金瓶梅

A STUDY OF

THE COMPOSITION AND THE SOURCES

OF THE CHIN P'ING MEI

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ABSTRACT

The authenticity of parts of the novel -- a question which has never been settled -- is here decided by means of a close textual study. A description is given from personal observation of the early editions of the Chin P'ing Mei, several of which, accessible only in China or Japan, have not been described before. By criteria of internal consistency, narrative as well as linguistic, it is shown that the text of Chapters 53 to 57, unlike their headings, did not belong to the original work. This conclusion also makes it possible to decide how the groups of early editions are related.

From an examination of the early references to the novel, new light is cast on the date of its composition, as well as on the transmission of its manuscripts. The successful dating of a letter by the poet Yüan Hung-tao 袁宏道 proves that the novel was already in existence in 1596. This letter, together with other references, indicat that two kinds of manuscript were in circulation from 1596 one half-complete, the other virtually complete. From the second, all our extant editions ultimately derive.

Only a few of the sources of the novel have hitherto been described, and then usually without any attempt at evaluation. A collective study is made here of the sources including many which are pointed out for the first time. Each is described and assessed for its bearing on the nove It is shown that certain works, especially drama, song, and shuo-ch'ang 說唱 literature, assume great importance, and have a hitherto unrecognised influence on the Chin P'i Mei.

PREFACE

In the preparation of this thesis I have received he from many people. I am especially grateful to Professor W Simon and Dr.K.P.K. Whitaker, under whose supervision it was written. Professor Simon first encouraged me in the choice of this topic, and has since given generous assistance; Dr. Whitaker has kindly helped with a number problems. Among my colleagues in the Far East Department and Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies there is no one to whom I am not indebted for help or adv at some stage. Here I shall mention only two: Mrs. Yin C. Liu, who helped me with translation problems, and Dr.C. Birch, whose own thesis, on a kindred subject, has made t course of my studies easier than it might otherwise have been.

I spent the 1957-8 session on study leave in China a Japan. The full list of scholars who generously gave up their time to me, and of libraries where I was able to re is far too long to be given here. Some, however, I cannot fail to name. In China, I am especially indebted to Professors Wu Hsiao-ling 吳曉鈴 and Fu Hsi-hua 傅惜华, a well as to the library staffs of the Peking Library, the Peking University Library, and the Metropolitan Library. In Japan, I owe a similar debt to Professors Kuraishi Takeshirō 倉石武四郎, Ono Shinobu 小野忍, and Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, and to the library staffs of the Naikaku Bunko, the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūsho, and the Tenri University Library.

Around the subject of the Chin P'ing Mei, not very many scholarly or critical works have so far been written What there are, however, are often of the highest value. I am very conscious of my debt to scholars like Cheng Che to 鄭振鐸, Wu Han 吳晗, and Feng Yüan-chün 馮沅君; thei influence will be obvious throughout this thesis.

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P.D.H.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

When I first came to consider the Chin P'ing Mei as a subject for research, it is true to say that none of the three topics dealt with in this thesis was present in my mind. Each of them has since that time impressed itself upon me as being an essential part of the study of the novel.

The first topic is the composition of the Chin P'ing Mei -- an attempt to find out how much we have of the original work. In the case of a work which was most probabl the product of a single writer's imagination, such an attempt scarcely needs to be justified. The methods, however, by which this question is dealt with, may call for a word of explanation. No amount of external reference could have proved the authenticity, or lack of it, of certain parts of the novel; the only way was by close textual study. (This probably explains why the authenticity of some chapters of the novel has been taken on trust up to the present day.) Unfortunately, a study of this kind does not make interesting reading; the only excuse I can offer is that if, as I hope, the study is thorough enough, it may settle the question once and for all.

The second topic arises out of the first. When I came to compare the results of textual study with the available references, I found that many of the references had never

been adequately used, and that it was possible to throw new light on the date of composition, as well as on the varieties and the transmission of the early manuscripts.

A study of the sources is a useful, if sometimes tedio part of the consideration of any great work. There are several reasons why, in the case of the Chin P'ing Mei, it can be especially illuminating. It is true that there is such an astonishing variety of sources used that they form one of the novel's outstanding characteristics. But the main importance of the sources probably lies elsewhere: the are a part -- but the most reliable part -- of the evidence which we must consider in trying to see the Chin P'ing Mei in the context of sixteenth-century literature. We shall inevitably make mistakes if we try to see the novel as the product of its time, while ignoring the deep cultural, stylistic and regional differences which divide its literature; by confining our attention, at least to begin with, to those works and kinds of works which the author of the Chin P'ing Mei has seen fit actually to incorporate in his novel, we shall have a much sounder basis for generalisation. A further aspect of the study of the source is that it enables us, by examining the purposes to which the author has turned them, to deduce a few facts about his methods as a novelist and the themes which he wished to stress. In Part Three of this thesis a tentative beginning is therefore made in the study of the sources. I hope that

even if not all of the conclusions are acceptable, at least the enumeration of the sources themselves, many of which are here pointed out for the first time, will be found useful.

The romanization used is that of the Wade-Giles system. Characters are normally given on the first occurrence of a name or title.

The usual reservations must be made about equating dates with the years of the Chinese calendar.

The lunar months are denoted by the use of the ordinal ('the first month').

Chapter, chüan and page references given in the text or in notes refer, unless the edition is also specified, to the editions described in the Bibliography.

PART ONE: THE COMPOSITION OF THE CHIN P'ING MEI.

The step which is a prelude to almost any serious critical study of the Chin P'ing Mei is to establish how much we possess of what the author wrote. This subject, dealt with mainly by means of a study of the text, occupie Part One of this thesis.

"What the author wrote" is ambiguous in the case of the Chin P'ing Mei, for it is well known that the author incorporated parts of earlier works in his novel. A study of such "sources" is the concern of Part Three; here we shall merely attempt to find out how much we have of the novel as it left the author's hand.

Chapter One: The Principal Texts and their Relationship.

The first edition of the Chin P'ing Mei of which we have record was published in 1610. It no longer exists. The earliest edition now in existence was published, at the earliest, in 1617. Between that date and the end of the seventeenth century, copies of twelve other editions and one manuscript survive. There are other editions, which are no longer in existence, but which are referred to in contemporary writings. The existence of still more editions can be deduced from a comparison of existing ones. Altogether, having regard to the reputation of the Chin P'ing Mei, it is likely that the extant editions form only a small part of those published during the century.

Among the extant editions, three systems can easily be distinguished. Differing designations have been given them by Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第 and Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩 Since we shall have frequent occasion in the following notes to refer to these systems, we shall name them simply A, B, and C.

The first edition of none of these systems is in existence. This fact, together with the high mortality-rate among the editions of the novel, has made it difficult to determine, especially among the B editions, the precise relationship of one edition to another.

The location of the various editions has presented a

further difficulty. Of the fourteen editions referred to, only two are fairly generally accessible. Of the other twelve, there are eight in China, and four in Japan. A third of them have never been described before, and the others only in inadequate detail. I have had the great good fortune to be able to examine as many as ten of these editions, more perhaps than any other person. Even so, the are still two editions I have not managed to see; in those cases I have had to depend on the too brief accounts given by other people.

Although the editions are here presented as a bibliography, they are all -- with the above reservation -- freshly described from a first-hand examination. The details given of each edition are intended to support the division into systems and groups. Some of them, accordingl will appear arbitrary; their sole recommendation is that they help to differentiate one kind of edition from another. To find such details was the only course short o embarking on large-scale collation of the B editions, a herculean task of little value. Furthermore, not all of the features by which editions are customarily described proved to be of significance; measurements, for example, will serve to differentiate editions, but not <u>kinds of editions</u>, which was my chief concern.

The grounds for the division into systems are primarily textual. There are, for example, major textual differences between the A and B systems in some half-doze chapters, and countless minor ones throughout the novel. The division between the B and C editions, however, is dependent mainly on such things as prefaces, illustration

and notes. These various differences will be given in detail in Chapter Two; in this chapter I shall attempt merely to describe the texts of the three systems (all the texts of A and B, but only the earliest C text), and to show so far as possible, how each text differs from the others in its system.

The A editions.

(Designated by Sun K'ai-ti as Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua 金瓶梅詞話, and by Nagasawa Kikuya as 'the tz'u-hua editions 詞話本.')

There are three of these editions. In what is their probable order of publication, they are:-

A.1 A blockprint edition. (All the editions described below are blockprint editions, unless otherwise stated

Location. This edition formed part of the Rare Book Collection of the Peking National Library. It was removed to the United States together with other works of that collection.

This copy, a virtually complete one, was discovered in Shansi in 1932, and was bought by the Peking National Library. In 1933 a photolithographic reprint was issued to subscribers in 100 copies. Later other reprints were made, the most recent of which was by the Wen-hsüeh ku-chi ch'u-pan-she 文學古籍出版社 in 1957.

The original had no illustrations, but in the

1933 reprint, and in all subsequent photographic reprints, the illustrations of edition B.1 (below) have been reproduced.

The original lacked two leaves, Ch.52 pp.7a-8b. In photographic reprints after the first one in 1933, these leaves have been supplemented from the corresponding text in edition B.2 (below).

This edition has been reprinted, with expurgatio in a number of modern editions.[1]

Extent. Complete, except for Ch.52 pp.7a-8b (see abo

Prefaces. There are three prefaces.

(1) Entitled Chin P'ing Mei hsü 金瓶梅序 and signed Hsin-hsin tzu 欣欣子 .

(2) Entitled merely pa 跋 'colophon', and signed Nien Kung 廿公 .

(3) Entitled Chin P'ing Mei hsü, and signed Nung-chu K'e 弄珠客 of Tung Wu 東吳 (ie. Soochow). Dated 1617.

Prefatory tz'u. There are eight tz'u 詞 , entitled Hsin-k'e Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua 新刻金瓶梅詞話 which are prefaced to the novel as a whole. The first four, which concern the pleasures of the recluse's life, are introduced by the phrase tz'u yüeh 詞曰 'the tz'u runs...'. The second four are given the title of ssu-t'an tz'u 四貪詞 'four tz'u on the sin of greed.' They are, respectively, Drunkenness, Lust,

Avarice, and Wrath.

Table of Contents. Entitled Hsin-k'e Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua.

Division. 10 chüan, 100 chapters (hui 回). The division into chüan and chapters, as with the edition described below, is a concurrent one.

Lineation. 11 columns, 24 characters.

Comment. This edition is described by Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸[1] as an edition from the north of China. Its date he takes to be the end of the Wan-li 萬曆 period (1573-1619). This would mean that while 1617 would still be the earliest date one could assign to it, the preface by Kung-chu K'e (3) of Soochow could not have been originally written for this edition, although it may have belonged to its exemplar. There are other scholars, however, who have accepted it, on the basis of the third preface, as a Soochow edition of 1617.[2]

A.2 Location. Kyoto University Library.

This edition was discovered in Kyoto in 1917. It had been used as lining-paper for the P'u-t'o-jo-shan chih 普陀洛山志, a gazetteer, apparently of a late Ming edition.[3]

Extent. Only Chapters 11, 44-45, 87-94 remain.

Division. 10 chüan, 100 chapters.

Lineation. 11 columns, 24 characters.

Comment. This fragment appears to be an extremely close copy of edition A.1.[1]

A.3 Location. The Jigendō 慈眼堂 Temple, Nikkō, Japan.

I have not seen this edition, and rely for information about it, on Nagasawa Kikuya[2] and Toyoda Minoru 豊田穣.[3]

Prefaces. Contains prefaces (1) and (3) (see A.1 above).[4] No mention is made of the colophon (2); presumably it does not exist in this edition.

Division. 100 chapters. The division into chüan is no mentioned.

Lineation. 11 columns, 26 characters.

Comment. This edition is given the title of Chin P'in Mei tzu-hua by Toyoda.[5] Presumably the words hsin-k'e do not occur.

From the forms of the characters, Nagasawa considers this to be an edition of the Ch'ung-chen 崇禎 period (1628-43), that is to say, a later copy of A.1.[6]

The above three texts are the only A editions which have to be considered. There are in fact no editions derived from them during the whole of the Ch'ing dynasty. If we

assume A.3 to be a Ch'ung-chen edition, then the next A text is the photolithographic edition of 1933, some 300 years later.

One other edition has sometimes been thought to be of this system. This is edition B.9, described below. Presumably because of its title, which includes the words tz'u-hua it has been wrongly assigned.[1] It is in fact an early Ch'ing edition which belongs to the B system.

Of the three A editions, A.1 is clearly the earliest. A.2 is a reprint of it, virtually identical in the fragment which remains. According to Nagasawa, A.3 is also a reprint of A.1.[1] It is a pity that A.3 has never been collated with A.1; one does not know whether corrections, for example, hav been made in the often erroneous text of A.1. Ideally speaking, too, the missing leaves of A.1 should be supplied from the closely related text of A.3, rather than from edition B.2. Despite these points, however, A.1 is obviously the only choice as a representative of the A editions.

