's diagnosis suggests, it is not just anger that leads to Li Ping'er's death; the concubine's reticent repression of anger also plays a critical part. The wet nurse's perspective unveils the insufficiency of the medical discourse

¹²¹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1236; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.49.

¹²² Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 4: 72.1461-63; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 72.343-45; this episode involves the two women's struggle for a laundry bat and reveals Pan Jinlian's fear for the fertile wet nurse's potential pregnancy; see Ding, *Obscene Things*, 217.

¹²³ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1237; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.50.

that the authoritative physicians represent in merely focusing on the bodily implications of emotions. Complementarily, her explanations have laid emphases on both the etiological causes to her mistress's deadly anger and the concubine's silent containment of the emotion.

Indeed, Ruyi'er's diagnosis of Li Ping'er may be equally open to doubt, but certain narrative details and commentarial remarks have mitigated the potential unreliability of the wet nurse's words and affirmed their validity. The concubine's response to the wet nurse's diagnosis serves as a case in point. Having overheard what Ruyi'er tells Nun Wang, Li Ping'er immediately stops and scolds the wet nurse: "Don't be such an old woman. Why should you criticize her [Pan Jinlian] for no good reason? I'm already as good as dead. Let her [Pan Jinlian] do as she pleases" 你這老婆，平白只顧說他怎的？我已是死去的人了，隨他罷了。¹²⁴ Rather than dismissing them, the concubine's rhetorical question in fact betrays her agreement to the wet nurse's explanations. Not only do these words foreshadow Li Ping'er's impending death, but more importantly, also convey a sense of helplessness regarding Pan Jinlian's deadly enragement and persecutory provocation. Besides her mistress, Zhang Zhupo also concurs with Ruyi'er, calling the wet nurse Li Ping'er's *zhixinzhe* 知心者 (one who knows [her] heart) when she prioritizes anger as a crucial reason for the concubine's illness.¹²⁵ Indeed, the commentator has similarly teased out Li Ping'er's silent anger-repression as her *binggen* 病根 (root of sickness) on an earlier occasion, when she fails to utter a word upon hearing Dajie's report of Pan Jinlian's instigation of Wu Yueniang

¹²⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1237; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.50.

¹²⁵ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1236.

against herself mentioned above.¹²⁶ With her mistress's acquiescence and the commentator's concurrence, the wet nurse's diagnosis of Li Ping'er enjoys warranted reliability.

One last critique of the medical discourse from the *JPM* concerns the medical theory that champions the curative effects of marital sex upon the female body.¹²⁷ A corroborating case seems to be how Li Ping'er's recovers from her malady that has resulted from her dream intercourses with fox spirits.¹²⁸ Indeed, she does not convalesce until she meets Jiang Zhushan, one of her husbands.¹²⁹ Moreover, when praising his sexual prowess, Li Ping'er has repeatedly compared Ximen Qing to "what the doctor ordered for her" 醫奴的藥, not only before, but more significantly, also after their marriage.¹³⁰ Her simile appears to further confirm the adoption of the medical theory on marital sex in the novel. However, considering the silencing effect of sex upon Li Ping'er, a trenchant sense of irony emerges out of her comparison. As analyzed above, Ximen Qing's sexual competency in effect contributes to silencing his favorite concubine, whose reticence, as her primary way of dealing with anger, in turn proves deadly.¹³¹ Rather than a full-hearted embrace, the thread from sex through silence to her death in fact questions the healing effects of marital sex within the medical discourse. Instead of mirroring its surrounding medical episteme, the *JPM*

¹²⁶ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 51.1000.

¹²⁷ Chen, "Between Passion and Repression," 57.

¹²⁸ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 17.375-76; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 17.348-49.

¹²⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 17.376; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 17.349.

¹³⁰ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 17.370, 19.424; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 17.340, 19.399. For an interpretation of how this recurrent metaphor frames Jiang Zhushan's ghostly presence, see Shang, "Fushi xiaoshuo," 47-48.

¹³¹ For a perceptive remark on Ximen Qing's underlying role in Li Ping'er's death, see Xiaofei Tian, *Qiusuitang*, 54.

has posed penetrating critiques of its pathological preoccupation, oversight of anger-coping approaches, and celebration of curative marital sex.

Concluding Thoughts

In reference to the discourse on the four obsessions, the *JPM* is groundbreaking for paying considerable attention to women's propensity for *qi*, particularly through representing their anger. Positing Pan Jinlian and Li Ping'er as a contrastive pair, the novelist has explored women's diverse ways of coping with the emotion and suggested how sexual satisfaction, or lack thereof, relates to the adoption of such varied approaches. The novel further demonstrates how different approaches to anger exert impacts upon the female body, especially via the case of Li Ping'er. Various strands of diagnostic discourse revolve around her deadly malady and contend with each other, pinpointing not only anger as the cause of her illness, but also what leads to her silent fuming in the first place. Such discursive contestation, furthermore, reconfigures the novel with regard to its surrounding medical episteme. That is, the *JPM* amounts to more a challenge to than a reflection of its contemporary medical discourse, despite its extensive incorporation of medical knowledge.

Chapter Six

Matrimony, Trauma, and the Body: Angry Shrews in the *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*

In the last chapter, I have demonstrated, in reference to traditional Chinese medical discourse, the outstanding place that anger occupies in the lethal illness of Li Ping'er, one of the shrews in the sixteenth century novel *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (The Plum in the Golden Vase; hereafter *JPM*).¹ However, I have deliberately remained reticent about the retributive dimension of the shrew's deadly anger in my previous analysis.² To understand how her anger relates to retribution, it is necessary to tease out how Li Ping'er's malady is rooted in her maltreatments of Hua Zixu, one of her ex-husbands. When he returns home from prison, not only does she verbally abuse her then husband, as the last chapter analyzes, but also neglects him when he becomes bedridden.³ The narrator duly notes that Hua Zixu's malady is rooted in his "suffering from the ill effects of his rage" 得了這口重氣, which

¹ I follow Keith McMahon in using the word "shrew" to refer to the female character type designated as *pofu* 潑婦 or *hanfu* 悍婦 in colloquial fiction and drama of late imperial China; see McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists: Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 1, 10, 12-15, 55-81; see also the extensive study of this character type in Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago: A Literary Theme* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1995).

² For pertinent analyses of the role of retribution in Li Ping'er's illness, see Laurence G. Thompson, "Medicine and Religion in Late Ming China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18.1 (1990): 47, 50; Christopher Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China," *History of Science* 31.2 (1993): 135; Chen Hsiu-fen 陳秀芬, "Between Passion and Repression: Medical Views of Demon Dreams, Demonic Fetuses, and Female Sexual Madness in Late Imperial China" *Late Imperial China* 32.1 (2011): 72; for a caution against viewing "karmic causes [as] the most important, most meaningful, in understanding illness" and an effort in emphasizing the abundant medical information in the novel, see Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature, and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 152.

³ Liu Hui 劉輝 and Wu Gan 吳敢, *Huiping huijiao Jin Ping Mei* 會評會校金瓶梅, rev. ed. (Hong Kong: Tiandi tushu youxian gongsi, 2010), 1: 14.319-21; David T. Roy, trans., *The Plum in the Golden Vase, or Chin P'ing Mei* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993-2013), 1: 14.282-85.

partially result from Li Ping'er's mistreatment.⁴ Worsened by *fenghan* 風寒 (an acute intestinal fever), his health quickly deteriorates, and soon, he “Succumbs to Rage and Loses His Life” 花子虛因氣喪身, as the title of Chapter 14 makes clear.⁵ In the *cihua* recension of the novel, a verse again singles out the husband's anger and foreshadows his retributive revenge on his wife: “Hua Zixu became so engorged with rage [that] his tender guts gave away; but another day, in the court of the underworld, he would be revenged” 子虛氣塞柔腸斷, 他日冥司必報讎.⁶ Similar to the case of Li Ping'er, therefore, the emotion has also played a prominent role in Hua Zixu's death. Later when she becomes severely ill, Li Ping'er constantly sees her late husband's ghost, whose haunting presence clearly indicates the retributive cause to her lethal malady.⁷ As the title of Chapter 60 in the Cihua recension reveals, “Li Ping'er Succumbs to Anger and Becomes Ill” 李瓶兒因氣惹病.⁸ Notably, this chapter title shares exactly the same phrase *yinqi* 因氣 (to succumb to anger/rage) with that of Chapter 14 cited above, in which Hua Zixu passes away.⁹ The recurrent phrase subtly

⁴ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.321; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.285; Ximen Qing, Li Ping'er's then lover, also leaves her husband “giddy with rage” 氣的發昏 by avoiding meeting Hua Zixu to discuss the expenses for getting Hua out of prison; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.320; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.284.

⁵ For Hua Zixu's death, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.321; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.285. For the chapter title, see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.313; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.274; I have replaced the word “chagrin” in Roy's translation with “rage” to render *qi* for the sake of consistency with both earlier translations and that of the title in Chapter 60. For an alternative translation of *shanghan* 傷寒 as “Cold Damage Disorder” and a brief introduction to this disease, see Cullen, “Patients and Healers,” 135.

⁶ Qin Xiurong 秦修容, *Jin Ping Mei: Huiping huijiao ben* 金瓶梅：會評會校本 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 3: 14.1639.