The B editions.

(Designated by Sun K'ai-ti as Chin P'ing Mei, and by Nagasawa as 'the Ming novel editions 明代小說本 .')

There are ten editions and one manuscript. The following order is not necessarily the order in which they were published:-

B.1 Location. This edition was formerly in the possession of Wang Hsiao-tz'u 王孝慈 .[1]

Extent. Only two ts'e 冊 remain. Apparently these contain merely the illustrations.

Illustrations. 200 single-page illustrations.

Comment. I have not seen this edition. The illustrations, however, are those which were included in the 1933 photo-lithographic edition of A.1(above). Some of them bear the signatures of the engravers; hence it is possible to give an approximate date to the edition. Some of the same engravers were responsible for the edition of the Shui-hu-chuan which has a preface by Ta-ti yü-jen 大滌餘人.[2] The same signatures are also found in the songbook Wu-sao ho-pien 吳騷合編 which has a Ch'ung-chen(1628-43) preface.[3] It seems reasonable, therefore, to take this as a Ch'ung-chen edition. The engravers describe themselves as coming from Hsin-an, but since, according to Cheng Chen-to, they were in the employ of Hangchow bookshops, this edition is likely to have been published in Hangchow

also.

B.2 Location. Peking University Library, Ma Lien 馬廉 Collection. One of the most widely-known of the editions of the novel, it is frequently referred to as the 'Ch'ung-chen edition 崇禎本 .'

The first third of this edition has been reprinted in the Shih-chieh wen-ku 世界文庫 .

Prefaces. Nung-chu K'e preface (see A.1 above). It bears no date, however.

Table of contents. Entitled Hsin-k'e hsiu-hsiang p'i-p'ing Chin P'ing Mei 新刻繡像批評金瓶梅 .

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. 200 single-page illustrations, ie. 100 leaves. The illustrations are not prefaced to the text as a whole, as is the case with the other B editions; one leaf, bearing two single-page illustrations, appears before each chapter.

The illustrations bear a very close resemblance to those of B.1, and some of them also bear the signatures of the same engravers. A slight simplification is just discernible in a few cases, however, and they would therefore appear to be a very close copy of those of B.1.

Lineation. 10 columns, 22 characters. This is the same

as the Ta-ti[illegible] yü-jen edition of the Shui-hu-chuan mentioned under B.1.

Notes. There are notes above the text(mei-p'ing 眉評) and between the columns of characters(p'ang-p'ing 傍評

Initial verse. ie. the poems which stand at the head of each chapter. These poems are usually preceded by the phrase tz'u yüeh 詞曰 'the tz'u runs.....', and followed by the pattern of the tz'u in the formula you tiao 右調 'the preceding poem is to the pattern of.....

Pagination. Each chapter is separately numbered.

Chüan titles. The title of the novel appears before each chüan. Generally it is the same as the title which precedes the table of contents. In the case of the following chüan, the title differs:-

Chüan 6 has hsin-chüan 新鐫 for hsin-k'e.

Chüan 8 has p'ing-tien 評點 for p'i-p'ing.

Chüan 9 has p'i-tien 批點 for p'i-p'ing. It also has tz'u-hua 詞話 at the end of the title.

Chüan 14 and 15 have p'i-tien 批點 for p'i-p'ing

B.3 Tenri Central Library, Japan. This edition was formerly in the possession of Shionoya On 鹽谷溫 .[1]

Prefaces. As B.2 (above).

Table of contents. As B.2.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. 200 single-page illustrations (100 leaves). The illustrations are apparently much the same those of B.2; they are, therefore, a fairly close copy of the original.

Lineation. 10 columns, 22 characters.

Notes. Both mei-p'ing and p'ang-p'ing, as in B.2. Most of the notes are the same.

Initial verse. As in B.2.

Pagination. Each chapter is separately numbered.

Chüan titles. In the case of the following chüan, the title differs:-

Chüan 6 as B.2.

Chüan 7 has Hsin-k'e Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua 新刻金瓶梅詞話 (the title of A.1)

Chüan 8 has p'i-tien for p'i-p'ing.

Chüan 14 as B.2.

Chüan 15 (title missing).

B.4 Location. Two copies exist of this edition. One is held by the Naikaku Bunko, the other by the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūsho. The latter, which was formerly in the possession of Nagasawa Kikuya, lacks the first ts'e containing title-page, prefaces, and illustrations.

Title-page. Entitled Hsin-k'e hsiu-hsiang p'i-p'ing yüan-pen Chin P'ing Mei 新刻繡像批評原本金瓶梅

Prefaces. Contains prefaces (2) and (3), see A.1.

Table of contents. As B.2.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. 200 single-page illustrations (100 leaves).

Lineation. 11 columns, 28 characters.

Notes. As B.2, both mei-p'ing and p'ang-p'ing. Many are identical with those in B.2.

Initial verse. The poems are preceded by the name of the tz'u-pattern only.

Pagination. Each chüan(5 chapters) is separately numbered.

Chüan titles. In the case of the following chüan, the title differs:-

Chüan 8,9, and 13 have p'ing-tien for p'i-p'ing.

Chüan 14 and 15 as B.2.

Comment. I have not myself seen the first ts'e of the Naikaku edition, and for a description of the title-page, prefaces, and illustrations, am dependent on Sun K'ai-ti.[4] The illustrations apparently bear some resemblance to those of B.5 (below), since Sun describes the latter edition as having excised one illustration per chapter.

B.5 Location. The Metropolitan Library 首都图書館 (formerly the Peking Municipal Library). This edition was previously held by the K'ung-te School 孔德學校 in Peking.

Extent. Complete except for one ts'e containing chapters 51-55. The first few leaves of the edition, containing the title-page and part of the table of contents, are also missing.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. 101 single-page illustrations. Although modelled on those of the other editions, they are far inferior. None of the engravers' signatures are reproduced. From the illustration for Ch.81 on, the work is much cruder; evidently a less skilled hand was responsible.

The first of the two illustrations referring to each chapter has been reproduced here. (There are two for Ch.100). The reduction of the original illustratio by half has led the engraver to re-dispose some of them. It is normal to place items of interest in the picture towards the outside, away from the centre of the book. Now, because of the reduction in number, many of the illustrations opened on the opposite side of the page to where they had been before. Accordingly some re-disposition was necessary if the various items of interest were to remain visible. In the illustratio

for Chapters 34,56,64, and 78, the human figures which are the centre of interest, have been transposed mirror-fashion, from one side of the picture to the other.

Lineation. 11 columns, 28 characters.

Notes. None.

Initial verse. As B.4.

Pagination. As B.4.

Chüan titles. In the case of the following chüan, the title differs:-

Chüan 8, 9, and 13 as B.4.

Chüan 14 as B.4.

Colophon. This edition appears to contain a colophon at the very end of the book. Most of it is too blurred to be decipherable. It is signed by Hui-tao-jen 回道人

Comment. This is an inferior edition, and contains many mistakes. Some of the illustrations are in the wrong order, and have the wrong chapter headings. The 101st illustration has 'Chapter 101'on it, although there is of course no such thing.

B.6 Location. Peking University Library, Ma Lien 馬廉 Collection.

Extent. Four ts'e remain, containing Chapters 26-30, 36-50. Ch.46 lacks the first three leaves.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Lineation. 11 columns, 28 characters.

Notes. None.

Initial verse. As B.4.

Pagination. As B.4.

Chüan titles. Only three remain. Chüan 6 has the title which is most common; chüan 8 and 9 have p'ing-tien for p'i-p'ing.

Comment. This edition is very close to B.5. A few characters are different in form; that constitutes most of the difference.

B.7 Location. Peking Library.

Extent. Only two ts'e remain, containing part of the preface, the table of contents, and the illustrations.

Prefaces. As B.2.

Table of contents. As B.2.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. 184 single-page illustrations (92 leaves). There are no illustrations for Chapters

29, 34, 50, 73, 76, 78, 83, and 93.

The illustrations are a copy of those of some other edition. Most of the ones which in B.1 bear the engraver's name here do not have it. A good deal of simplification has taken place.

B.8 Manuscript.

Location. Peking University Library, Ma Lien Collection.

Prefaces. As B.2. The first part of the preface is missing.

Table of contents. No title.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Lineation. 10 columns, 26 characters.

Notes. None.

Pagination. None.

B.9 Location. In the possession of Fu Hsi-hua 傅惜华, Peking.

Extent. Five ts'e remain, containing the preface, table of contents, and Chapters 1-2, 11-15, 31-35, and 65-68.

Title-page. Entitled Hsiu-k'e ku-pen pa-ts'ai-tzu tz'u-hua 繡刻古本八才子詞話.

Below occur the words pen-ya ts'ang-pan 本衙藏板

Preface. Explains why the edition has been given

the above title. The writer of the preface is not named, but the date is given as 1645.

Table of contents. As title-page.

Division. 10 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. Despite the title there are no illustrations.

B.10 Location. In the possession of Fu Hsi-hua, Peking.

Division. 20 chüan, 100 chapters.

Illustrations. None.

Comment. This edition is described by its owner as probably an early Ch'ing edition, with a close resemblance to B.2.[1]

Although more editions have been described above than have ever been described hitherto, it is certain that other B editions exist. One writer has mentioned such an edition in his possession, but with so little detail as to make it useless to include it here.[2] The same writer has said that although the book was always a rarity, it was still occasionally possible in the 1930's to buy one on the Shanghai book market.[3]

Among the first six B editions, two groups can be discerned, differentiated by the following criteria:- lineation, pagination, chüan titles, and the way of setting out the initial verse. The first group consists of B.2 and

B.3, and the second group of B.4, B.5, and B.6. Too little remains of B.1 to say which group it belongs to.

Of the first group, it is not possible to establish with certainty the relationship between the two editions. B.2 has finer illustrations, and presumably derives from B.1 or some lost edition close to it, but since its illustrations are not themselves the original ones, this does not necessarily place it before B.3.

Of the second group, it is reasonable to suppose that both B.5 and B.6 are cheap reprints -- minus notes and half the illustrations -- of B.4 or some lost edition similar to B.4. It is possible, therefore, to take B.4 as representative of this group, and ignore the other two editions.

Nearly all the B editions, and all of the early ones, have the title of Hsin-k'e hsiu-hsiang p'i-p'ing Chin P'ing Mei 'Chin P'ing Mei, Newly Reprinted, with illustrations and notes.' In other words, they derive at one remove or another from an illustrated and annotated edition. Although the notes of B.2, B.3, and B.4 differ slightly, it is not possible to deduce from that anything about their relationship. The illustrations are of some help, however. All the Ming illustrations of the novel have an astonishing similarity. Since the finest of them bear the names of famous Hsin-an engravers, it is likely that the illustrations were created in the first place by them. Since the same men were responsible for the

illustrations of the Ta-[illegible] yü-jen edition of the Shui-hu-chuan, which has the same lineation as the B.2 and B.3 editions, it may well be that these are closer to the earliest B edition than B.4 is.

Whether the fragment B.1 is itself part of the earliest B edition, it is impossible to say; if not the original, it must be a very close copy.

Some textual changes evidently took place between the earliest B edition and those B editions which survive. There are a number of discrepancies between the chapter headings as found in the table of contents and alongside the illustrations, and the chapter headings as found in the text Probably the former were the original ones, for in the C texts they have been adapted to accord with the others.

The textual differences between the extant B editions, however, are fairly slight. In one or two places a column has been missed, but usually differences amount to no more than mistakes by one edition or another over single characters.[1]

From the identity of the engravers, it is assumed that the earliest B edition -- either B.1, or the exemplar of B.1 -- was published in the Ch'ung-chen period. From the manner in which they were engraved, it is likely that at least B.2, B.3, and B.4 can also be assigned to this period.

The C editions.

(Designated by Sun K'ai-ti as Chang Chu-p'o p'ing Chin P'ing Mei 張竹坡評金瓶梅, and by Nagasawa Kikuya as 'the Chang Chu-p'o editions 張竹坡本.

There are many slightly different varieties. I give below the features which are common to most of the early editions:-

Title-page. Entitled Kao-he-t'ang p'i-p'ing ti-i ch'i-shu 皐鶴堂批評第一奇書.

Prefaces. There is a preface dated 1695 by Hsieh I 謝頤 (Kao-he-t'ang is apparently his studio-name) There are also some twelve introductions, disquisitions, and lists, by Chang Chu-p'o.

Table of contents. Title as above, with Chin P'ing Mei added.

Division. 100 chapters. There is no division into chüan.

Illustrations. 200 single-page illustrations.

Notes. Mei-p'ing and p'ang-p'ing. Some editions also have notes at the beginning and end of the chapter.

Initial verse. As B.2.

All subsequent Ch'ing editions are derived from the 1695 edition. Textually it differs little from the B editions. Some slight adaptations have been made; one instance -- the matching of the chapter headings in the table of contents with those in the text -- has been described above.

It may be of some slight interest to know which of th B editions was the one on which the first C edition was based. From the scanty material given above, it is more likely to have been an edition of the first group than of the second. The arrangement of its initial verse accords with that of the first group, and there is an early C edition which has the same lineation.[1]

Chapter Two: A Comparison of the A and B editions.

Henceforth A.1 will be taken as representing the A editions, and B.4 as representing the B editions. Most of points made in this and succeeding chapters are, however, general enough to apply to all the editions in each system.

The extent to which the two editions vary differs from one part of the novel to another. For our present purpose the novel must therefore be divided into the following four parts:-

1. <u>The whole of the novel except chapters 1,53,54, 55,56 and 81.</u> Broadly speaking, in this portion of the novel the editions can be said to vary throughout in a uniform way. The main difference is that B is considerably shorter than A. This is accounted for by the following kinds of material, contained in A but not in B.

(a) single characters, for example <u>na</u> 纳 before proper names.

(b) phrases, especially parallel phrases.

(c) passages up to hundreds of characters in length, especially passages which are not vital to the action, such as elaborate description or reflective comment.

(d) songs. There are many fewer in B. Where A has the whole of a song, B often has merely the tune. Where A has a group of songs, B often has only the first

of them.

(e) stories and anecdotes, told by people in the novel. The B version sometimes seems a mere précis of the stories as told in A.

(f) poems occurring in the course of, and at the end of, chapters. Many of the poems which appear in A do not occur in B.

(g) the conventional remarks addressed to the reader at the end of each chapter.

2. The first part of Ch.1. (the first 8 leaves of A.1, the first 20 of B.4). The text of the two editions differs completely, in both wording and content.

3. Ch.53 and 54. The text of the two editions differs almost completely so far as wording is concerned, but the content of certain parts is similar, even to details of the narrative.

4. Ch.55, 56 and 81. In these chapters the editions differ as in the bulk of the novel (see 1 above) in that there is a good deal of text which appears in A but not in B, except that here there are also some passages which appear in B but not in A.

There are two points of difference which are found throughout the novel. The chapter headings are often different, and the initial verse usually differs in kind

as well as in content, that in A being shih 詩 , and tha in B tz'u 詞 .

Some of the differences described above can be simply explained. It will be shown later that the extra passages in the B version of Chapters 55, 56 and 81 are in fact the additions of an editor anxious to cover gaps in the narrative. There is no reason why these chapters, apart from the additions, should not be considered under 1.

The almost complete divergence of the editions in Chapters 53 and 54 accords significantly with a well-known remark by the Ming writer Shen Te-fu 沈德符 (1578-1642) on the subject of the first printed edition of the Chin P'ing Mei:

> However, the original text was short of Chapters 53 to 57; they were searched for everywhere, but could not be found. Some ignoramus supplied them, so that the work could be printed.[1]

So far as I know, there is no accepted view as to which, if either, of these versions of Chapters 53 and 54 is authentic. Nor do I know of any evidence offered as to whether Chapters 55-7 are authentic or not. Accordingly, this question -- the authenticity of Chapters 53 to 57 -- will be considered in Chapter Three.

So far as the first part of Ch.1 is concerned, the general view, without doubt the correct one, is that the A version is authentic. This question will be briefly

discussed in Chapter Four.

For the rest of the novel, the commonsense conclusion is that B is an abridgement -- except for the additions to Ch.81 -- of an earlier text represented by A. It has long been assumed by scholars that A was the earlier text, and the success of their researches -- on songs, drama, historical references, etc. -- confirms the truth of the assumption. However, unless it can be shown that in all cases of divergence, A is the more reliable text, detailed criticism may well be impeded.

Fortunately there are ways of showing that in so far as B differs from A, it is not nearer to, but further from, the original novel. One proof of this is provided by the other works from which the author copied so copiously. (See Part Two). In most cases more of the original source is found in A, while nothing is found in B which is not also found in A. Some differences between A and B represent developments in the history of the Chinese novel itself. Thus whereas the pairs of chapter headings in A are often ill-balanced, and occasionally even of different length, those of B, as with seventeenth-century novels, are polished and well-balanced.[1] Similarly, the use of tz'u in place of shih for the initial verse -- the practice of the B editions -- is found for the first time among early seventeenth-century novels.[2]

B is thus an abridged text. By the standards of Chinese fiction, however, it is not an unduly severe abridgement;

it does not compare with the first abridgement of the Shui-hu-chuan,[1] or with other abridgements to which the C editions were subjected during the Ch'ing dynasty.[2]

The obvious motive for abridgement is economy; the shorter the novel, the more cheaply it can be produced. In the case of the Chin P'ing Mei however, there may have been an additional motive; some of the excisions may have been designed to make the novel more acceptable to the contemporary reader. Many of the short poems scattered throughout the text of A have only a tenuous connection with their context; most of them have been removed in B. The songs, which were actual popular songs in the sixteenth century, can no longer have been popular fifty years later; many of them too have been excised. Ting Yao-k'ang 丁耀亢 author of the Hsü Chin P'ing Mei 續金瓶梅 (the continuation of the Chin P'ing Mei)[3], wrote in his preface of 1660 that 'the previous work had many old songs', and declared his own intention of replacing them with current ones. The excisions, therefore, may have been prompted by the same desire as was noticed in the case of the initial verse and the chapter headings (compare also the changes made in Ch.1) -- the desire to bring the novel up to date.

It has been suggested by Cheng Chen-to that the novel was rewritten, perhaps by a person from Hangchow, because the dialect of the original (assumed to be that of Shantung) was incomprehensible to people in the South.[4] Yet a comparisc

of the A and B editions has shown that it is not so much the dialogue, where one finds the most baffling expressions that has been excised, as the prose of description, the poems, and the songs. A study of the alterations made in the dialogue has not revealed a single common feature which has been systematically adapted in the B editions. If this motive did enter into the editor's calculations, it does not seem to have done so very prominently.

Showing that B is an abridgement of A is no proof that all of A, in this part of the novel (all except Chapters 1, 53-57), belonged to the original work. To prove this, it would be necessary to show that a high degree of consistency, in matters of language and plot, existed throughout. That such consistency does exist will emerge incidentally from the examination which follows of Chapters 53 to 57.

Chapter Three: The Supplied Text -- Chapters 53 to 57.

Shen Te-fu's note on the first printed edition continues as follows:

> Leaving out of consideration their utter triviality and vulgarity, and their occasional use of Soochow words, the chapters he supplied do not even fit in with the sequence of the novel. One can tell at a glance that they have been forged.[1]

The fact that no one has been able to point to breaks in continuity or use of Soochow dialect, let alone 'tell at a glance that the chapters have been forged,' need not necessarily mean that either text we have is authentic; the supplied chapters may have been revised in editions after the first, and Shen Te-fu may, in any case, have exaggerated their weaknesses.

The two points he makes, however, must form the criteria for any examination of this question. The most obvious way of testing the authenticity of these chapters is to see if there are any glaring inconsistencies in the narration. And another way is to examine their use of language, not indeed in the remote hope of discovering Soochow dialect, but in order to see how their use of one or two common words compares with that of the rest of the novel.

Inconsistencies in the narration.

It will depend on the nature of the novel whether mistakes made in a supplied text can be distinguished from the mistakes of author and copyist. Fortunately the Chin P'ing Mei is a novel from which one expects consistency. It is not a picaresque novel; most of the action takes place in and around Hsi-men Ch'ing's household. Moreover for such a long novel it has a relatively small number of important characters. Also, although the novel covers a fictional period of about ten years, the middle part, from Ch.20 to Ch.80, concerns a period of not more than two or three years. As a result, in this part of the novel, the affairs of the household are narrated in such detail that little room is left for serious inconsistency.

The simplest step is to trace certain relevant threads of the story up to Ch.52, and then pick them up again in Ch.58, in order to see what should have occurred in the meantime. These conclusions can then be compared with the actual A and B versions. This procedure will be followed in these six cases:-

Miao Ch'ing; the singing-boys (the two threads join)

Hsi-men's visit to the Eastern Capital.

The Yung-fu-ssu 永福寺 .

The To-lo-ching 陀羅經 .

Hsi-men's visit to the eunuchs.

Li III and Huang IV.

Textual references are to A.1.

Miao Ch'ing

Ch.47 1a-10a. The story is told of Miao T'ien-hsiu 苗天秀 -- also referred to as Miao Yüan-wai 苗員外 --, a rich man living in Yangchow, who ignored the advice of an itinera priest not to travel and accepted an invitation to visit the Eastern Capital. He took with him his servant Miao Ch'ing 苗青, whose jealous hatred he had previously earned and a page-boy, An-t'ung 安童. Miao Ch'ing joined with the two boatmen of the ship on which they sailed to murder his master and divide his property. An-t'ung, clubbed and left for drowned, survived to identify the two boatmen. These two confessed to the crime, also implicating Miao Ch'ing. He however, arranged to bribe Hsi-men Ch'ing and the other magistrate. Having handed over 1,000 taels to Hsi-men, he hastened back to Yangchow with the rest of the property.

The magistrates declared that the boatmen had fabricate their testimony against Miao Ch'ing. The Prefect, a friend of Hsi-men's, accepted this construction of the affair, and sentenced the two men to death.

Ch.48 1a-3b. Baulked of justice, An-t'ung had resort to the provincial Censor, who discovered the truth of the case. He sent to Yangchow to arrest Miao Ch'ing, and submitted a memorial impeaching the two magistrates. They however sent bribes to Ts'ai Ching 蔡京, the Imperial Tutor, who

caused the censor to be removed from his office, and later exiled.

Ch.49 11b. Hsi-men, taking leave of the Salt Inspector Ts'ai Yün 蔡蘊, a protégé of Ts'ai Ching, mentioned the case of Miao Ch'ing.

"He is a friend of mine who was falsely accused in a case heard by the last censor. A warrant for his arrest was sent to Yangchow, and the case adjourned pending his capture. Since this affair has already been investigated, if you should meet His Honour Sung (the new censor), I should be most grateful if you could mention the matter to him."

"That presents no difficulty at all," said Censor Ts'ai. "When I see Sung, I shall tell him that if by any chance this man should be brought to trial, he ought merely to let him go."

Later on, he was as good as his word.

Ch.51 14b-15a. Han Tao-kuo 韓道国 and Ts'ui Pen 崔本 were about to leave on a buying expedition to the south. Hsi-men handed them two letters.

"One is to go to Wang Po-ju's shop in Yangchow docks, while this one is for Miao Ch'ing. Go into the town of Yangchow, find him and ask him his news. Then come straight back and report to me. If there is not enough money, I shall send some more later by Lai Pao 来保."

They left on the 20th of the fourth month (Ch.51 8a).

That is all the material before Ch.53 which is relevant to this thread of the story.

Ch.58 12b. Ts'ui Pen is mentioned as present in the house.

Ch.59 1ab. Han Tao-kuo returned alone. Ts'ui Pen came out to help unload.

Ch.67 15b. 'On the twenty-fourth, Hsi-men burned paper offerings, and sent off (Han Tao-kuo), Ts'ui Pen, Lai Pao, and the two boys Jung Hai 榮海 and Hu Hsiu 胡秀 on their journey to the south. He had written a letter which he gave them to take to Miao Hsiao-hu 苗小湖 , to thank him for his valuable presents.' (Neither Miao Hsiao-hu nor the presents have been referred to before.)

Ch.77 17a-18a. Ts'ui Pen returned with 2,000 taels' worth of goods. Leaving Jung Hai at Lintsing to look after them, he reported to Hsi-men:

"We set out on the first of the twelfth month, and parted from the others at Yangchow. They went on to Hangcho while Jung Hai and I stayed a few days at Miao's. By the way, Miao Ch'ing has spent ten taels on getting a girl for you from the household of a captain in the Yangchow Garrison. She is fifteen years old and her name is Ch'u Yün 楚雲 ..... She knows by heart three thousand short songs and eight hundred long ones..... Miao Ch'ing is looking after her at present, while he assembles a trousseau for her. Han Tao-kuo and Lai Pao will bring her on their boat in the early spring....."

Ch.81 1a-2b. Han Tao-kuo and Lai Pao had been sent by Hsi-men to buy goods in the south. They reached Yangchow.

'They sought out Miao Ch'ing's house and went there to stay. Miao Ch'ing read Hsi-men Ch'ing's letter, and remembering that he owed his life to him, put himself out to entertain them.'

At a farewell party, Hu Hsiu got drunk and quarrelled with Han Tao-kuo.