⁷ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 3: 62.1233-34, 1250; Roy, *The Plum*, 4: 62.45-47, 68.

⁸ Qin Xiurong, *Jin Ping Mei*, 3: 60.2000; Roy, *The Plum*, 3: 60.489; translation modified for the sake of consistency with that of the title of Chapter 14.

⁹ Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 14.313; Roy, *The Plum*, 1: 14.274.

links Li Ping'er's lethal anger to her then husband's deadly rage in both linguistic and emotional terms. Thus, anger has figured as the paramount emotional agent that inflicts the retributive punishment on the shrew, serving to correlate karmic retribution with her body. In this sense, the emotion proves not only deadly, but also fatal.

A seventeenth-century novel entitled *Xingshi yinyuan zhuàn* 醒世姻緣傳 (Marriage as Retribution, Awakening the World; hereafter *Xingshi*) similarly entwines anger with karmic retribution and the body, primarily through the figure of the shrew.¹⁰ This later work relates a pair of story cycles revolving around two groups of characters that karmic reincarnation binds together. The first cycle starts with the male protagonist Chao Yuan's killing of a fox fairy during a hunting trip.¹¹ Then, his wife, née Ji, commits suicide, since his concubine Zhen'ge fallaciously accuses her of committing adultery with a Buddhist monk and a Daoist priest.¹² Finally, Chao Yuan gets murdered as a result of the revenge of the fairy's ghost.¹³ The other story cycle mainly recounts how Xue Sujie and Tong Jijie, the fox fairy and Ms. Ji's respective reincarnations, abuse and torture their husband Di Xichen, the reincarnated Chao Yuan, in their next life.¹⁴ Earlier scholarship has well documented the considerable

¹⁰ For this translation of the novel's title, see Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire and the Seventeenth-Century Chinese Novel, Xingshi yinyuanzhuàn – Marriage as Retribution, Awakening the World* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), ix.

¹¹ Xizhou sheng 西周生, *Xingshi yinyuan zhuàn* 醒世姻緣傳 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014), 1: 17-21; unless otherwise noted, I will refer to this edition in the following discussion thanks to its careful annotation and collation.

¹² These episodes form the core of Chapters 8 and 9 in the *Xingshi*.

¹³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 19.264.

¹⁴ For alternative summaries of the novel, see Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 145; Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 121-22; for a more detailed chapter-by-chapter synopsis of the novel, see Yenna Wu, *Ameliorative Satire*, 303-55.

influence of *JPM* on the *Xingshi*. For example, Martin W. Huang reads the later novel as a response to the earlier one based on their similar concern with individual desire, shared intertextual linkages, and reversed structural organizations.¹⁵ Having summarized the thematic, structural, and stylistic resemblance between the two novels, Maram Epstein concludes that: “*Xingshi* ... surpasses *Jin Ping Mei* in the depiction of conjugal violence and a wife’s relentless and sadistic cruelty toward her husband.”¹⁶ I will further point out that the episodes that bear witness to a shrew’s torments of her henpecked husband, along with his family members, are simultaneously infused with her furies.¹⁷ Nonetheless, as for the *Xingshi*, the relations of the shrews’ anger to both karmic retribution and the body have so far fallen outside the scholarly purview, not to mention a nuanced comparison of the novel with the *JPM* regarding the treatment of such relations.

In the following discussion, I will first fill the lacuna in the connection between the shrews’ anger and karmic retribution by focusing on two motifs in the *Xingshi*. As its title indicates, marriages in the novel function to signal the karmic bonds. But there remains the question of how matrimony realizes retributive justice. or to recall the title, “awakens the world.” One way, I will contend, is through the trope of following matrimonial occasions immediately with the shrews’ outburst of rage within a same chapter. Closely juxtaposed with marriages, a shrew’s anger leads to either the direct abuse of her reincarnated nemesis, or the deadly enagement of the patriarchs and matriarchs within her husband’s household and that of her own. Such disastrous consequences evidence the role of the emotion in

¹⁵ Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 144-53; for another observation of the intertextual association between the two novels, see McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists*, 74-75.

¹⁶ Epstein, *Competing Discourses*, 123.

¹⁷ For an observation of the shrew Xue Sujie as “a scourge to her in-laws and the community,” see Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago*, 112.

inflicting karmic retribution. A second motif that I will focus on is the inexplicability of the shrews' anger. I will argue that, on the one hand, the shrews' repeated emphases on their emotional opacity add a traumatic dimension to the founding moments of their karmic entanglements. On the other hand, these recurrent notes highlight the impacts of such traumatic experiences before reincarnation upon the shrews, recuperating the female perspective on their own emotional states. Lastly, I will examine how the shrews' anger relates to the body, the prime site that sees their enactment of karmic retribution via the emotion. A shrew's anger may impinge upon the body of both herself and her victims in an array of forms, including cannibalistic violence, castration, penetration, and possession.

After Marriages: The Shrews' Anger and Karmic Retribution

One major function of matrimony in the *Xingshi* is to tie up karmic linkages established in the characters' pre-reincarnated lives. As Di Xichen's dream trip to the underworld reveals at the end of the novel, King Yama "made [Chao Yuan and the reincarnated fox fairy as] husband and wife to balance the grievances in their earlier life" 以為夫婦，以便報復前讎.¹⁸ Similarly, because Chao Yuan "favored his concubine and ignored his main wife, forcing Ms. Ji to commit suicide by hanging herself" 他寵妾棄婦，逼勒計氏吊死, Tong Jijie, Ms. Ji's reincarnation, "should marry Di Xichen as his concubine in this [post-reincarnated] life to balance the grievances" 合該今生為他的側室，以便照樣還冤.¹⁹ However, matrimony has functioned as a balancing mechanism that enables the karmic retributions beyond those between the husband and his wives. A case in point is Tong Jijie's

¹⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 100.1332.

¹⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 100.1332.

abuse of her maid Zhenzhu (meaning “Pearl”). Di Xichen’s marriage with the concubine creates the opportunity for him to purchase the maid as part of his dowry.²⁰ According to King Yama, “Little Pearl is precisely the concubine Zhen’ge that Di Xichen favored in his earlier life. [Zhen’ge] slandered the main wife so that Ms. Ji hanged herself with grievances” 小珍珠即狄希陳前生所寵之妾小珍哥，誣謗嫡妻計氏，致計氏懷忿縊死。²¹ Indeed, the homophonous association of Tong Jijie’s name with that of Ms. Ji and the shared character between Zhenzhu and Zhen’ge’s names betray their respective reincarnate correspondence. Therefore, matrimony in the novel has served to not only converge various parties to a karmic connection, but also facilitate the realization of retributive justice.

Notably, the weddings frequently occasion the bride’s change of disposition in the *Xingshi*, transforming her from a demure maiden to an angry shrew. For instance, Xue Sujie’s marriage to Di Xichen initiates the change of her temper. On the night immediately before her marriage, Xue Sujie’s father, in front of his whole household, didactically instructs his daughter to abide by the orthodox conception of female virtues.²² The emotion of anger recurrently figures as a preeminent focus of his cautions. He asks his daughter to “neither get angry with [her sister-in-law] whatsoever” 千萬不要合他合氣, nor incur her husband’s anger.²³ Citing her aunt’s case, he admonishes Xue Sujie against being jealous or affronting her parents-in-law.²⁴ Having received his pre-marital instructions, Xue Sujie goes to bed and

²⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1004.

²¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 100.1332.

²² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.590.

²³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.591-92.

²⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.592-93.

dreams that the fox fairy's ghost replaces her *haoxin* 好心 (good heart) with another one.²⁵ As the chapter title indicates, “it was not until her dreamed heart replacement that [the bride] turned into a shrewish wife” 夢換心方成惡婦.²⁶ Afterwards, the emotion of anger again stands out and signals her changed temperament. Upon seeing the wedding host in her marriage chamber, Xue Sujie immediately “harbored a full belly of resentment and fuming” 厭的一肚悶氣.²⁷ When the host recites some passages with erotic suggestions, the bride “became so angry that she paled after blushing, and blushed after paling, ... getting greatly vexed in her heart” 氣得那臉上紅了白，白了紅的，。。。心中甚是惱悶。²⁸ In case he utters other vulgar words, Xue Sujie finally loses her temper and loudly urges her maids to drive the host away.²⁹ Not only has the bride's response surprised the host, who in turn claims her to possess “a fierce temper” 烈燥的性子, but also shocks her servants, according to whom she has “never raised her voice at home” 家裡要句高聲言語也沒有。³⁰ If the host's ritual improprieties still seem to justify her initial irritation, the emotion then proves intriguingly ungrounded when she taunts her brothers, who have come into her chamber to say goodbye, and rebuts her mother's admonition soon after the marriage.³¹ Thus, the

²⁵ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.594.

²⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.586.

²⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.595.

²⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.596.

²⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.597.

³⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.597.

³¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.598; rather than Xue Sujie's biological mother, this is in fact the main wife of her father; for an explanation of Xue Sujie's family structure from the perspective of concubinage, see

outbreak of Xue Sujie's anger closely coincides with her wedding and paves the way for her subsequent subversion of the familial orders not just in her own household, but in that of her husband as well.

Similarly marking her changed disposition, Tong Jijie's marriage to Di Xichen further demonstrates how matrimony mobilizes karmic retribution through a shrew's ensuing anger in the *Xingshi*. As noted earlier, it is for this marriage that Di Xichen procures the maid Pearl for his concubine-to-be three days before their wedding in the capital.³² As a result, the matrimony has bound the reincarnations of Chao Yuan, his wife Ms. Ji, and his concubine Zhen'ge together. The moment she marries into Di Xichen's family and spots Pearl, Tong Jijie immediately "viewed the maid as her foe" 就如仇人相見一般.³³ The originally meek concubine becomes so angry that she abuses the maid and "did not lay eyes on her" 正眼也不看他.³⁴ Thus, not only has Tong Jijie's marriage triggered her transformation into an angry shrew, as in the case of Xue Sujie, but also enables the concubine to inflict karmic retribution via her anger. Within the same chapter, there immediately follows a message from Di Xichen's hometown about his main wife's outburst of rage there. Accordingly, Xue Sujie has become furious over the recent birth of Di Xichen's younger brother.³⁵ So incensed is the shrew that she has not only attempted to shock the baby to death by creating a

Yifeng Zhao, "Concubinage in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature: A Historical Study of *Xing-shi yin-yuan zhuan*," *Past Imperfect* 4 (1995): 61.

³² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 76.1004.

³³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1004-5.

³⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1005.

³⁵ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1005.

cacophony, but also alleged that he is not her father-in-law's child.³⁶ Consequently, her father-in-law "suffered from anger because of these and became bedridden, whose situation was rather urgent" 狄員外因此受氣，得病不起，勢甚危急。³⁷ When Di Xichen returns home from the capital and tries to dissuade her from provoking his father, Xue Sujie explicitly heeds her deliberate enragement of her father-in-law, asserting that: "If I'm concerned that he's angry, I'll be quiet! I just want him to be angry" 我怕他生氣，我就不說了！我正待叫他生氣哩！³⁸ In other words, she has targeted her anger precisely at the patriarch, instrumentalizing the emotion for his devastation. Eventually, the shrew's furious beating of her husband adds the last straw to her father-in-law's severe sickness.³⁹ With her rage, she succeeds in destabilizing the familial order of her husband's household. In the same chapter, Xue Sujie's outburst of anger, along with that of Tong Jijie, closely follows the concubine's marriage to Di Xichen and forms a marriage-rage sequence that enacts the karmic retribution.

The marriage of Di Qiaojie, Di Xichen's sister, to Xue Rujian, one of Xue Sujie's brothers, again bears witness to the narrative sequence. At first glance, this marriage seems only indirectly pertinent to Di Xichen's karmic entwinement with Xue Sujie, merely reinforcing the entanglement of both households. Nevertheless, their wedding immediately precedes another outbreak of the shrew's anger. In this light, it is precisely the tenuous pertinence of Di Qiaojie's marriage to her brother's karmic imbroglio that evidences the

³⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1005.

³⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1005.

³⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1007.

³⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1008.

narrative design of succeeding weddings with a shrew's anger to actualize karmic retribution in the *Xingshi*. Initially, although those in the Xue household worry whether she will be as shrewish as Xue Sujie, Di Qiaojie turns out to be a model wife and daughter-in-law, "treating her parents-in-law as her own parents, her sisters-in-law as her sisters, and forming a harmonious relationship with her husband" 事奉翁姑即如自己的父母，待那妯娌即如待自己的嫂嫂一般，夫妻和睦。⁴⁰ Hence, Di Qiaojie's marriage starkly contrasts with that of her brother, which is fraught with wrath and violence. Notably, after describing Di Qiaojie's benign influences on the familial relations of the Xue household, the narrator, still within the same chapter, abruptly shifts the focus to Xue Sujie's anger and provocation of her mother-in-law. Having previously enraged Di Xichen's mother into paralysis,⁴¹ the shrew, "with a good knowledge that anger was the greatest weakness of her mother-in-law's illness, provoked her even more" 曉得婆婆這病最怕的是那氣惱，他愈要使那婆婆生氣。⁴² One day, Xue Sujie sees Di Xichen talking with his father's concubine as well as a servant's wife, and instantly suspects that he is involved in an illicit affair with the two women.⁴³ As a result, the shrew flies into rage and violently tortures her husband.⁴⁴ When hearing her son's calls for help, Di Xichen's mother "couldn't help feeling vexed" 不由的發

⁴⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.791.

⁴¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 56.745.

⁴² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.792.

⁴³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.793.

⁴⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.793; more on the implications of the way in which Xue Sujie tortures Di Xichen below.

起躁來。⁴⁵ She passes away on the spot upon seeing her son's miserable suffering from Xue Sujie's torments.⁴⁶ After learning about his daughter's provocation of her mother-in-law to death, the shrew's father becomes so vexed that he soon passes away in the same chapter as well.⁴⁷ Therefore, the shrew has managed to eliminate both her own father and mother-in-law through her furies at one stroke. The emotion again ensues from a marriage closely, imposing retributive punishment by eradicating the patriarchal and matriarchal authorities, and thus, undermining the power structure of both households.

As analyzed above, the narrative motif of preceding the shrews' outburst of anger with a wedding has linked the emotion to the infliction of karmic retribution in the novel. Furthermore, the shrews' anger has another feature that gestures toward the moment when their karmic connection is established in the first place, to which we will turn next.

Reframing an Encounter: The Shrews' Inexplicable Anger

Inexplicability stands out as a prominent feature of the shrews' anger in the *Xingshi*. The shrews repeatedly heed the unexplainable quality of their anger with those involved in the same karmic entanglement. A case in point emerges out of Xue Sujie's recurrent characterization of her furies toward her husband as unfathomable ever since their very first encounter. Prior to their engagement, Di Xichen often visits his wife-to-be's house with his father, but Xue Sujie, upon hearing of her future husband's arrival, always rushes to conceal herself.⁴⁸ However, her self-concealment does not arise from shyness or words, since she

⁴⁵ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.794.

⁴⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.794.

⁴⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.794.

⁴⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 25.343.

does not know at this point that they will later get married. When her mother asks why she hides, Xue Sujie replies that: “I don’t know why, but whenever I see him, I just can’t help feeling angry. That’s why I don’t want to see him” 我不知怎麼，但看見他，我便要生氣起來，所以我不耐煩見他。⁴⁹ This remark on her unaccountable fury toward Di Xichen occurs long before their wedding that seals their karmic intertwinement and keeps the reader in suspense as to why she gets angry.⁵⁰ After their marriage, the shrew even more frequently heeds the inexplicability of her anger with the husband. When Xue Sujie returns to her own house shortly after her wedding, she tells her mother that: “I don’t know why, but whenever I see him [Di Xichen], I just can’t help feeling angry in my heart and really want to engulf him with my flame. ... But I really don’t know why I’m angry with him” 我不知怎麼，見了他，我那心裡的氣不知從那裡來，恨不的一口吃了他的火勢。。。我自家也不知道是為甚麼惱他。⁵¹

Similarly, Tong Jijie’s anger with Pearl shares the same inexplicability with that of Xue Sujie. When Di Xichen asks the concubine why she is angry with the maid, “even Tong Jijie herself didn’t know the reason. It was just that, upon seeing the maid, she felt like having a long feud with her and wanted to bite her off” 連寄姐也自己不知所為，只是一見了他，恰像與他有素讎一般，恨不能吞他下肚裡去。⁵² Later, the concubine of Di Xichen’s father tries to dissuade her from abusing the maid, but Tong Jijie reiterates the

⁴⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 25.343-44.

⁵⁰ That is, around twenty chapters before Xue Sujie and Di Xichen’s wedding.

⁵¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 45.607; again, this is the main wife of Xue Sujie’s father instead of the shrew’s biological mother.

⁵² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1005.

unaccountable feature of her anger: “It’s truly strange! When I saw her the other day, she in fact hadn’t offended me at all. I didn’t know why I couldn’t help feeling angry when I saw her. It’s just like she’s feuding with me for several lives” 這事真也古怪！我那一日見了他，其實他又沒有甚麼不是，我不知怎麼，見了他我那氣不知從那裡來，通像合我有幾世的冤讎一般。⁵³ Besides repeatedly characterizing her anger as inexplicable, the shrew has tried to account for her emotional response by resorting to such terms as *suchou* 素讎 (a long feud) and *jishi de yuanchou* 幾世的冤讎 (feuds of several lives), namely, her ways of referring to the karmic antagonisms between the maid and herself. Likewise, Xue Sujie has also evoked the notion of karmic retribution to attempt explaining her inexplicable anger with both her husband and his family members. During her sister-in-law’s wedding, the shrew makes the following confession to a cousin’s wife:

As long as I see him, my anger immediately arises from nowhere. ... Even I myself don’t understand. In fact, my parents-in-law in no way niggle, but extremely dote on me. Even he [Di Xichen] dare not offend me. ... I know perfectly well that I’m supposed to show filial devotion to my parents-in-law and respectfully admire my husband. But I just don’t know why I can’t control myself as soon as I spot him. It’s as if they’re at several lives of feuds with me. ... Just now, when others’ wives greeted my mother-in-law, I didn’t recognize her in my heart. Now she’s not in front of me, I know well and feel regretful. I’ve repeatedly promised to change, but when I see them, it’s again all the same. It occurs to me that I must have had certain feuds with his family in the previous life. As a result, I can’t control myself due to some unknown forces of deities and ghosts.⁵⁴

我只見了他，那氣不知從那裡來。。。這卻連我也自己不省的。其實俺公公婆婆極不瑣碎，且極疼我，就是他也極不敢衝犯著我。。。我也極知道公婆是該孝順的，丈夫是該愛敬的，但我不知怎樣，一見了他，不由自己，就像不是我一般，一似他們就合我有世仇一般。。。即是剛才，人家的媳婦都與婆婆告坐，我那時心裡竟不知道是我婆婆。他如今不在跟前，我卻明

⁵³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 80.1055-56.