'Next day he wanted to thrash Hu Hsiu, but the boy said he could not remember a thing about it. Han Tao-kuo was eventually persuaded to desist by Lai Pao and Miao Hsiao-hu. To cut a long story short, they completed their purchases, packed and loaded their goods. Miao Ch'ing prepared some presents, wrote a letter, and saw them off on their journey.'

That is all the relevant material from the A edition. But the two additional passages contained in Ch.81 of the B editions concern this topic.

B.4 Ch.81 1a. 'He (Miao Ch'ing) had also bought a girl called Ch'u Yün and was keeping her in his household to send to Hsi-men Ch'ing in gratitude for the favour done for him.'

B.4 Ch.81 3a. 'Unfortunately the girl Ch'u Yün whom Miao Ch'ing had bought to send to Hsi-men Ch'ing suddenly fell ill and could not travel. "I will send someone with her

as soon as she gets better," said Miao Ch'ing.'

There is thus a simple explanation for these extra passages contained in the B editions. They are evidently the corrections of a later editor, who has noticed an oversight on the part of the author, namely that the girl Ch'u Yün, who was promised to Hsi-men Ch'ing in Ch.77, is not mentioned again. The editor has disposed of her in a very simple manner, for the reader assumes that by the time she is well again the news of Hsi-men's death will have reached Miao Ch'ing.

It is possible to deduce from the above quotations one or two things which should have been recounted in Chapters 53 to 57. Ts'ui Pen should have returned with news of Miao Ch'ing -- it is clear that Miao Ch'ing and Miao Hsiao-hu are one and the same person -- and have brought presents from him, since we are told in Ch.67 that Hsi-men Ch'ing has received valuable presents. But before one can say more about the presents, it is necessary to consider another thread of the story.

The Singing-boys

Ch.58 11b. 'Hsi-men ..... asked Ch'un-hung 春鴻 to come up and sing everybody a southern song.' (Ch'un-hung has not been mentioned before, but from this point on he is often described as singing southern-style songs, a rare accomplishment in Hsi-men's northern household.)

Ch.74 9ab. Hsi-men, hearing Censor Sung praise Ch'un-hung, remarked:

"He's a servant-boy. He comes from Yangchow."

Ch.87 1a-3b. Ying Po-chüeh 应伯爵 tried to tempt Ch'un-hung away from Hsi-men's household by playing on his desire to return to his 'native south.'

It is clear from these passages that somewhere in Chapters 53 to 57 an account of Ch'un-hung's introduction into the household ought to have been given. He must have been sent to Hsi-men Ch'ing from Yangchow. Furthermore, it is likely that he was sent by Miao Ch'ing. Miao Ch'ing lived in Yangchow, where the boy came from, and Hsi-men Ch'ing had received unidentified 'valuable presents' from him. Moreover, later on Miao Ch'ing proposed sending him a Yangchow singing-girl.

Let us now compare these conclusions with the A and B versions. References are to the A.1 edition unless

otherwise stated.

Ch.55 4b. Hsi-men Ch'ing, while in the Eastern Capital to offer the Imperial Tutor congratulations on his birthday, happened to meet an old friend, Miao Yüan-wai 苗員外 of Yangchow, who had come to the capital for the same purpose. (Yüan-wai is merely the designation of a man of property; it is not a name.)[1]

Ch.55 7b. Hsi-men paid a call on Miao while they were both still in the capital:

'In addition to all this (the sumptuous provision of food and wine), there were two handsome singing-boys who sang several groups of songs. Hsi-men Ch'ing pointed to Tai-an, Ch'in-t'ung, Shu-t'ung and Hua-t'ung, and looking at Miao, said:

"Those dolts think of nothing but their food and drink They can't compare with your two boys."

Miao laughed.

"I am afraid they won't serve you properly," he said, "but if you would like them, I should be only too pleased to give them to you."

Ch.55 8a. Overwhelmed by a sudden desire to return home, Hsi-men departed without taking leave of Miao.

Ch.55 10a-12b. Miao regretfully decided that he was still in honour bound to give the singing-boys to Hsi-men Ch'ing. After tearful scenes, he dispatched them to Shantung in

the care of two servants. There follows an account of their journey which is not found in the B version.

Ch.55 13b-15b. Having arrived in Hsi-men's household, they sang a number of songs. (The text of the songs is given in A; B merely gives the tune, and the first line of the first song.)

From this point on, the A and B versions differ widely.

A.1 Ch.55 15b. P'an Chin-lien 潘金蓮 noticed how handsome the two boys were, and marked them down for her own.
A.1 Ch.56 1ab. 'Hsi-men Ch'ing eventually found that he did not need the boys, and sent them to the Imperial Tutor.'

B.4 Ch.55 14a. Hsi-men named one of the boys Ch'un-hung 春鴻 and the other Ch'un-yen 春燕 .
B.4 Ch.56 1a. 'Before long Ch'un-yen died, leaving only Ch'un-hung.'

Both the A and B versions prove unsatisfactory when compared with the conclusions arrived at earlier. The B version does not mention the return of Ts'ui Pen or the presents sent by Miao Ch'ing. Furthermore it contains a figure -- the Miao whom Hsi-men met in the capital -- who is mentioned nowhere else in the novel. The A version has the same defects as B, and in addition, it fails to account

for the presence in the household of Ch'un-hung.

We must therefore conclude that in this part of the novel neither edition is authentic. But if neither is authentic, how have these unsatisfactory versions been arrived at? For both versions come much too close to the truth for it to be a mere matter of coincidence. There are in fact three things which both versions have in common with the reconstruction we made earlier:

Singing-boys are sent to Hsi-men Ch'ing.

They are sent by a man named Miao.

He lives in Yangchow.

Moreover, in A all of these three points, and in B the last two, serve no purpose in the novel whatsoever.

The explanation undoubtedly lies in the chapter headings. The headings of Ch.55 in the A editions are:-

西門庆東京庆寿旦

苗員外揚州送歌童

'Hsi-men Ch'ing offers birthday congratulations in the Eastern Capital.

Miao Yüan-wai sends a singing-boy (or some singing boys) from Yangchow.'

Now the second heading tallies with our reconstruction, and also provides the three points which the A and B versions have in common with it. Therefore the explanation of the paradox whereby both versions are extremely close to the truth while remaining ultimately pointless, is that

the person who wrote them had in his possession the chapter headings of the original novel.

Let us assume for the moment that the first heading is also from the original novel. A writer asked to supply a missing part of the novel, might, if he had only these chapter headings to work on, produce something like the A version. There is only one objection: the singing-boys are sent, in the A version, not from Yangchow, but from the Eastern Capital. The likely explanation is that the writer, confronted with the two chapter headings, tended -- not unnaturally perhaps -- to combine the two events and cause Hsi-men to meet a hitherto unmentioned man named Miao while in the capital to congratulate the Imperial Tutor.

The fact that the second heading tallies with our reconstruction while not quite agreeing with the A version itself, indicates that the chapter headings in the A editions have been left exactly as they were in the original work.

It is also possible to establish something about the relationship of the B version to the A version. The chapter headings of Ch.55 in the B editions are as follows:-

西門庆两番庆寿旦
西員外一諾送歌童

'Hsi-men Ch'ing offers birthday congratulations on two occasions.

Miao Yŭan-wai sends singing-boys after a single promise.'

The offending reference to Yangchow has been removed. Similarly, the passages at the end of Ch.55 and at the beginning of Ch.56 in the B version which explain the presence of Ch'un-hung later in the novel, and account for the death of the other singing-boy, must also be corrections added at a later date. These improvements are analogous to the corrections made in Ch.81 of the B editions, with the difference that there the mistakes were those of the author himself.

Apart from these passages, the text of B bears the same signs of abridgement as compared with A as was noted in the last chapter. Presumably it has undergone the same process.

Hsi-men Ch'ing's visit to the Eastern Capital

Ch.10 Hsi-men, through the good offices of his son-in-law's relative Yang Chien 楊戩, approached the Imperial Tutor Ts'ai Ching to ensure that nothing would come of his arraignment for murder; thereafter, by means of rich presents he cultivated relations with him, and with the comptroller of his household Chai Ch'ien 翟謙.

Ch.27 1ab. Lai Pao returned from the capital. He had been successful in securing the release of some salt merchants who had bribed Hsi-men to help them. Lai Pao also brought a message from Chai Ch'ien inviting Hsi-men to go to the capital for the Imperial Tutor's birthday, the 15th of the sixth month.

Ch.27 2ab. Hsi-men did not go himself, but sent servants with gifts. They left on the 28th of the fifth month.

Ch.49 7b. Censor Ts'ai Yün visited Hsi-men on his way to Yangchow, where he was to administer the new laws relating to the salt trade. It was arranged that if Lai Pao called on him at Yangchow, he would receive preferential treatment.

Ch.51 5b-6a. Hsi-men was told that Sun T'ien-hua 孫天化 and Chu Jih-nien 祝日念, fellow-members of the 'Brotherhood of Ten', had been arrested on a charge of leading into debauchery the young nephew of a powerful man. The singing-girl Li Kuei-chieh 李桂姐, who was accused of the same offence, had so far evaded arrest.

Ch.51 6b-7a. Li Kuei-chieh asked Hsi-men to use his influence on her behalf.

Ch.51 7b-8a. Hsi-men decided to send Lai Pao to the capital to intercede for her. (Lai Pao was to have gone to Yangchow with Han and Ts'ui.) Meanwhile Kuei-chieh remained in Hsi-men's household.

Ch.51 10a. Lai Pao left for the capital.

Ch.51 14b-15a. Hsi-men saw Han and Ts'ui off on their journey to the south.

"Is there a letter for Censor Ts'ai as well?" asked Ts'ui Pen.

"I haven't written it yet," said Hsi-men Ch'ing. "I shall send it later by Lai Pao."

They left on the 20th of the fourth month.

That is all the relevant material before Ch.53.

Ch.58 6a. Li Kuei-chieh to newly-arrived singing-girls:

"We (she and Wu Yin-chieh 吳銀姐) have not been home for two days."

They were in the household to celebrate Hsi-men's birthday, the 28th of the seventh month.

Ch.58 13b. 'Wu Yüeh-niang 吳月娘 packed ~~their~~ boxes for them, and sent Kuei-chieh and Yin-chieh home.'

Ch.60 2ab. Lai Pao arrived with a load of goods from Nanking

Ch.66 5b. A letter from Chai Ch'ien mentions meeting Hsi-men in Chai's house in the capital.

Ch.67 His reply ran:

'Half a year has flown by since we met at your residence in the capital.' (The letter was written about the middle of the tenth month.)

Ch.70 4a. Hsi-men set out for the capital.

Ch.72 7a. 'Hsi-men Ch'ing recalled that the last time he had returned from the Eastern Capital, Li P'ing-erh was still alive.'

It is clear that the following events should have occurred in Chapters 53 to 57:

Lai Pao returned, and was at once sent to Yangchow with a letter for Ts'ai Yün.

While in the capital he secured a pardon for Li Kuei-chieh, and perhaps for Chu and Sun as well.

Kuei-chieh returned home.

Lai Pao also brought an invitation for Hsi-men to go to the capital for Ts'ai Ching's birthday.

Hsi-men accepted, and visited the capital.

Let us now see what actually occurs in the A and B versions.

A.1 Ch.53 1a. Li Kuei-chieh is mentioned among the ladies of the household.

A.1 Ch.54 6ab. When the affair of Chu and Sun was mentioned, Hsi-men said they had themselves to blame for the trouble they were in.

A.1 Ch.55 1b. 'Hsi-men Ch'ing recalled that it was now not long before the Imperial Tutor's birthday.'
Tai-an had already been sent to Hangchow to buy presents.
A.1 Ch.55 2b. Hsi-men set off for the capital.

B.4 Ch.55 2a-4b. Ying Po-chüeh asked whether Li Kuei-chieh was still in the house, and whether the messenger had returned from the capital. Hsi-men replied that he was expecting Lai Pao at any time, and that he wanted him to go to Yangchow when he returned.

Lai Pao reported to Hsi-men that no charge would be brought against Kuei-chieh, and that Chu and Sun would probably be lightly punished and then released. He also conveyed to Hsi-men an invitation from Chai Ch'ien to visit the capital for the Imperial Tutor's birthday.

Lai Pao was told to rest, as he would soon be required to go to Yangchow.

Kuei-chieh was told the news, and returned home.

Hsi-men told Yüeh-niang of the invitation, and proceeded to get presents ready. He gave Lai Pao a letter for Ts'ai Yün, and told him to leave for Yangchow the next day.

Hsi-men set off for the capital.

Thus while B contains all the points of our reconstruction, A contains only one of them, namely Hsi-men's visit to the capital. The A version is clearly not authentic

as well as failing to mention most of the necessary events, it also contains gratuitous absurdities, such as Tai-an's being sent to Hangchow. But if the A version is not authentic, then the B version cannot be authentic either, for the text of the two editions in Ch.55, except for the few passages mentioned above, is approximately the same. We must therefore regard the B version as the result of the correction and improvement of a text like A. The fact that the improvements contained in B are all interpolated together at the same point in Ch.55 only serves to corroborate this.