⁵⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.789.

白又悔，再三發恨要改，及至見了，依舊又還如此。我想起必定前世裡與他家有甚冤仇，所以神差鬼使，也由不得我自己。

Within this short passage, the shrew has thrice noticed the unfathomable quality of her anger, which directs her to karmic linkage as a potential explanation.⁵⁵ Therefore, the inexplicability of anger has gestured at karmic retribution through the shrews' voice again and again in the *Xingshi*.

Although both have intuited the karmic root of their unaccountable anger, neither Xue Sujie nor Tong Jijie manages to fully articulate their pre-reincarnate experiences the moment when they resort to the retributive notion. The inexplicability of the emotion only points the shrews to karmic retribution without enabling them to pinpoint the events that have established the karmic entanglements. Rather, the persistent stress on their anger's incomprehensibility repeatedly signals the inaccessibility of the shrews' pre-reincarnate experiences to their conscious utterance, amounting to verbal thresholds that in turn heighten a sense of dramatic irony.⁵⁶ That is, though perfectly clear to the reader, Ms. Ji's suicide due to Zhen'ge's ungrounded slander eludes the reincarnated Tong Jijie throughout the novel; nor does Xue Sujie recall the following episode in which Chao Yuan ends her previous life as the fox fairy during his hunting jaunt:

She [the fox fairy] had had an evil longing for Chao Yuan for a long while in her heart. ... So she changed into a beautiful girl not yet twenty years old, dressed all in white. She walked, not too fast and not too slow right in front of Chao Yuan's horse, gazed at him, and pulled his soul right out of his body. ... Her illusory bag of skin was all that was needed to fool his carnal eyes and he was wrapped in his plotting for

⁵⁵ For a general discussion of karmic retribution as one of male literati's explanations for shrewish cases that seem to be beyond rationality, see Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago*, 38.

⁵⁶ By "dramatic irony," I mean "the situation where the audience knows something that the character of a play, novel, etc., ignores," see Salvatore Attardo, "Irony as Relevant Inappropriateness," in *Irony in Language and Thought: A Cognitive Science Reader*, eds. Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr. and Herbert L. Colston (New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007), 136-37; also see Wayne C. Booth, *A Rhetoric of Irony* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 63; Claire Colebrook, *Irony* (London: Routledge, 2004), 176.

her, but the more perceptive falcons and dogs knew her true form. The dogs bounded forward and the falcons tumbled through the air to the attack. The fox panicked and fell into her original shape. There wasn't any crevice of escape in the solid wall of hunting beasts around her. She fled under Chao Yuan's horse, hoping he would save her, but Chao Yuan was a man who liked killing. Not only was he not about to save her with tender compassion, he pulled his engraved bow out, fit a feathered arrow to its string, and pulled with his right arm while his left held the bow steady, aimed straight at the fox under his horse, and shot true. One wail, and the fox was thrown in the air with the force of the arrow striking home. A yellow dog rushed in from the side to grab her in his jaws. Before the eyes of all assembled there that day a thousand-year old demon met her sorry end! She was pulled from the dog's jaws and tossed on the pile of game. They called in their troupes, had the horses stabled, and went back to the villa to eat.⁵⁷

況又他處心不善，久有迷戀晁大舍的心腸。。。隨變了一個絕美嬌娃，年紀不過二十歲之下，穿了一身縞素，在晁大舍馬前不緊不慢的行走。走不上兩三步，回頭顧盼，引得晁大舍魂不附體。。。誰想這樣皮囊幻相，只好哄那愚夫的肉眼。誰知那蒼鷹獵犬的慧目把這狐精的本相看得分明。獵犬奔向前來，蒼鷹飛騰罩定。狐精慌了手腳，還了本形。鷹犬四面旋繞，無隙可藏，隨鑽在晁大舍馬肚下躲避。原要指望晁大舍救他性命，那知晁大舍從來心性是個好殺生害命的人，不惟不肯救拔，反向插袋內扯出雕弓，拈上羽箭，右手上扯，左手下推，炤著馬下狐精所在，對鏗一箭射去。只聽的“嗶”的一聲，那狐精四腳騰空，從旁一隻黃狗向前咬住。眼見的千年妖畜，可憐一旦無常！從狗口裡奪將下來，雜在獵獲的禽獸隊內，收軍斂馬，同回莊上吃飯。

Situated at the end of the first chapter, this encounter initiates at the very beginning of the novel Chao Yuan and the fox fairy's karmic intertwinement after their respective reincarnation as Di Xichen and Xue Sujie. The narrator zooms in on the moment of Chao Yuan's ruthless killing of the fox fairy through a descriptive tableau that is distinctive from its surrounding narration regarding the hunting trip.⁵⁸ Even more significant is the fact that

⁵⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 1.21; Eve Alison Nyren, trans., *The Bonds of Matrimony/Hsing-shih yni-yüan chuan (Vol. One), a Seventeenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 14; Nyren's translation covers only the first twenty chapters of the novel, which is why I have not referred to her translation previously when it comes to later chapters.

⁵⁸ My distinction of the descriptive tableau from narration is indebted to Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 15; however, unlike Hanan, I emphasize the different degrees of narrative actions conveyed by these two terms rather than associate them with the distinctive linguistic registers of Classical and vernacular Chinese.

the narrator has framed their encounter as a scene of seduction, foregrounding the fox fairy's attempt at infatuating Chao Yuan from the start. Consequently, the emphasis on her seductive intent seems to morally justify her death as a self-inflicted affliction, despite the narrator's demonstration of pity for her and remark on the hunter's predilection for killing.

Nonetheless, Xue Sujie's repeated emphases on the inexplicability of her anger contribute to countering the implicitly moralistic framing of this crucial encounter. More generally, the shrews' notes on their anger feature delayed repetition and recurrent stress on its unaccountable quality, and thus, lend a traumatic dimension to their pre-reincarnate experiences, including such events of fundamental karmic significance as the encounter cited above.⁵⁹ Not only do these repeated remarks index the moments when the writer focalizes the narrative around the impacts of such traumatic events upon the shrews, but also enable the reader to listen to the shrews' own voice on their emotional states.⁶⁰ In other words, the repeated highlights of their emotional opacity paradoxically makes it possible to recuperate the female perspective on the traumatic effects of the shrews pre-reincarnate experiences upon themselves. In her specific case, Xue Sujie's repeated descriptions of her anger have even paved the way for her ultimate verbalization of the encounter prior to her

⁵⁹ For a classical definition of trauma as "an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena," see Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 11; also see Caruth, "Trauma and Experience: Introduction," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. idem. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 4; Lucy Bond and Stef Craps, *Trauma* (London: Routledge, 2020), 4.

⁶⁰ Hanan appropriates Gérard Genette's concept of focalization as "the focal level" when analyzing late imperial Chinese fiction, which "refers to the person who sees, and reflects what he [*sic.*] sees, at any given moment in the text;" see Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 17. For discussion of "listening" as a key issue in trauma studies, see Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 5, 8-9; Caruth, "Preface," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, vii-ix; Caruth, "Trauma and Experience," 10-11; Caruth, ed., *Listening to Trauma: Conversations with Leaders in the Theory and Treatment of Catastrophic Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 231-32. For some other episodes in which the writer of *Xingshi* gives voice to the shrews, particularly via distinctive genres, see, for instance, Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 44.593; 2: 74.984, 89.1177.

reincarnation, significantly via a nightmare, after which no mention of the shrew's inexplicable anger occurs, not even that of Tong Jijie. When he returns home from the capital to prepare for his departure for an official post in Sichuan, Di Xichen asks his wife to join him, but Xue Sujie wavers over whether to go or not.⁶¹ Later, two religious women named Old Hou and Old Zhang come to Di Xichen's house and dissuade the shrew from going by exaggerating the difficulties of the trip.⁶² Concurring with them, Xue Sujie recounts the following nightmare to the two women and deems it predictive of the potential dangers on the road:

One year, I had a dream. I dreamed that I was walking alone in wilderness. All of a sudden, smoke and dust soared to Heaven. When I looked back, I saw numerous people on horses leading falcons and dogs as well as carrying bows and arrows. They chased after me, and I immediately ran away. The moment they were about to catch me, I crawled with both my hands and feet. There were two big rivers ahead with huge surging waves. People on their horses pursued me even more closely, and there were many falcons hovering above. I had no way but jump into the river, and then I was frightened awake.⁶³

那年我做了個夢，夢見我在空野去處自家一個行走，忽然煙塵枉天。回頭看了看，只見無數的人馬，架着鷹，牽著狗，拈弓搭箭，望著我攆了來，叫我跑倒地，手腳齊走。前頭可是隔著二條大江，那江泛天揭地的浪頭。後頭人馬又追的緊了，上頭一大些鷹撻著。叫我極了，沒了去路，鋪騰的往江裡一跳，唬得醒了。

As a typical way of reliving traumatic events, the nightmare has granted Xue Sujie access to her encounter with Chao Yuan and reinforced the traumatic quality of her pre-reincarnate

⁶¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 85.1130.