The chapter heading of A is presumably that of the original novel; from it the writer of the A version has derived his sole correct and relevant fact.

The relationship between the two versions differs between Ch.55 on the one hand, and Ch.53 and54 on the other. In Ch.55, B is the abridged, but also the corrected and improved, form of A. In Ch.53 and 54 however, A is the superior version, as can be seen from its accurate references to this thread of the story.

The Yung-fu temple

Ch.49 12ab. Hsi-men took his leave of Censor Ts'ai at the Yung-fu temple, and then stayed to talk to the abbot.

"May I ask how old you are?" he asked.

"I am seventy-five," replied the abbot.

"How well you look for a man of that age. May I ask your name in religion?"

"My name in religion is Tao-chien 道堅 ."".....

"This temple of yours," said Hsi-men Ch'ing, "is much larger than I ever imagined. The only trouble is that it is so badly in need of repair."

"As a matter of fact," said the abbot, "this temple was built by Chou Hsiu 周秀 , but it has no revenues which can be used for repairs, and hence it has been sadly neglected."

"Ah, so it is his chapel! I noticed his family estates were not far off. In that case there's no problem at all. If you get permission from him to make out a subscription list, and go soliciting donations, I shall certainly contribute something when you come to me.

That is all the relevant material before Ch.53.

Ch.65 4a. 'Soon thrice seven days had passed since the death of Li P'ing-erh. The abbot Tao-chien from the Yung-fu temple outside the town came with sixteen priests to chant sutras.'

Ch.88 6a-7a. Ch'un-mei 春梅, now the wife of Chou Hsiu, had her former mistress P'an Chin-lien buried in the temple.

Chang Sheng 張勝, giving directions to the servants, said: "Bury her in the master's chapel in the Yung-fu temple to the south of town."

Ch'un-mei gave orders:

"Take these four taels and give two of them to the abbot Tao-chien."

Ch.89 6ab. Wu Yüeh-niang, her brother and their company, were returning from a visit to Hsi-men's tomb when they decided to stop at the temple.

"What is the name of this temple?" asked Yüeh-niang.

"It's the chapel of His Honour Chou Hsiu," said her brother, "and it's known as the Yung-fu temple. When your husband was alive, he donated several score taels toward its repair."

The above extracts show clearly enough that the temple was built by Chou Hsiu, and was his private chapel. Somewhere in Chapters 53 to 57, the abbot Tao-chien, after obtaining permission from Chou Hsiu, must have received a donation for the repair of the temple from Hsi-men Ch'ing.

Let us now see what occurs in the A and B versions. They are much the same in this regard; quotations are therefore drawn from A.1 only.

Ch.57 1a-2a. (A lengthy description -- actually derived from a T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 太平廣記 story[1] -- is given of the founding of the temple in the year 521.) After the death of the founder, a priest of superhuman powers, the temple fell into the hands of libidinous and unscrupulous men; the treasures of the temple were sold, and even its bricks and tiles were torn down and sold for wine, until eventually it became a ruin.

3a. 'Now in that temple lived an Abbot Tao 道長老 , who had originally come from the land of India, inspired by a love for the civilisation of China.'

3b. "Now," he said to himself, "I remember Hsi-men Ch'ing holding a farewell party here not long ago when he was seeing off Censor Sung Hsi-lien. When he saw how dilapidated the temple was, he spoke of contributing to its repair."

Ch.57 6a-8a. The abbot took a petition to Hsi-men Ch'ing, and eventually received 500 taels and a recommendation to try other notable people in the district.

Clearly this cannot be authentic, for not only is the account given of its origin quite different, but Chou Hsiu is not even mentioned.

The chapter heading probably explains the form in which the abbot's name appears in the two versions. Presumably in order to fit the line it has been abbreviated to Tao , which is what is found in both versions. In the rest of the novel however, it is always Tao-chien.

The T'o-lo ching

No relevant material is to be found before Ch.53.

Ch.58 15b-16a. 'The two nuns, Hsüeh and Wang, were returning home that day so (Li P'ing-erh) came to say to Yüeh-niang:

"I have taken a pair of silver lions..... and given them to Nun Hsüeh so that she can have the Fo-ting-hsin t'o-lo-ching 佛頂心陀羅經 printed and distributed free in the Mountain temple on the fifteenth of the eighth month."

Nun Hsüeh was about to take them and go, when she was stopped by Meng Yü-lou 孟玉樓 .

"Wait a moment," she said. "First Lady, you ought to send someone for Pen IV 賁四 , and get him to weigh them. He ought to go with her to the printing-office too, and arrange how many copies are to be printed, at how much a copy, how much we are to donate, and when they will be ready. Nun Hsüeh will never be able to manage on her own."'

Pen IV weighed the silver lions and found that they were equal to 41 taels and 5 ch'ien.

Ch.58 18a. The money had been paid over to the printing-office. Pen IV reported to Yüeh-niang and Li P'ing-erh:

"I have arranged to have 500 copies of the T'o-lo printed in a damask cover, at 5 fen a copy, and 1,000 copies in a cheap silk cover, at 3 fen a copy. The total comes to 55 taels. Less the 41 taels 5 ch'ien already received, we still have to pay 13 taels 5 ch'ien....."

From the abruptness with which this subject is introduced in Ch.58, one would imagine it had been broached before.

There is one reference in the A and B versions. Ch.57 13a. Nun Hsüeh asked Hsi-men to donate money for the printing of the T'o-lo ching. He gave her 30 taels and ordered 5,000 copies, promising to settle the account when they had been printed.

Obviously this cannot be authentic, for there is no later development of this event, just as there is no preparation for the event described in Ch.58. As before, the explanation lies in the chapter headings:

'The abbot Tao solicits donations for the repair of the Yung-fu temple.

Nun Hsüeh exhorts (someone) to give money for the printing of the T'o-lo ching.'

Evidently the person who supplied this chapter supposed that the objects of both the abbot's and the nun's solicitations were one and the same person, Hsi-men Ch'ing, whereas as we have seen it must have been Li P'ing-erh whom Nun Hsüeh approached. The case of Ch.55, in which the two subjects reflected in the chapter headings of the A version -- the singing-boys and Hsi-men's visit to the capital -- were also run together, is exactly parallel to this.

In any case, there are a number of absurdities in the A and B versions. It is not possible, for example, that Nun

Hsüeh could have approached Hsi-men Ch'ing, let alone have received money from him, for as can be seen in Ch.51, he detested her so much as to forbid her the house.

Hsi-men's visit to the eunuchs

Ch52 16a. Hsi-men explained to Ying Po-chüeh that he was going next day -- the 22nd of the fourth month -- to a banquet on Eunuch Liu's estate. (The invitation to the banquet had been described earlier.)

'Next day, Hsi-men Ch'ing rose early, and did not go to court, but when he had finished his breakfast put on his official cap, and with a golden fan in his hand, and his servants in attendance, rode thirty li South ~~out~~ of town to the banquet on Eunuch Liu's estate. He took Tai-an and Shu-t'ung with him.'

The banquet has thus been held, and on the correct date. However, both the A and B versions contain quite detailed (but textually different) accounts of the banquet in Ch.53, as if it had not occurred before. These parts of Ch.53, of course, cannot be authentic. In this case, though, the mistake could not have arisen through misinterpretation of the chapter heading; one can only assume that the writer of the supplied text simply did not notice the passage from Ch.52 quoted above.

This is a good indication of the relationship of the A and B versions in Ch.53 and 54. They are textually

different, but occasional details of plot are so similar as to make it inconceivable that they were independently created.

Li III and Huang IV

The story of a loan which Hsi-men made to the contracting merchants Li and Huang also spans Ch.53-7.

Ch.38 1ab. Ying Po-chüeh approached Hsi-men for a loan for Li and Huang, who had received the annual contract to supply various commodities to the authorities. Hsi-men granted a loan of 1,500 taels.

Ch.43 1b. 1,000 taels were paid off.

Ch.43 3b. Hsi-men was persuaded to lend another 500 taels, making 1,000 owing.

Ch.51 6ab. Hsi-men was asked for another 500 taels to tide the merchants over a sudden emergency. He replied that his own money was all laid out on the buying expedition to the south, but that he would call in a debt owed by Hsü IV.

Ch.52 16a. Hsi-men said that the next day he had to go to dinner at Eunuch Liu's.

"About Li and Huang," said Ying Po-chüeh, "I'll bring them the day after to-morrow then."

Hsi-men Ch'ing nodded.

"Tell them to come in the afternoon. They must not come early." (This day was the 21st of the fourth month. Li and Huang were therefore to be paid on the 23rd.)

The next day, the 22nd, Hsi-men went to Liu's.

Ch.52 17a. 250 taels -- the debt owed by Hsü -- were paid over. (The chapter ends on the 22nd.)

That is all the relevant material before Ch.53.

Ch.60 7b-8a. Li and Huang came to pay some of the money they owed.

It is evident that Hsi-men should have paid 500 taels to the contractors somewhere in Ch.53.

A and B differ considerably over this matter, and it is necessary to take them separately.

A.1 Ch.53 8b-9b. After some prevarication, Hsi-men paid the 500 taels, 250 of his own, and 250 from Hsü. This took place the day after he went to Liu's, which would make it the correct date if one were to accept his going there in Ch.53 as correct. (See the last section.)

A.1 Ch.56 3b. Ying Po-chüeh brought up the question of paying Li and Huang. (Evidently they had not been paid.)

B.4 Ch.55 2a. Ying Po-chüeh came with Li and Huang, and they were paid 500 taels, 250 from Hsi-men's funds, and 250 recalled from Hsü. (The date is of course completely wrong.)

B.4 Ch.56 3a. (a corresponding place to the second extract from A.)

"I wonder," said Ying Po-chüeh, "whether in the last few days any money has been paid out to Li and Huang by the

prefecture?"

Thus while the A version is correct enough, it is still impossible, because of its position beside other passages in which gross mistakes are contained, to consider it as authentic. The B version is obviously not authentic, for the incident takes place much later than it should.

The relationship between the editions is here of a more complicated nature. First, there is an obvious clash between the two passages quoted from A, from Chapters 53 and 56 respectively; while the passage in Ch.53 is correct, the one in Ch.56 is hopelessly wrong. This accords with the disparity between these two parts of the A version which was pointed out under 'Hsi-men's visit to the capital.' Second, if we compare the A and B versions in Chapters 55 and 56 only, we again notice the superiority of the B version. The two passages quoted from B are meant ~~to fill~~ to fill a gap in the narrative and to correct a mistake made in A. The first of them, in Ch.55, contains the correct account of the loan. It forms part of that long passage at the beginning of Ch.55 in which a number of corrections and improvements have been interpolated together. The second passage is of little or no usefulness; it merely serves to obliterate the mistake made in A.

In short, therefore, a substantially correct account is contained in A 53, an account which is belied by A 56.

An equally correct account is contained in B 55, while the offending passage in Ch.56 has been altered. Whether there is any connection between the correct accounts of A 53 and B 55 it is extremely hard to say. Certain details are similar, for example Hsi-men's prevarication, and Ying Po-chueh's anxiety to get away and receive his commission for negotiating the loan. There are also certain textual similarities. But in neither case is the evidence decisive that one was written in knowledge of the other; the details and the textual similarities can all be parallelled earlier in the novel. It remains however, a likely supposition that there is such a relationship.

Inconsistencies in the language.

Although it is hardly necessary to give any more proof that Chapters 53 to 57 have been supplied, certain kinds of linguistic criteria do provide a useful check, as well as indicating the relationship between the two supplied versions. Only one or two elements of common occurrence, which clearly differentiate the work of the different writers, will be considered. No claim is made that they represent a writer's 'dialect', although we are used to thinking of some of them as belonging to different regional dialects. All we are concerned with is a writer's usage.

The most suitable example in the case of the Chin P'ing Mei is the first person pronoun, singular and plural.[1]

For the singular pronoun in the authentic part of the novel (the A edition, except for Chapters 53 to 57), two words are in common use, wo 我 and an 俺 . Of these two, wo is much the more common; an is most frequently to be found in a qualifying position, eg. an niang 俺娘 'my mistress.' Other words are also used, but only in special contexts, for example in formal conversation with a superior; they will be disregarded here.

For the plural pronoun, the familiar distinction is made between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive.' The inclusive form is tsan 咱 , or tsa-men 咱們 , or tsa-mei 咱每 . (In Chin P'ing Mei the plural suffixes men and mei are used indiscriminately; the variation would appear to be merely

graphic.) The exclusive form is an or an-men (an-mei), and also, on a few occasions, wo-men (wo-mei).

The distinction, as usually formulated, between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' is not quite adequate for Chin P'ing Mei. There is a minority of cases in which the speaker does refer to himself, together with the person he is addressing, as an-men. These cases possess in common a feature which may be described like this: the speaker is referring to himself, together with the person addressed, in opposition to a third person. For example, in Ch.31 10b, Yü-lou told Chin-lien that Hsi-men had gone to her room, and Chin-lien replied:

> "I shouldn't think it likely. As he said, it's so much more interesting where there is a child. In our (an-mei) rooms, where there is no child, it's too dull for him."

The third person in this case, is, of course, Li P'ing-erh.

Terms for 'I, me' in the whole novel

Wo and an are in general use throughout the novel. Tsan 咱 is also found, but its use is practically restricted to chapters which are a priori suspect. (Tsan is the usual word for 'we inclusive' in the authentic part of the novel; it is rarely, if ever, found there with the meaning of the singular pronoun.) Instances in which tsan is used for the first person singular are as follows:-

B.4	Ch.1 :	7 tsan (all from the first part.)
A.1	Ch.53 :	1 "
B.4	Ch.53 :	1 "
A.1/B.4	Ch.55 :	3 "
A.1/B.4	Ch.57 :	18 "

Terms for 'we inclusive' in the whole novel

Taking the whole of what may be called the authentic part of the novel, and excluding those chapters (1-6) which reproduce the usage of the Shui-hu-chuan, one finds over 200 tsan (tsa-men, tsa-mei), and only one wo-men. (This one is in Ch.13, which also contains 4 tsan.) The distribution of wo-men (wo-mei) in the other chapters (B 1, A and B 53-7) is as follows:-

A.1	Ch.53:	2 wo-men (wo-mei)
A.1	Ch.54:	8 "
A.1/B.4	Ch.55:	1 "

In fact, only in B.4 Ch.1, which has at least 2 cases of tsan, is anything but wo-men (wo-mei) used.

Terms for 'we exclusive' in the whole novel

Taking the whole of the authentic part of the novel, and again excluding Chapters 1 to 6, one finds over 300 an (an-men, an-mei) as well as some 20 wo-men (wo-mei). In the other chapters there is a more pronounced use of wo-men (wo-mei) and in addition an occasional use of

tsa-men (tsa-mei), a thing which is never found in the authentic part of the novel. The incidence of the various words for 'we exclusive' in these chapters is as follows:-

B.4	Ch.1	3 tsa-men	2 wo-men	
A.1	Ch.53		1 wo-men	
B.4	Ch.53	1 tsa-men		
A.1	Ch.54		5 wo-men	
B.4	Ch.54	1 tsa-men		1 an-men
A.1/B.4	Ch.55		2 wo-men	
A.1/B.4	Ch.56	none		
A.1/B.4	Ch.57	1 tsa-men	1 wo-men	

The three above tables give a further indication that Chapter 53 (both editions), 55, and 57 are not authentic, and they give a first indication that B 1 and Chapter 54 (both editions) are not authentic. So far as the supplied chapters are concerned, they confirm that A 53 and 54 -- in their use of wo-men for both inclusive and exclusive -- stand apart from the rest. They also show, for what it is worth, that B 1, 53 and 54, as well as A/B 55 and 57, have elements in common (either tsan 'I' or tsa-men 'we exclusive').

It is now possible, on the grounds of inconsistencies in the narration confirmed by inconsistencies of language, to come to these conclusions about the authenticity of Chapters 53 to 57:-

The text of Chapters 53 to 57, in neither kind of edition, formed part of the original novel.

The chapter headings of the A editions in Chapters 53 to 57 did belong to the original novel. (This has been shown to be true of four of the ten headings, and will be shown in Chapter Five to be true of the rest.)

In the study of inconsistencies in the narration, a good deal was discovered about the contents of the missing chapters. Together with other material, this will be summarised in Chapter Five.

It is also now possible to unravel the tangled relationship of the supplied versions.

First, A 53 and 54, and A 55 to 57, are by two different hands. We have already noted indications of this; under 'Hsi-men's visit to the capital', where A 53 was superior to B 53; under 'Li III and Huang IV', where A 53 and A56 flatly contradict each other, A 53 being the correct version; and in the study of the words for 'I' and 'we', where A 53 and 54 were seen to stand apart from the

other supplied chapters. But the best indication is given by the lack of continuity between A 54 and A 55. By the end of A 54, Doctor Jen 任 has made his examination of Li P'ing-erh, and is about to depart; yet at the beginning of Ch.55, he proceeds to examine her again, as if he had not already done so. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that A 53-4 are by a different hand from that which wrote A 55-7. Neither section, of course, is authentic; both have been supplied, but supplied by different editors, and, one must assume, added to the novel at different times. Of the two sections, A 53-4 is clearly the later addition. In a number of instances, it has been shown to be superior to A 55-7. Moreover, while it is possible to envisage an editor setting out to revise the supplied text, and then leaving his work unfinished after two chapters, it is hard to believe that any editor could have begun his revision with a break in continuity so glaring as that which exists between A 54 and A 55.

The result of these conclusions is to prove that there is no direct line of derivation between the earliest editions of the A and B systems. Obviously, the earliest A edition could not have been derived from any edition of the B system, because, as we have seen, the B editions represent an abridgement of a text which was substantially like that of A. On the other hand, the earliest B edition could not have been derived from any

A edition, since it is inconceivable that any editor would have substituted B 53-4 for the manifestly superior A 53-4.

To explain the relationship between the A and B systems, it is clearly necessary to postulate the existence of an edition, or editions, unlike any which survive. Since the actual relationship, unless new discoveries are made, may never be known, it seems justifiable to try to infer what such editions must have been like. Since it is obviously desirable to keep hypothesis to a minimum, I shall merely show that is possible to explain the relationship between the systems by the postulation of a single edition.

The edition it is necessary to postulate must be one from which both A and B could have been separately derived. Such an edition must therefore have had the text of A, except in Chapters 53 and 54. It could not have contained A 53-4, for reasons given above. On the other hand, it could have contained B 53-4, or rather, an earlier, unabridged form of those chapters, bearing the same relation to them as the rest of the A text bears to the rest of the B text. These are the minimum requirements of any such edition.

With the aid of this hypothesis, the derivation of the two systems would appear as follows:

Hypothetical edition
(Ch.53-7 supplied)

Earliest A edition	Earliest B edition
(Ch.53-4 rewritten)	(Ch.1 altered, whole novel abridged and corrected.)

It is necessary to reiterate that this is merely the simplest conceivable relationship which takes account of the facts; the actual relationship, while it must have been of this kind, may have been much more complex.

One is tempted to identify the 'hypothetical edition' with the earliest printed edition, described by Shen Te-fu. He mentions two features of the supplied text of that edition: it made occasional use of Soochow dialect, and it contained mistakes so gross as to impair the continuity of the novel. So far no verifiable Soochow dialect has been discovered in A 55-7 or in B 53-7. On the other hand, the mistakes made in these chapters, are, as we have seen, gross enough to fit Shen Te-fu's description. Apart from the mistakes, however, the text of these chapters is not all as puerile as that described by Shen Te-fu. One scene in particular, between the shifty Ch'ang Shih-chieh 常時節 and his grasping, shrewish wife, is extremely lively, so much so that later on it became a favourite subject for the balladmongers of the Ch'ing dynasty.[1] Therefore, while it seems extremely likely that the 'hypothetical edition' either was the very edition mentioned by Shen, or else

was directly derived from it, there is no proof that it was so.

Chapter Four: The Altered Text -- Ch.1

As pointed out above, the first 8 leaves of A.1 Ch.1, and the first 20 leaves of B.4 Ch.1, differ completely in both wording and content.

Despite the brevity of the A version, it is possible to show that it is authentic. Passages from the Shui-hu-chuan 水滸傳, which form a large part of this opening, are drawn from an edition similar to that used in the rest of the novel.[1] Since, as will be shown in Part Three, this edition of the Shui-hu-chuan was an early, and probably by the time the Chin P'ing Mei came to be edited, an extremely rare, edition, it can safely be assumed that the A version was the original opening.

It is therefore unnecessary to show that the B version was an editor's adaptation. In any case, because of the mistakes in narrative and description which it contains, as well as the divergence of word-usage noticed above, it would not be a difficult matter to prove. Much more difficult is to determine the stage at which the opening of the novel was altered. It appears in all the extant B editions, but whether it was the work of the editor of the earliest B edition, or of some lost edition before that, it is impossible to say. It may seem significant that, like Chapters 55-7 in the A editions, it has tsan 'I' and even tsa-men 'we exclusive.' But that is really far too little to identify it. A more interesting question is to ask how and why the B version came to be

written.

Readers of translations of the novel will be familiar with the B opening, for all the translations so far made, except for one modern one into Japanese, have been based on one or other of the closely-related C editions. After some moralising remarks, come a description of Hsi-men's antecedents, his household, and his friends. There follows a discussion between Hsi-men and Yüeh-niang about the 'brotherhood', the news of the death of one of the brethren, his replacement by the neighbour Hua Tzu-hsü 花子虛, the swearing of an oath of brotherhood, and so on. Wu Sung's fight with the tiger, and his reception in the town as a hero, are described as an item of news in the course of their conversation.

In the A editions, Wu Sung's adventures are, of course, narrated as in the Shui-hu-chuan, and none of the other events appear in Ch.1 at all. Yet they are not all of the editor's invention; much of the description and incident has been removed from Chapters 10 and 11, and placed in Ch.1. One might say that the editor chose to alter the novel so that it began at a different point, a point which in the original novel was reached only in Ch.10. This has enabled the story of Wu Sung to be briefly reported in conversation between the characters.

Among passages drawn from Chapters 10 and 11 are the description of Hsi-men's friends (contained twice,

with slight variations, in A), the death of one of the brethren, and his replacement by Hua Tzu-hsü. Other items have been taken from various early chapters. Naturally this kind of alteration has necessitated other changes in the novel up to Ch.11 -- a character who has been introduced to the reader in Ch.1 must not be reintroduced six chapters later -- and these changes have in fact been made.

There are a number of explanations for this alteration of the opening. To the person accustomed to the European novel, the change will seem an obvious attempt to improve the structure. The long account of the adventures of Wu Sung, who is not one of the principal characters, but more of a deus ex machina, is circumlocutory; the altered version, with its description of Hsi-men Ch'ing and his circle, will appear a great improvement. It is possible, however, to put too much faith in such an explanation. There were, after all, very few novels which preceded Chin P'ing Mei, and those few were of a rather more loosely-constructed kind. It has been suggested that the alteration was influenced by another form of literature altogether; that Hsi-men was introduced to the reader before Chin-lien, just as in the drama, the sheng 生 , or principal male actor, is introduced before the tan 旦 .[1] It is even possible that the publisher felt that the original opening did not indicate clearly enough the

subject of the book to the prospective buyer, and so commissioned a change to be made. Another motive, although it cannot by itself explain the alteration, was certainly present in the editor's mind: the need to disarm criticism by claiming for the novel a moral purpose. This is a theme which is stressed in the altered opening, whereas in the author's own account of his novel, it is conspicuously absent. But whatever the actual explanation, from the literary point of view, the alteration cannot be regarded as a success; it is far too half-hearted to be effective. For such a change ever to be justified -- and one cannot see how it could ever be -- it would require the full-scale recasting of the first six chapters.

It is true, however, that the editor has chosen, in Chapters 10 and 11, one of the few points where a certain clumsiness of technique is apparent. If one can assume that the text of the original novel at this point was as we now have it in the A.1 edition, the author has introduced Hua Tzu-hsü before mentioning the 'Brotherhood of Ten.' As a result, he has been compelled, with the description of Hua, to add an account of the brotherhood, of which Hua has become a member. Later, because the account has not been prominent enough, he has had to repeat it before the first recorded meeting of the brethren. Thus there are two separate accounts of the brotherhood and its members, one in Ch.10 and one in Ch.11. The differences between these two accounts may indicate that this was a

slip which missed the author's eye. This circumstance, even if it did not influence the decision to alter the opening of the novel, may at least have recommended Ch.10 as the starting-point for the new opening.

Chapter Five: The Contents of the missing chapters

The material discovered in the third chapter accounted for four of the ten chapter headings of the lost part of the novel. By taking the other six headings of the A editions, and examining them one by one, it is possible both to check their genuineness and to fill in the main events.

A.1 Ch.53 first heading

'Wu Yüeh-niang, receiving her husband's love, seeks to have a son.'

This event has been prepared for earlier in the novel. Ch.40 1a-2a. Nun Wang told Yüeh-niang of a sure method of conceiving a child. One requirement was the placenta of a first-born baby, which, after treatment, had to be swallowed together with a medecine prepared by Nun Hsüeh. If Yüeh-niang did this upon a jen-tzu 壬子 day, she would be bound to conceive.