⁶² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 85.1132-33; for a detailed analysis of the two women's involvement in religious activities, see Glen Dudbridge, "A Pilgrimage in Seventeenth-Century Fiction: T'ai-shan and the *Hsing-shih yin-yüan chuan*," *T'oung Pao* LXXVII 4-5 (1991): 234-35.

⁶³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 85.1133.

experience.⁶⁴ Moreover, the shrew's nightmare has reframed the traumatic encounter from a scene of seduction to one of persecution: instead of a seductive monster, she figures literally as prey in her self-account. Hence, despite being a furious victimizer of her hen-pecked husband, Xue Sujie turns out to be a victim at the same time. By giving voice to her victimhood, the novel has in effect destabilized the clear-cut distinction between the perpetrator and the prey.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, we should still refrain from viewing Xue Sujie's assumption of victimhood as an indicator of the writer's total sympathy toward the shrew. After all, the *Xingshi* still indulges in vivid and detailed portrayals of her post-reincarnate victimization of her husband, on the one hand.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the shrew's nightmarish vision reveals not only the convergence of her perspective with that of the fox fairy, but also their bodily conflation with each other, as her mention of running with all four limbs on the ground suggests. This brief note betrays the animality of Xue Sujie, and thus, has the effect of dehumanizing the shrew. Thus, the shrew's persistent remarks on her unaccountable anger, along with her culminating recount of the nightmare, have indeed enabled the recovery of her voice, but such recuperation is still simultaneous with her demonization in the *Xingshi*.

So far, I have examined how the shrews' inexplicable anger brings out the traumatic dimension of the founding moments for their karmic interconnections and restores their

⁶⁴ For the nightmare as a prominent venue of "traumatic reliving," see Caruth, "Recapturing the Past: Introduction," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 152; Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 4.

⁶⁵ For an overly neat distinction between the perpetrator and the victim, see Bond and Craps, *Trauma*, 9.

⁶⁶ For a pertinent observation, see Wai-ye Li, "Early Qing to 1723," in *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, eds. Stephen Owen and Kang-i Sun Chang, vol. 2, *From 1375* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 217-18.

own perspective on such traumatic experiences. I will now turn to an outstanding site that takes the brunt of their anger during the infliction of retribution in the novel: the body.

Anger in/against the Body

The body has figured as a prominent venue that bears witness to the varied manifestations of anger in the *Xingshi*. An illustrative case comes from that of Ma Congwu and his wife. This vicious couple has considerably benefited from the help of another older couple, namely, the tofu seller Ding Ligu and his wife. Having saved Ma Congwu's life, Ding Ligu, along with his wife, treats him as their own son and takes care of his whole family, supporting them until Ma obtains an official post.⁶⁷ When they become too senile to work, the childless old couple goes to seek support from Ma Congwu, who turns out to be deeply ungrateful and shuns them instead.⁶⁸ At the suggestion of his equally ungrateful wife, Ma Congwu drives the tofu seller and his wife away without even meeting them.⁶⁹ "Overly vexed, the old couple becomes bedridden" 人著了惱，兩口子前後都病倒了, and soon, passes away with no proper burial whatsoever.⁷⁰ After the old couple's death, their ghosts start possessing Ma Congwu and his wife, and eventually, impose *xianshi baoying* 見世報應 (immediate retribution in this life) by making them grotesquely maim their own bodies until their death.⁷¹ Such bodily mutilations have evidenced the old couple's persistent wrath, the

⁶⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 27.361-62.

⁶⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 27.362-63.

⁶⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 27.364-65.

⁷⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 27.366.

⁷¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 27.367-68; Ma Congwu and his wife "pull out their own hair, gouge out their own eyeballs, and stick iron fire pricks into their ears," as summarized in Xiaoqiao Ling, "Law, Deities, and Beyond: From *Sanyan* Stories to *Xingshi jinyuan zhuan*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 74.1 (2014): 32. For the translation of *xianshi baoying* 見世報應, see Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, 154.

release of which Heaven has sanctioned.⁷² Another instance concerns a villain named Yan Liexing, who takes his sister-in-law's virginity by pretending to be his brother on her wedding night.⁷³ After the bride commits suicide, the villain goes on to plan for robbing her grave along with his scheming wife Sai Dongchuang.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, such outrageous behaviors end up provoking the deity Lord Guan, whose statue comes alive and cuts both in half.⁷⁵ Their halved bodies manifest the divine indignation that still lingers on the statue's furious (*nu benben* 怒狠狠) countenance afterwards.⁷⁶ Thus, one's body has served as a primary locus where anger concentrates in the novel, although the emotion does not necessarily emanate therein.

As for the shrews of the *Xingshi*, their anger intimately intersects with the body likewise. The emotion assumes an array of forms in relation to the body of both the shrew herself and her victims. In fact, the two episodes above have hinted at the two major typologies of how the shrews' anger relates to the bodies. That is to say, a shrew's anger

⁷² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 27.368; for an alternative reading of this episode as a demonstration of "the limitations of legal codes" through supernatural intervention, see Ling, "Law, Deities, and Beyond," 31.

⁷³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 28.371-72.

⁷⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 28.372-73; his wife's name literally means "surpassing the eastern gate" and clearly alludes to Qin Hui's 秦檜 (1091-1155) wife, an archetypal shrew who, in popular literature, plots the death of the patriotic general Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103-1142) of the Southern Song (1127-1279); see Anne E. McLaren, trans., *The Chinese Femme Fatale: Stories from the Ming Period* (Sydney: Wild Peony Pty Ltd., 1994), 24; Meir Shabar, *Crazy Ji: Chinese Religion and Popular Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998), 55; Tan Ye, *Historical Dictionary of Chinese Theater* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2008), 264.

⁷⁵ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 28.373; for an analysis of Guan Yu's 關羽 (ca. 160-220) deification as the embodiment of the martial masculinity in China, see Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22-41; also see Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁷⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 28.374; for a summary and interpretation of this episode as demonstrating the "supernatural interference as the alternative stage where Heaven's calculations of good and evil can be performed whenever the law fails to uphold justice," see Xiaoqiao Ling, "Law, Deities, and Beyond," 32-33.

either boomerangs on her own body, or outwardly aggresses against that of others.⁷⁷ With regard to the first topology, the shrews' body, similar to those of Ma Congwu and his wife, is also subject to spiritual possession, serving as an outlet that channels the indignation of supernatural entities. Notably, it is a shrew's anger that triggers her possession in the first place, which subsequently leads to her loss of bodily control. In this light, her emotion ends up being self-oriented toward her own body through the supernatural entities' mediation. Before their reincarnation, for instance, Chao Yuan's shrewish concubine Zhen'ge falsely alleges that his wife Ms. Ji has adulterous affairs with both a Daoist priest and a Buddhist monk.⁷⁸ The husband immediately believes the concubine and decides to divorce his main wife.⁷⁹ Due to such humiliation, Ms. Ji finally hangs herself and passes away.⁸⁰ Shortly afterwards, Zhen'ge visits the house of Mr. Kong, a provincial graduate, to pay condolences, which, however, is supposed to be the duty of the main wife.⁸¹ Mrs. Kong has in turn slighted the concubine, not even seeing her off when she leaves.⁸² Utterly humiliated, Zhen'ge returns home in anger and vents her fury by, among other things, ordering servants to undermine Ms. Ji's funeral settings and threatening to "toss her bones on the fire and throw the ashes out" 我把那私窠子的骨拾燒成灰撒了.⁸³ At this moment, the wife's

⁷⁷ For a similar conception of "the source of otherness" as either within or without the self, see Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London: Routledge, 1981), 58. We can easily replace "the source of otherness" with "the shrews' anger," and "self" with "body" in this context.

⁷⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 8.112; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 8.109.

⁷⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 8.112-14; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 8.109-11.

⁸⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 9.122-23; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 9.120-21.

⁸¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 9.146; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 9.146.

⁸² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 9.146-47; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 9.146-47.

⁸³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 9.148; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 9.147-48.

ghost possesses the concubine, making her repeatedly slap herself, tear her hair out, and denude her upper body.⁸⁴ Indeed, the ghost specifically heeds Zhen'ge's anger (*qibuguo* 氣不遇) as one of the reasons that underlie the possession.⁸⁵ Hence, what partially lies in the root of the ghostly possession, and subsequently, results in the self-maiming of Zhen'ge's body, is precisely the concubine's own anger.⁸⁶ Via bodily possession, the ghost's fury has not only resonated with that of the shrew, but also functioned as a vector that redirects the emotion back toward herself.