Ch.50 11ab. Nun Hsüeh gave Yüeh-niang the medecine.

Ch.52 8b. 'Yüeh-niang told Chin-lien:

"Just look at the calendar and see when it will be a jen-tzu day."

Chin-lien did so.

"The twenty-third is a jen-tzu day," she said.'

Ch.52 ends on the twenty-second. It is clear from later chapters of the novel that a child must have been

conceived at this time. The conception must be placed near the beginning of Ch.53, just after the payment of 500 taels, which was to have been made on the afternoon of the twenty-third.

A.1 Ch.53 second heading

'Li P'ing-erh gives thanks for the protection of her son's life.'

An echo of this event is found later in the novel. Ch.63 2b-3a. The artist who had been summoned to paint a portrait of the dead Li P'ing-erh, asked Hsi-men:

"May I be so bold as to ask, Sir, whether this is the lady whom I met at the Mountain temple on the first of the fifth month, when she was burning incense?"

"Yes, she is," said Hsi-men Ch'ing. "She was still well then."

Evidently, since the date given would tally -- the conception of Yüeh-niang's child took place on the twenty-third of the previous month -- Li P'ing-erh fulfilled a vow taken with the object of safeguarding her son's life by going to the Mountain temple. A similar action was performed by Yüeh-niang in Ch.84, in fulfilment of a vow taken during Hsi-men's last illness.

A.1 Ch.54 first heading

'Ying Po-chüeh meets his friends in a garden outside the town.'

There is no reference in the authentic part of the novel to this meeting, and it is not easy to guess the circumstances which brought it about. It was, however, the custom for members of the brotherhood to take turns in entertaining the rest. Earlier in the novel we read that one of them was unable to do so because his house was too small. This may therefore simply have been a meeting of the brotherhood, with Ying Po-chüeh as host. On the other hand, two of them were, or had recently been, in prison, and it does not seem likely that a meeting would be held at this time. It is more probable that Ying Po-chüeh was celebrating the loan of 500 taels, and the receipt of his own commission.

It is thus not possible to show that this heading belonged to the original novel.

A.1 Ch.54 second heading

'The great practitioner Doctor Jen makes an examination of the symptoms.'

Doctor Jen 任 appears at Hsi-men's birthday party in Ch.58. His presence is not explained, and he has not been mentioned before. As he left the party, Hsi-men asked him to come before long to see Li P'ing-erh, and thanked

him for his medecine (8a-9a). We can conclude that Li P'ing-erh fell ill and was attended by Doctor Jen, and that an account of this should appear in Ch.54.

A.1 Ch.56 first heading

'Hsi-men Ch'ing helps Ch'ang Shih-chieh out with money.'

The details of this event can be inferred from later references.

In Ch.60, when Ch'ang arrives at a party given by Hsi-men, he is described as follows:-

'Now as it happens Hsi-men Ch'ing had recently given him 50 taels, 35 as deposit on a house, and 15 as capital to set up a general store in his home.'

Later in the same chapter the scene is described in which the money is given; there is thus an obvious mistake in the order in which this scene and the description occur. One must assume the mistake to be the author's; both passages are retained in A, but only the second of them in B.

Evidently Ch'ang, whose house was too small to entertain his friends in, has in Ch.56 pleaded his poverty, and asked for Hsi-men's help. Judging from the heading, Hsi-men must have given him some immediate help, with the promise of more to come.

A.1 Ch.56 second heading

'Ying Po-chüeh recommends the graduate Shui.'

In Ch.80, after the death of Hsi-men, the members of the brotherhodd contributed money for a funeral ode to be written. Ying Po-chüeh entrusted this to 'Shui hsiu-ts'ai 水秀才 from outside the town gate.' This is the only other mention of him in the course of the whole novel, but it indicates that the heading must be taken as genuine.

It must have been as a secretary that Ying recommended Shui, for in Ch.58 Hsi-men did appoint someone to such a position, and for this development the reader has not been adequately prepared. Evidently then, Shui was unsuccessfully recommended for the post, and Hsi-men therefore asked someone else to bring along the man who proved to be the successful applicant, in Ch.58.

There is at least one other event that should have taken place in the missing chapters: Wang Ching 王經, the young brother of Wang Liu-erh 王六兒 (Han Tao-kuo's wife and Hsi-men's mistress), was taken into the household as a page. He appears in that capacity throughout the rest of the novel, but has not done so before Ch.53. It is not possible to say, however, exactly at what stage he was introduced into the household.

It may be helpful to summarize the main events of the missing chapters. (An asterisk denotes that the order is tentative.)

Chapter 53

On the 23rd of the fourth month, Hsi-men paid a loan of 500 taels (250 recalled from Hsü IV) to the contracting merchants Li and Huang.

That night, having taken a special preparation made for her by Nun Hsüeh, Wu Yüeh-niang slept with her husband and conceived a child.

On the 1st of the fifth month, Li P'ing-erh, in fulfilment of a vow taken in order to safeguard her son's life, made a visit to the ~~Yüeh~~ mountain temple.

Chapter 54

To celebrate the commission he has received for negotiating the loan, Ying Po-chüeh gave a party on an estate outside the town. (This is tentative -- see above.)

Li P'ing-erh fell ill and Doctor Jen was called to examine her.

Chapter 55

*Lai Pao returned from the capital with a pardon for Li Kuei-chieh, and perhaps for Chu and Sun as well. He also conveyed an invitation to Hsi-men Ch'ing to visit the capital on the occasion of the Imperial Tutor's birthday. (the 15th of the sixth month.)

Lai Pao was sent to Yangchow, with a letter for Ts'ai Yün.

Li Kuei-chieh was able to return home.

Accepting the invitation, Hsi-men visited the capital.

Ts'ui Pen returned from Yangchow, bringing with him a singing-boy, Ch'un-hung, as a present from Miao Ch'ing.

Chapter 56

*Wang Ching was taken into the household.

Ch'ang Shih-chieh approached Hsi-men for money. He received some, with a promise of more later on.

Ying Po-chüeh recommended his friend Shui for the post of Hsi-men's secretary. Hsi-men did not accept him, but asked his acquaintance Ni 倪 to introduce another man to him instead.

Chapter 57

The abbot Tao-chien of the Yung-fu temple, having received his patron Chou Hsiu's permission to solicit donations for the repair of the temple, was given money by Hsi-men Ch'ing.

Nun Hsüeh persuaded Li P'ing-erh to subscribe money for the printing of the T'o-lo ching.

The chapter closes towards the end of the seventh month.

PART TWO: The Early History of the Text

In order to come to any conclusions in Part One, it was necessary to concentrate on the text itself. The extant editions were taken as the starting-point, and the evidence offered was all concerned with the internal consistency of the novel. Thus the many references to Chin P'ing Mei which are contained in other works were largely ignored. It is the concern now of Part Two to combine these references, as well as the conclusions reached in Part One, into a brief history of the early text.

It might be thought that all the early references to the manuscripts would already have been marshalled and evaluated. In fact, it is not so. Even the earliest reference to Chin P'ing Mei has never been adequately used; I hope to show that it is ten years earlier than what is generally supposed to be the earliest reference. And this is far from being the only case; there is indeed enough evidence for us to distinguish how many manuscripts were in circulation before the novel came to be printed, from whom they originated, and how complete they were.

In the study of the early printed editions, the facts unearthed in Part One can be combined with the available references. In addition, the Hsü Chin P'ing Mei[1] and a virtually unknown work, the Chin P'ing Mei hou-pa 金瓶梅後跋[2], provide interesting evidence of the existence of

editions unlike any we now have.

A history of the text should properly begin with the date of composition. In the following chapters, however, this subject is treated only in part. In the case of the Chin P'ing Mei, since we know nothing of its author, dating the novel means fixing the narrowest possible limits for its composition. The earlier limit depends on internal evidence in the novel itself; the later limit will be the date of the first external reference. It is the later limit which is discussed below, and on which new evidence is given. The earlier limit is not discussed here, because the main evidence for it, which was adduced by the historian Wu Han 吳晗 over twenty years ago, has not yet been superseded.[1] More recent research into song and the drama has uncovered more pertinent examples than are found among his supporting evidence, but they only go to reinforce his general conclusion: that the novel was written in the Wan-li period, and probably after 1582. The question is dealt with in Appendix I.

Chapter Six: The Manuscripts

There are a number of references to manuscripts of the novel before the date of the first printed edition. It has not been realised that they refer to two different kinds of manuscript. They are dealt with separately below.

The Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 董其昌 manuscript.

The earliest reference to the novel was made by the writer Yüan Hung-tao 袁宏道, not as is generally supposed, in his Shang cheng 觴政, but in a letter to Tung Ssu-pai 董思白. Ssu-pai is the hao of the famous painter and calligrapher Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 董其昌 (1551-1636). The text of the letter is as follows:

> A month ago, Shih-k'uei 石簣 came to visit me, and we spent five days deep in discussion. After that, we set off by boat to tour the Five Lakes and to see the outstandingly beautiful places among the Seventy-two Peaks. When we had completed the tour, we returned to my studio in the official residence. Our discussion ranged over every conceivable topic, both trivial and important. My illness had receded a little because of his visit, and my only regret was that you were not there with us. Where did you get Chin P'ing Mei from? I glance at it from time to time, while lying in bed, and find

it full of interest, and far superior to Mei Sheng's Ch'i-fa 枚生七發[1]. Where is the latter part? Please let me know where, once it has been copied, I can return it to you in exchange for the other part.[2]

This letter has been quoted in only one[3] of the works devoted to collecting references to the Chinese novel, and in that one, only the last portion of the letter, from the reference to the Chin P'ing Mei on, has been reprinted. Consequently it has not been possible for anyone to date it.

The Shih-k'uei referred to is the poet T'ao Wang-ling 陶望齡, a close friend of both Yüan Hung-tao and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. The 'Five Lakes' refer to the T'ai-hu at Soochow. This letter must therefore have been written during Yüan Hung-tao's tenure of office in Soochow.[4] Fortunately, T'ao Wang-ling has left a detailed record of this very visit; the introductory note to his eight essays entitled Yu Tung-t'ing-shan chi 遊洞庭山記 'A description of my visit to Mount Tung-t'ing' is as follows:

In 1595, returning home for the second time, I passed through Soochow, where my friend Yüan Chung-lang 袁中郎 was magistrate. As we drank, our talk turned to the subject of when we would meet again. At the time, we had just been eating oranges,

so I said "I must come back when the oranges are ripe again, and visit the Tung-t'ing." The following year, in mid-autumn, he wrote to me again, reminding me of my promise, and saying that the oranges in his garden were turning greenish yellow. Accordingly, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month, we set out from Shan-yin. My younger brother..... all came. On the twenty-fourth we arrived in Soochow, and put up at the K'ai-yüan temple 開元寺 . Chung-lang, who had recently been ill, had just recovered. I spent three days in conversation with him beside his couch. Not until the twenty-ninth did we make the crossing at Hsü-k'ou 胥口 ..... [1.]

The note is dated the beginning of the tenth month, 1596, while he was still staying at the K'ai-yüan temple.

Although there is a discrepancy between the two accounts -- Yüan Hung-tao says they spent five days in conversation, while T'ao Wang-ling says three -- there can be no doubt that they both refer to the same event. Yüan Hung-tao's life is particularly well documented at this stage, both in his own works, and in those of his younger brother Chung-tao 中道 .[2.]

He was a chin-shih of 1592, but preferring not to take up a post, returned home to Kung-an 公安 in Hupeh. On his father's insistence, he went again to Peking in 1594 to seek a position. In the twelfth month of that year he

was appointed magistrate in Soochow.[1] On the sixth day of the second month of 1595, he said goodbye to his brothers, T'ao Wang-ling and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang outside the city, and travelling in the company of the playwright T'ang Hsien-tsu 湯顯祖[2], set out for Soochow. During 1595 his friends T'ao Wang-ling and Chiang Ying-k'e 江盈科 visited him there,[3] as well as his younger brother Chung-tao.[4] He soon found the duties of his post far too onerous, and his letters during 1596 are filled with complaints. In the early part of 1596, his grandmother fell ill; he asked for leave to visit her, but it was refused. In the eighth month he suffered a severe attack of malaria -- this is the illness of which both he and T'ao Wang-ling write. He had recovered somewhat by the time of T'ao's visit at the end of the ninth month. He wrote several petitions asking to be relieved of his post; permission was eventually granted, and he finally left Soochow in the early months of 1597.