However, supernatural possession is not the only way in which a shrew's anger impinges upon her own body. Xue Sujie's disfigurement serves as a case in point. After the shrew enrages his father to death, Di Xichen returns to the capital, but leaves her behind at home.⁸⁷ Later on the shrew's birthday, the religious woman Old Zhang gives her a monkey as a present.⁸⁸ Xue Sujie immediately dresses the monkey in her husband's clothes that she has tailored to the beast's size.⁸⁹ Then, the shrew treats the monkey as a substitute for Di Xichen and vents her rage by "beating and swearing at it day and night" 鎮日數落著擊打.⁹⁰ One day when she furiously tortures it again, the monkey eventually "breaks free of the iron

⁸⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 9.149-50; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 9.148-50.

⁸⁵ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 9.150; Nyren has skipped this key phrase in her translation; see Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 150.

⁸⁶ For a similar instance where Xue Sujie's angry allegations of her husband provoke a deity to possess her so that she loses the control of her body, see Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 86.1136-42. In this episode, the deity only makes the shrew confess her own outrageous behaviors without harming her body.

⁸⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1010.

⁸⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1012.

⁸⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1012.

⁹⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1012.

chains and jumps onto her shoulder, biting off her nose, gouging out one of her eyes, and defacing her countenance” 那猴精把鐵鏈盡力掙斷，一跳跳在素姐肩頭，啃鼻子，摳眼睛，把面孔搗得粉碎。⁹¹ It is again the shrew’s anger, along with its resultant violence, that fundamentally provokes the monkey to inflict the grotesque disfigurement upon herself. Rather than a supernatural entity, the beast acts as the agent that refracts the emotion back to the shrew in this episode. As both instances above illustrate, the shrews’ anger sometimes features a self-oriented directionality and ultimately affects the body of her own.

Even more frequently, however, the shrews’ anger externally acts upon others’ body, particularly that of men, in radically violent manners that recall the deity Lord Guan’s halving of Yan Liexing and his wife.⁹² One of the brutal methods that a furious shrew resorts to when threatening men’s bodily integrity is through cannibalistic violence. Once, Xue Sujie visits the Jade Emperor Temple in company with Old Hou, Old Zhang, and a flock of lascivious women from the lower classes for the temple festival, “during which men and women intermingle with each other, and the base and the good are indiscernible” 可也是男女混雜，不分良賤的所在。⁹³ As a lady of a decent household, the shrew’s stunning appearance and lavish clothing immediately attract the crowd’s attention, making them “wonder whether she is base, a prostitute, a favored concubine of a foolish local gentry, or a muddled provincial graduate’s preferred concubine” 疑賤疑娼，又疑是混賬鄉宦家的寵

⁹¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 76.1012; for an interpretation of this episode as an instance of Xue Sujie’s retributive punishment, see Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago*, 113.

⁹² For the insightful observation that “one of the primate targets of shrewish rage is in fact the man’s body,” see McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists*, 74.

⁹³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 73.970.

妾，或者是糊塗舉人家的愛姬。⁹⁴ In other words, Xue Sujie's co-presence with other morally dubious women forms a spectacle that not only intensifies the carnivalesque bewilderment among the festivities, but more significantly, also confuses the audience's perception of her social position.⁹⁵ As a result, when a notoriously wanton woman offends other temple visitors, they beat her along with other members of her group, Xue Sujie included, almost to death, "stripping both starkly naked" 盡被把衣裳剝得罄淨。⁹⁶ Upon hearing about this, Di Xichen immediately goes to the temple and finds his wife.⁹⁷ When he hands some clothes to her, Xue Sujie, however, "spared no effort in biting [his] right arm so that a walnut-sized piece of flesh dangled in the air" 在右胳膊上盡力一口，把核桃大的一塊肉咬的半聯半落。⁹⁸ When others ask why she has done so, the shrew attributes all her sufferings to the husband's failure in keeping her company.⁹⁹ The response thus reveals her resentment against Di Xichen as a prominent factor that motivates such cannibalistic violence toward his body.

Furthermore, castration figures as another form that a shrew's anger takes when menacing men's body in the *Xingshi*.¹⁰⁰ The impact of Xue Sujie's castrating anger extends

⁹⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 73.970; this episode happens before Xue Sujie's disfigurement.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of "the suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time," see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelai and His World*, trans., Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 7-11.

⁹⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 73.971.

⁹⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 73.971-72.

⁹⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 73.972.

⁹⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 73.972.

¹⁰⁰ McMahon uses castration to illustrate the man's sex as a particular part of his body that the shrew's anger aims at; see McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists*, 74.

beyond her henpecked husband's body to that of her father-in-law.¹⁰¹ Notably, her repeated attempts at castrating Di Xichen's father have involved a series of economic motives. When her father-in-law takes the female cook Tiaogeng as his concubine, Xue Sujie becomes furious and calls him "a shameless old skunk with no morals whatsoever" 沒廉恥老兒無德.¹⁰² The shrew then utters the following tirade that betrays the reasons for her furies:

Father and son together bought this woman and had "randomly shared boots" over the past few months.¹⁰³ Now the father occupies her as a concubine! If you've prodded a child out, I'll see how you can figure out who it belongs to! If the child were ours and shared our inheritance, I could still bear such anger. Even if it were that of the shameless old skunk, it would still be fine. I'm just afraid the child belongs to Di Zhou [a servant]!¹⁰⁴

爺兒兩個伙著買了個老婆，亂穿靴這們幾個月，從新又自己佔護著做小老婆！桶下個孩子來，我看怎麼認！要是俺的孩子，分俺的家事，這也還氣的過；就是老沒廉恥的也還可說，只怕還是狄周的哩！

At first glance, Xue Sujie's anger seems to result from her suspicion about the potential incest between Di Xichen and his father's concubine. Nevertheless, as the shrew herself explains, such an incestuous relationship actually does not concern her, because the child born out of it may still have legitimate claims to her father-in-law's family properties despite its illegitimate birth.¹⁰⁵ It is only if the child belonged to a servant that Xue Sujie would find it intolerable, since that would mean the de facto annexation of her husband's inheritance,

¹⁰¹ McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists*, 74.

¹⁰² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 56.752.

¹⁰³ The phrase *luan chuanxue* 亂穿靴 is an idiom that refers to incestuous relationships, and in this context, the potential wife-sharing between Di Xichen and his father.

¹⁰⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 56.752.

¹⁰⁵ If the concubine had an incestuous relationship with Di Xichen and gave birth to a boy, the born child would nominally be Xue Sujie's brother-in-law, but in fact, her child considering her status as Di Xichen's main wife. This is because "the children of a concubine considered the legal wife as their mother, but accorded their biological mothers less respect;" see Yifeng Zhao, "Concubinage," 75; also see Hsieh Bao Hua, *Concubinage and Servitude in Late Imperial China* (Lanham, MR: Lexington Books, 2014), 43.

and by extension, that of hers as well. Therefore, what fundamentally underlies the shrew's anger is in fact her anxiety over the potential loss of her father-in-law's legacy, as the narrator further clarifies: "Xue Sujie is just afraid that Tiaogeng will give birth to a son and snatch away her inheritance" 只素姐惟恐調羹生了兒子，奪了他的傢私。¹⁰⁶ The shrew's consequent anger in turn propels her to "stealthily pick up a knife and try to cut off her father-in-law's cock several times when he was asleep. She intended to make him no longer able to give birth to sons so that no one would take away the family properties. [Once castrated,] he was also able to serve as a eunuch and accumulate more inheritance for her" 幾次乘公公睡著時，暗自拿了刀要把公公的雞巴割了，叫他絕了欲不生兒子，免奪他的產業，又好做了內官，再掙家事與他。¹⁰⁷ In this way, not only can Xue Sujie ensure her husband's monopolization of the inheritance, but also augment the amount of her father-in-law's legacy. Although her attempts have all failed eventually, there is no doubt that the shrew's castrating anger against the patriarch's body is economically motivated.

Although she has not tried literally castrating him, Xue Sujie still imposes a symbolic castration upon her henpecked husband. More precisely, the shrew targets her anger at a phallic object of his and furiously detaches it from his body. The object in question is a pair of sleeping shoes that a courtesan has given Di Xichen as a farewell gift shortly after his marriage with Xue Sujie.¹⁰⁸ The husband has greatly cherished this intimate object, but when he is about to leave for the capital later, it suddenly occurs to him that he has forgotten to

¹⁰⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 56.752.

¹⁰⁷ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 56.752-53.

¹⁰⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 50.672.

take the courtesan's sleeping shoes with him.¹⁰⁹ Afraid that Xue Sujie will discover them, Di Xichen dashes into the bedchamber to fetch the shoes without realizing the presence of his wife there.¹¹⁰ Having found them, he immediately “inserted the parcel [that wrapped the shoes] in his crotch and was about to rush out of the door” 他卻將那包兒填在褲襠裡面，奪門而出。¹¹¹ It is significant that Di Xichen has inadvertently positioned the intimate object where his genitals are located, which suggests the overlap between the sleeping shoes and his penis. On his way out of the bedchamber, nonetheless, the shrew, who has become furious by this point, intercepts her husband, heavily slapping him in the face and snatching the parcel away from his crutch.¹¹² Wondering “what that soft stuff is” 這軟骨農的是甚麼東西, she unwraps the parcel and spots the shoes inside, at which moment the narrator notably refers to the intimate object as *wushi* 物事 (things) and adds the following verse: “The exterior is made of crimson silks, while the interior white ones. Fluffy furs form the base as soft as cotton, and the openings are sealed with green and blue threads” 絳色紅綢做面，裡加白段為幫。絨氈裁底軟如棉，鎖口翠藍絲線。¹¹³ Beyond its literal meaning rendered above, the word *wushi* also serves as a euphemism for the male genitals, on the one hand.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, the ensuing verse further hints at the shoes' imagistic

¹⁰⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 52.693.

¹¹⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 52.693.

¹¹¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 52.694.

¹¹² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 52.694.

¹¹³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 52.694.

¹¹⁴ This is precisely the term used to denote Wu the First's impotent penis in the Chongzhen recension of the *Jin Ping Mei*, a work that, as mentioned above, has undeniably influenced the *Xingshi*; see Liu Hui and Wu Gan, *Huiping huijiao*, 1: 4.138.

resemblance to the male organ. In this light, even Xue Sujie's earlier description of them as *ruangunong* 軟骨農 (literally "soft-boned") seems to imply impotence. All these intimations point to the shoes' symbolization of Di Xichen's penis as the phallic objects.¹¹⁵

Consequently, the shrew's furious act of depriving her husband of the shoes clearly assumes the connotation of castration.

Nonetheless, rather than normalizing him into the "sexual position of a man," as in the Lacanian sense,¹¹⁶ Xue Sujie's symbolic castration of Di Xichen not only leaves their sadomasochistic entanglement intact, but also marks her own assumption of the "phallic potency" instead.¹¹⁷ In this case, it is power rather than money that correlates with her symbolically castrating anger against his body. One indicator of Xue Sujie's accession to the phallic authority is the increasingly extensive application of regal diction to the shrew as the *Xingshi* approaches its end. For instance, having failed to catch up with Di Xichen, who is on his way to Sichuan for the official post, Xue Sujie tries to summon him back by going to court to prosecute him for *moufan* 謀反 (conspiracy against the emperor/state).¹¹⁸ However, what virtually underlies her charge is the husband's escape from her control. Hence, the shrew's indictment against him for rebellion betrays her presumed supremacy similar to that

¹¹⁵ For the Lacanian distinction between penis and phallus, see Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 579; also see Dylan Evans, *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1996), 144.

¹¹⁶ Evans, *An Introductory Dictionary*, 23-24. For a pertinent passage directly from Lacan's own writings on the "normalizing effect" of the symbolic castration on the male sex, see Lacan, *Écrits*, 575. Needless to say, the normative conception of the male sexual position is problematic.

¹¹⁷ For a description of the couple's relationship as "grotesque sadomasochistic bonds," see Wai-yee Li, "Early Qing to 1723," 218. I have borrowed the term "phallic potency" from Steven Z. Levine, *Lacan Reframed* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 21.

¹¹⁸ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 89.1176-77.

of the sovereign, at least within Di Xichen's household. Later, Xue Sujie again departs for Sichuan in company with Old Hou and Old Zhang.¹¹⁹ And the title of the corresponding chapter describes the shrew's trip as "Xue Sujie Embarks on an Imperial Expedition of Ten Thousand *Li*" 薛素姐萬里親征.¹²⁰ Not only is the word *qinzheng* 親征 (imperial expeditions) reserved for regal usage, but also repeatedly occurs when referring to Emperor Yingzong's (1427-1464) disastrous expedition against the Mongols earlier in the novel, during which he falls into the hands of the enemies.¹²¹ Therefore, the shrew has subtly mirrored the emperor as his "figural reflection."¹²² Indeed, after Xue Sujie arrives at her husband's official residence in Sichuan, the narrator at one point explicitly refers to her as "a person with the emperor's disposition" 素姐是個皇帝性兒的人.¹²³ There, the shrew suffers from repeated frustration and intimidation by another shrew, namely, Di Xichen's concubine Tong Jijie. When the concubine threatens to mistreat her and points out that she has no one to rely on, Xue Sujie cries out loud that: "How regretful I am, Heaven! I'm a divine dragon that's left the seas" 悔殺我了! 天老爺! 我一條神龍, 叫我離了大海.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 94.1252.

¹²⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 94.1243; in fact, it is the servant Xiang Wang instead of this chapter title that first applies the phrase *yujia qinzheng* 御駕親征 to Xue Sujie's trip; see Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 77.1017.

¹²¹ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 7.95-96, 8.102, 15.200. Historically, the expedition happened in 1449, during which the Mongols captured Emperor Yingzong and imprisoned him for years; for introductions to this historical event known as the Tumu Crisis, see Timothy Brook, *The Troubled Empire: China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 95-97; John W. Dardess, *Ming China, 1368-1644: A Concise History of a Resilient Empire* (Lanham, MR: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012), 15, 41.

¹²² For the apt concept of "figural reflection," see Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel: Ssu ta ch'i-shu* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 116, 352, 404, and *passim*.

¹²³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 95.1258.

¹²⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 95.1262.

In other words, the shrew has evoked the imperial symbol of *shenlong* 神龍 (the divine dragon) for self-comparison.¹²⁵ On the one hand, the narrator has earlier applied precisely the same metaphor to the captured emperor, calling him “a divine dragon caught out of water” 神龍失水.¹²⁶ On the other hand, the symbol itself signifies “natural male vigor and fertility,” and thus, clearly features phallic implications.¹²⁷ Therefore, these regal dictions constantly intimate a comparison of the shrew with the emperor, and thus, gesture toward her attainment of the phallic authority.¹²⁸

One last form that the shrew’s anger takes in relation to men’s body further confirms her assumption of the phallus, namely, her abusive acts with the connotation of penetration.¹²⁹ Immediately after she deprives Di Xichen of the sleeping shoes, Xue Sujie ties her husband to the bed with a pink brocade rope, stabbing him with a pair of large needles while questioning him about the object.¹³⁰ If his bondage suggests “her tangled emotions and

¹²⁵ For the dragon as “the symbol of the Emperor, the Son of Heaven,” see Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought*, trans. G. L. Campbell (London: Routledge, 1983), 97.

¹²⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 1: 8.102; Nyren, *The Bonds of Matrimony*, 100; translation modified.

¹²⁷ Eberhard, *A Dictionary*, 97; Kam Louie observes that: “Dragons not only refer to power and control, but more importantly, by the description of its expandable penile quality, they also invoke a specifically male potentiality;” see Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity*, 27.

¹²⁸ For a related observation of the comparison between concubines and eunuchs in the novel, see Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago*, 111. Notably, Wu has left the main wife out of the comparison and cites Zhen’ge’s disruption of Chao Yuan’s household as an example for the “analogy between the inversion of the hierarchies at the family level and that of the state.” My interpretation pushes Wu’s observation one step further to argue for Xue Sujie’s more radical subversion of the familial power structure.

¹²⁹ For a summarization of the ways in which Xue Sujie tortures her husband into “needle stabbing, pinching with a fire pick, finger pressing, mosquito attacks, flogging, or scorching with coal ashes,” see Ling, “Law, Deities, and Beyond, 35.” Notably, at least half of these torments amount to penetrating acts.

¹³⁰ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 52.695.

pent-up frustration,”¹³¹ the shrew’s anger has in turn materialized into the form of penetrating violence toward her henpecked husband. Moreover, the shrew’s penetrating act figures again at the critical juncture immediately before she enrages her mother-in-law to death. As noted earlier, Xue Sujie becomes furious with Di Xichen due to her suspicion of his adulterous involvement with two women to whom he is speaking.¹³² To vent her anger, she picks up a pair of iron pincers and pinches her husband until he is black and blue.¹³³ Not only does the shrew’s pinching torture directly lead to her mother-in-law’s death, but is also reminiscent of the act of penetration. One final instance comes from the very last chapter of *Xingshi*. There, a monk meets Di Xichen and warns him of “a disaster that may hurt his body and cost his life” 殺身傷命之災, foreshadowing Xue Sujie’s upcoming attempt at murdering her husband.¹³⁴ One day, as he comes out of the lavatory, the shrew, who has been awaiting him in a bedchamber, instantly shoots an arrow at Di Xichen and almost kills him.¹³⁵ Situated at the end of the novel, Xue Sujie’s murderous act structurally echoes Chao Yuan’s ruthless shooting of the fox fairy in the first chapter, exacting precisely the same retribution on his reincarnated body. Simultaneously, it is an act that clearly features penetrating violence. Afterwards, her husband recovers, whereas the shrew ends up passing

¹³¹ Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago*, 114-15; Wu also notices the signification of the red color to the shrew’s passion.

¹³² Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.793. For my previous discussion, see the section on the marriage of Di Xichen’s sister above.

¹³³ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 59.793-94.

¹³⁴ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 100.1326-27; the monk has recounted Chao Yuan’s killing of the fox fairy to another character earlier in this chapter, and thus, reminded the reader of that episode at the beginning of the novel.

¹³⁵ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 100.1329.

away.¹³⁶ Thus, not only does Xue Sujie's ultimate act of penetration signal the culmination of her anger, but also marks the eventual return of the phallic symbol from her to her husband.

Conclusion

In the analysis above, I have teased out three facets of the interrelation between the shrews' anger and karmic retribution in the *Xingshi*. Frequently following matrimonial occasions, the shrews' emotion has served as an agent of retributive punishment in the novel, either directly afflicting their reincarnated nemeses, or posing threats to familial power structures by enraging the patriarchal and matriarchal authorities to death. Repeatedly characterized by themselves as inexplicable, the shrews' anger further functions as a lens that throws the traumatic quality and impacts of their pre-reincarnate experience into sharper relief. With its persistent opacity, a shrew's remarks on the emotion paradoxically allow valuable glimpses into her inner states from her own perspective. Lastly, the shrews' anger has figured as a force that most prominently impinges upon the body, from which two main topologies have emerged. On the one hand, a shrew's anger may prove ultimately self-oriented, affecting her own body via a provoked spirit or beast. On the other hand, cannibalistic violence, castration, and penetration are among the major forms that a shrew's anger may concretize into when encroaching upon the male body. Moreover, the particular manifestation of the emotion through castration can be both literal and symbolic, involving complicated economic considerations and power implications. As for her violent acts with penetrating connotations, they have confirmed a shrew's usurpation of the phallic symbol by castrating the male body, either literally or symbolically. To sum up, the shrews' anger is intricately

¹³⁶ Xizhou sheng, *Xingshi*, 2: 100.1329-34.

interwoven with karmic retribution, traumatic experience, and the body in the *Xingshi*, and thus, guarantees further fruitful explorations.

Chapter Seven

Epilogue: A Late Qing Look at Anger

Writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Li Ruzhen 李汝珍 (1763-1830) largely devoted the latter half of his novel *Jinghua yuan* 鏡花緣 (The Destinies of the Flowers in the Mirror) to female characters.¹ Toward the end of the work, however, the writer shifts his attention back to men. Such a change of focus roughly coincides with the start of the allegorical treatment of the four obsessions through four corresponding passes in the novel: “To the north is the Wine Pass, and to the west the Lust-knife Pass; ... to the east is the Treasure Pass, and to the south the No-fire Pass” 北名酉水，西名巴刀，東名才貝，南名无火。² In order to subvert Wu Zetian’s rule, an army of young men plan to first attack the passes that her four brothers have been guarding.³ In this way, the four obsessions are again associated with male characters, paralleling the four female virtues that have opened the novel.⁴ Most pertinently, the episode on *qi*, namely, that concerned with the No-fire Pass,

¹ For the compositional time of the *Jinghua yuan* and the focus on female characters in the second half of the novel, see Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 249-50; Stephen J. Roddy, *Literati Identity and Its Fictional Representations in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 171, 173. For the translation of the novel title, see Paolo Santangelo, “Ecologism versus Moralism: Conceptions of Nature in Some Literary Texts of Ming-Qing Times,” in *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History*, eds. Mark Elvin and Liu Ts’ui-jung (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 617.

² Li Ruzhen 李汝珍, *Huipingben Jinghua yuan* 匯評本鏡花緣 (Ji’nan: Qilu shushe, 2018), 2: 96.777; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers in the Mirror*, trans. Tai-yi Lin (Nanjing: Yilin chubanshe, 2005), 2: 28.854; translation modified. Lin’s rendition is partial, and thus, I will leave the reference blank when there is no corresponding translation. The novelist has in fact decomposed the four obsessions into their ideographic parts to name the four passes. That is why there is a reference to a knife in the Lust-Knife Pass. The pass that corresponds to *qi* is named after the word’s variant 炆. For the allegorical nature of the four passes, see Epstein, *Competing Discourses*, 254; Roddy, *Literati Identity*, 197.

³ Li Ruzhen, *Jinghua yuan*, 2: 96.776-77; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 28.853-54.

⁴ Li Ruzhen, *Jinghua yuan*, 1: 1.1. For an observation on the gendered implication of the four passes, see Roddy, *Literati Identity*, 197. For a note on the framing significance of the four female virtues at the start of the novel, see Epstein, *Competing Discourses*, 256.

neatly recapitulates the major themes regarding anger elaborated in the previous chapters and allows invaluable glimpses into how such themes persisted in the late Qing literary imagination.

To begin with, anger again figures as the most prominent manifestation of *qi* in the emotional sphere, as is the case in previous chapters. When he enters the No-fire Pass, the general Lin Lie sees a man “raging and shouting as loud as thunder, and knocking his head against the [Incomplete Mountain]” 暴跳如雷，喊了一聲，把頭直朝山上觸去。⁵ The general then attributes the man’s violent act to his *nuqi* 怒氣 (fury).⁶ Subsequently, Lin Lie encounters another tiger-fighting man “who was also extremely angry” 也是怒氣沖沖。⁷ The two men that the general observes at the No-fire Pass later turn out to be Gong Gong and Zhu Hai respectively, both of whom embody the obsession with *qi* through their bursting rage.⁸

The novelist proceeds to not only flesh out the menace of anger to both the legal order and one’s body, but also emphasize the importance of patience as a countermeasure to the emotion. When he arrives at a bun shop, Lin Lie meets crowds of prisoners and asks them why they have been arrested.⁹ In response,

The prisoners sighed, “We deserve our punishment! There is no injustice!” and pointed to the steaming pots and said, “Because of those, we committed crimes that led to the loss of lives! It is too late to regret! General, we wish that you would

⁵ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.791; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.871.

⁶ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.791; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.872.

⁷ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.791; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.872.

⁸ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.794; for notes on the identity of both men, see Li Ruzhen, *Jinghua yuan*, ann. Zhang Youhe 張友鶴 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1979), 2: 98.755.

⁹ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.793; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.873.

remind everyone to pay more heed to the word ‘patience.’ If one has patience, even bad luck can be turned into good, and a person will not meet the same kind of fate as we have.¹⁰

眾人都歎口氣道：“這是自作自受，有何冤枉？”因手指蒸籠道：“我們的罪都是為他而起，以致弄出人命事來，此時身不由己，後悔無及。但願將軍奉勸世人把個‘忍’字時時放在心頭。即使命運坎坷，只要有了忍字，無論何事總可逢凶化吉，不遭此禍了。

The steaming pots clearly symbolize *qi*, a word that also means “steam.” According to the prisoners, the obsession has propelled them to inflict harm upon others’ body, underlying their legal transgressions and resulting in their apprehension. Their words recall Zhu Youdun’s relevant caution in his *Qujiang chi*. With the prisoners’ voice, the novelist further proposes the notion of patience to fend off anger, just like the writers of deliverance plays centuries earlier.

Later, Lin Lie walks into another shop, where he sees a group of emaciated customers who have difficulties eating and apparently suffer from some kind of malady.¹¹ In reply to the general’s inquiry,

The customers, ... pointing to the steaming pots, said, “They are the cause of it all! Because of them, we have become, after a long time of accumulated illness, unable to swallow, and no medicine can cure us. But it is too late. We hope that you will tell all men to think constantly about “forbearance.” Then when something unfortunate happens, calamity will turn into blessings, and they will not suffer like us.¹² 眾人。。。因指蒸籠道：“無非因他而起，以至日積月累，弄的食不下嚥，無藥可醫，如今後悔已晚。但願將軍奉勸世人把個“耐”字時時放在心頭。即使命運不濟，只要有了耐字，無論何事總可轉禍為福，不染此患了。

Besides reiterating the efficacy of forbearance in countering the emotion, the customers’ answer reveals the damaging effects of one’s anger upon his or her own body. Their

¹⁰ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.793; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.873; translation modified.

¹¹ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.793; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.873.

¹² Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.793; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.873.

response is reminiscent of the cases of Sun Ce in the *Sanguo zhi yanyi*, Li Ping'er in the *Jin Ping Mei*, and Xue Sujie in the *Xingshi yinyuan zhuang*, all of whom bear witness to the self-oriented bodily impacts of the emotion.

Despite the repeated reminders to Lin Lie of reining in his anger, the general soon cannot help getting furious when a waiter neglects him.¹³ In fact, the general later becomes so wrathful that he accidentally kills the waiter, committing the same crime as the prisoners.¹⁴

At that moment,

The steaming pots in the shop began to let off more steam. Lin Lie cried, "We shall see who is going to let off steam! I'll see it through to the end!" He wielded the broadsword with both hands and started to destroy the steaming pots. His fury ignited the spell-binding flames and from all four sides hot air invaded his mouth and nostrils, and he was overcome and went into a coma.¹⁵

只見四處蒸籠熱氣直朝外冒。林烈道：“我正要同你算賬，你還朝我冒氣？索性給他一不做、二不休！”雙手舉起大刀，照著那些蒸籠左五右六一陣亂砍，登時自己無名火引起陣內邪火，四面熱氣都向口鼻撲來，一交跌倒，昏迷過去。

The steaming pots again serve to indicate the intensity of the general's anger. Not only does Lin Lie's emotion lead him to infringe upon the waiter's body, but also engulfs the general himself in the end.

In sum, the allegory of *qi* in the *Jinghua yuan* has foregrounded the gendered association of anger, fleshing out how the emotion relates to the body and affirming patience as a countermeasure against anger. Through such an allegory, the novel confirms the continued presence of many a theme pertinent to the emotion into the nineteenth century,

¹³ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.793; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.874.

¹⁴ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.794; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.874.

¹⁵ Li Ruzhen, *Huiping Jinghua yuan*, 2: 98.794; Li Ju-chen, *Flowers*, 2: 30.874; translation modified.

forming a bridge to the further exploration of the role of anger in the late Qing literary landscape and beyond.

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