Yüan Hung-tao had made the acquaintance of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang during his visits to the capital in 1591-2 and 1594-5.[5] Both Tung and T'ao were graduates of the same year, 1589, and both had served in the Hanlin Academy since then. T'ao left, as he describes above, during 1595. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, with the exception of one period of leave,[6] remained in his post until 1596, when he was appointed to a position in Changsha. His Hua-ch'an-shih sui-pi 畫禪室隨筆 has the note:

> I received orders to take up a post in Changsha in the autumn of 1596. When I reached the Tung-lin temple 東林寺 (at Lu-shan 庐山, not far from Kiukiang), the white lotus was in full bloom. The local people say it was planted by the priest Hui-yüan 慧遠 of the Chin dynasty.[1]

It is probable that he had paid a visit to his home at Sungchiang before going on to Changsha. There is a letter to him from Yüan Hung-tao, which must have been written about this time, and which seems to show that he had passed through Soochow.

> The black ox passed through Han-ku 函谷, and Kuan Yin 關尹 happened to be ill. Although it was my ill-luck not to meet you, I have at least spared you the trouble of giving me five thousand words of exposition. I have been ill for two months, without (sign of) recovery. I have therefore applied to be relieved of my post.....[2]

The 'black ox passing through Han-ku' refers, of course, to the famous story of Lao-tzu, who, riding a black ox, passed through the Han-ku Pass, and favoured the warden of the pass, Yin Hsi 尹喜, with five thousand words of instruction, that is to say, the Tao-te ching.

It was on the fourteenth of the eighth month, according to his application to be relieved of his post, that Yüan Hung-tao's attack of malaria began. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang

must therefore have passed through Soochow after this date, and according to the letter, at least two months after it. The application runs:

> On the fourteenth day of the month before last, my illness took a serious turn. For a period of ten days or so, I vomited several quarts of blood, felt dizzy, had aches in my bones.....[4]

This application must therefore have been written during the ninth month (there was an intercalary eighth month in that year). In any case, his next application takes up the narrative of his illness from the beginning of the tenth month. His letter to Tung (the second letter quoted) must have been written before T'ao's arrival, since otherwise he would certainly have mentioned it. Since, however, he speaks of having been ill for two months, his letter to Tung cannot have been written long before T'ao's arrival on the twenty-fourth. If, for example, it had been written about the middle of the ninth month, it would indeed have been two months after the onset of the illness. This shows, therefore, that up to a short while, hardly more than a few days, before T'ao's arrival, Yüan Hung-tao had not yet received the manuscript of the Chin P'ing Mei. It seems most likely, therefore, that he received it from the hand of T'ao Wang-ling, perhaps with instructions to return it after copying. This conclusion is supported by the drift of the letter itself, which invites one to assume that T'ao's

coming explains the arrival of the manuscript.

Thus this letter of Yüan Hung-tao's, besides containing the earliest reference to the novel, also supplies a few clues to its previous history. The letter itself (the first letter) was written about the end of the tenth month of 1596, and indicates that Yüan Hung-tao probably received the manuscript of the first half of Chin P'ing Mei from the hand of T'ao Wang-ling on the twenty-fourth of the ninth month of the same year. T'ao, in turn, had received it from Tung Ch'i-ch'ang during his visit to Sungchiang. Since Tung's visit to Sungchiang is not likely to have been a long one, it is improbable, if he had obtained the manuscript at that time, that he would have been prepared to part with it so quickly.[1] Probably, therefore, he brought it south with him from Peking.

If this assumption is right, then the manuscript must have come into Tung's possession after Hung-tao's departure from the capital in the second month of 1595, and probably after T'ao's departure in the middle of 1595, but on the other hand, before his own departure in the middle of 1596. Therefore it seems possible to say that the first person who to our knowledge had possession of part of the manuscript was the artist and calligrapher Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and that he first obtained it in Peking between the middle of 1595 and the middle of 1596.

There is one other reference to the manuscript which

belongs to this early period. It is contained in Yüan Chung-tao's diary for the eighth month of 1614. After describing a visit to Li Chih 李贄 in 1592, at a time when the latter was editing the Shui-hu-chuan, he remarks:

> I went to see Tung Ssu-pai, and we discussed which was the best of the novels. Ssu-pai said: "I have recently read a novel called Chin P'ing Mei which is extremely fine." I had heard of it myself; later I got half of the work from Chung-lang while he was at Chen-chou 真州. Broadly speaking, it is a detailed description of love-making. It develops the story of P'an Chin-lien from the Shui-hu-chuan. The 'Chin' of the title is for Chin-lien; the 'P'ing' is for Li P'ing-erh; and the 'Mei' is for Ch'un-mei the maid. Long ago there was a Captain Hsi-men 西門千户 in the capital, who engaged an old scholar from Shaohsing to serve in his household. The scholar had little to occupy his time, and so day by day recorded the erotic and licentious things that went on there. In the figure of (Hsi-)men Ch'ing, he portrayed his master, and in the other figures, his master's various concubines..... [1]

It is not possible to give a certain date to this meeting. It must have been before the end of 1597, which was the date of Chung-tao's arrival in Chen-chou.[2] The most likely date for the meeting is the end of 1596 or the beginning

of 1597, while Tung Ch'i-ch'ang was at Changsha, for from the time Chung-tao left Soochow in 1595 after visiting his brother, he was travelling through Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhui.[1] He did not return to Kung-an until the third month of 1596.[2] There is scarcely any mention of his movements during the rest of that year either in his own works or the works of his two brothers, but in 1597 he journeyed to Wuchang to take the examinations,[3] and later in the same year joined his brother in Chen-chou. It is most likely therefore that the two men met at some time after Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's arrival at Changsha in the late autumn of 1596, but before Chung-tao's departure for Chen-chou a year later.

It is possible, though less likely, that the meeting took place before the date in 1596 at which the manuscript came into Hung-tao's possession. If this is so, it must have been while both men were in Peking. However, Chung-tao did not stay long in Peking after his brother left. He must have finally left in the sixth or seventh month, for he seems to have made a fairly leisurely journey through Shantung and Kiangsu before arriving in Soochow in the tenth month. Furthermore, during at least some of the time after his brother's departure in the second month, he was staying in Tatung in Shansi.[4] Moreover, if Tung Ch'i-ch'ang had had the manuscript at this time, news of it would surely have reached Hung-tao either through his brother or T'ao Wang-ling; he would thus have been better informed

about the novel than his letter indicates.

Beyond the point at which Tung Ch'i-ch'ang came into possession of the manuscript of half the novel, it is impossible with the available evidence to go. But the very fact that at this stage only half of the Chin P'ing Mei was in circulation, prompts one to wonder whether, like the author of the Shih-t'ou-chi, the author of this novel, having finished part of it, may not have circulated it among his friends. This would not necessarily mean that in 1595 the novel was still in the process of being written (though nothing definitely precludes that possibility), for a part of the novel might be copied and re-copied, and come to lead an existence of its own.

The fact that a novel should receive such consideration from literary figures like Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, T'ao Wang-ling and the Yüan brothers, indicates the change of attitude to the vernacular literature which began in the Chia-ching period, and became more pronounced during Wan-li. The change of attitude was most marked with regard to the popular song and the novel. The first great collections of popular song like the Tz'u-lin Chai-yen 詞林摘艷 and the Yung-hsi yüeh-fu 雍熙樂府 are the products of the earlier period; by the Wan-li period a number of writers had begun to imitate popular songs, and even to include their imitations among their works. The first notable editions of the Shui-hu-chuan are those of the Chia-ching

period; there followed others during Wan-li by Wang Tao-k'un 汪道昆 and Li Chih,[1] while from 1600 on, accepted literary figures like Feng Meng-lung and Chung Hsing 鍾惺 both created new novels and revised old ones. Altogether it may be said that from early in the sixteenth century the two literatures of the Ming dynasty, the vernacular and the recognised, had ceased to run entirely separate courses.

Yüan Hung-tao himself had reacted strongly against the prevailing school of writers, notably Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 and Li P'an-lung 李攀龍, with their principle of taking classical models.[2] The two men whom he regarded as his masters were Li Chih and Hsü Wei 徐渭[3]. He had studied under Li Chih,[4] and was his close friend; and although he never met Hsü Wei, it is clear from the biography he wrote and the references ~~to Hsü Wei~~ in his letters, that he regarded himself as a protagonist for Hsü Wei's ideas. Both Li Chih and Hsü Wei were noted for the esteem in which they held the vernacular literature. Li Chih edited old novels; Hsü Wei imitated the current tunes of the popular song.[5] It is not surprising therefore that Yüan Hung-tao valued the Chin P'ing Mei so highly.

There are several other references to the history of this manuscript. From Chung-tao's note, we know that he obtained the novel to read in Chen-chou, presumably towards the end of 1597. Also staying at Chen-chou at this time

was the writer Hsieh Chao-che 謝肇淛[1], who later borrowed Hung-tao's manuscript to copy.

In the spring of 1598 Hung-tao went to Peking to take up an appointment.[2] Chung-tao followed in the seventh month, bringing his brother's family with him.[3] At this time the three Yüan brothers were together in the capital, for the eldest brother Tsung-tao also had a post there. With Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Hsieh Chao-che and other friends, they formed the P'u-t'ao she 葡萄社 'the Society of the Grape', which met at the Ch'ung-kuo temple 崇国寺 in the north-west of the city to drink wine, compose impromptu verses, and so on.[4] This circumstance shows that Tung Ch'i-ch'ang had probably never possessed more than half of the manuscript of the Chin P'ing Mei, for if he had, he would probably have lent it to Hung-tao at this time, and as we shall see later, Hung-tao never managed to see the second half.

Hung-tao's reference to Chin P'ing Mei in his Shang Cheng 觴政 'Rules of drinking' is widely quoted. It was this reference which prompted Shen Te-fu to ask Hung-tao about the novel. The 'Rules', which is of course a jeu d'esprit, and intended in its author's words 'as a means of enlivening the proceedings at celebrations,'[6] has a postscript dated the summer of 1607.[5] It could not have been composed at that time however, for apart from Shen Te-fu's reference -- he implies that he read it before

meeting Hung-tao in Peking in 1606 -- it is mentioned in two letters written by Hung-tao before he went to the capital in that year. One of these letters,[1] that to Huang Hui 黃輝 which enclosed a copy of the 'Rules,' was written after his visit to Te-shan 德山 in the autumn of 1604. The 'Rules' was therefore probably written during 1605 or the early part of 1606.

Apart from making the existence of the Chin P'ing Mei fairly widely known, the reference in the 'Rules' is not of much importance; it merely lists the novel, along with the Shui-hu-chuan and other works, as 'unofficial classics'[2] of the art of drinking.

In 1606, Shen Te-fu, who had been living most of his life in the capital, met Hung-tao there and discussed the novel with him. The meeting must have been towards the end of the year, for we know that Hung-tao did not arrive until the autumn.[3] Shen Te-fu's note is contained in his Yeh-huo pien 野獲編.[4] As it provides the main evidence for the history of the other manuscript and the first printed edition, the whole of it is translated here, for reference when those matters are dealt with later. The note is as follows:

> Yüan Chung-lang's Shang cheng named the Chin P'ing Mei and the Shui-hu-chuan as unofficial classics. I very much regretted not having been able to see it. In 1606 I met Chung-lang in the capital, and asked

him whether he had ever had the complete work.[1] "I heve read only a few chüan," he told me, "but they were both extraordinary and delightful. By now, the only man who possesses the complete work is Liu Ch'eng-hsi 刘承禧, style 延白,[2] of Ma-ch'eng 麻城. No doubt it was copied for him from the manuscript of Hsü Wen-chen 徐文貞, to whose family his wife belongs."

Three years later, when Hsiao-hsiu 小修 (ie. Yüan Chung-tao) came to the capital to take the examinations, he brought the book with him. I borrowed it from him to copy, and brought it back with me. My Soochow friend Feng Yu-lung 馮猶龍 (ie. Feng Meng-lung) was both surprised and delighted when he saw it. At that time Ma Chung-liang 馬仲良 (ie. the writer Ma Chih-chün 馬之駿) had been appointed to the Customs in Soochow, and he too urged me to accede to the publisher's request, and thereby satisfy my needs. But I told him that although there would eventually be someone who would publish the book, once published it would circulate from person to person and from household to household, corrupting men's minds. If one day Yama were to tax me with setting off this catastrophe, what excuse should I be able to offer? How could I possibly barter the torments of Niraya against the hope of a paltry

profit? Ma Chung-liang entirely agreed with me, and so I locked the novel securely away. Yet it was not long before it was on sale all over Soochow. However, the original text was short of Chapters 53 to 57; they were searched for everywhere, but could not be found. Some ~~obscure scholar~~ ignoramus supplied them, so that the work could be printed. Leaving out of consideration their utter triviality and vulgarity, and their occasional use of Soochow words, the chapters he supplied do not even fit in with the sequence of the novel. One can tell at a glance that they have been forged.

I have been told that the novel is the masterpiece of a famous writer of the Chia-ching period, and that he wrote it as an attack on the conditions of his time. Ts'ai Ching and his sons, for example, represent Fen-i 分宜 (ie. Yen Sung 嚴嵩 and his son Yen Shih-fan 世蕃), Lin Ling-su 林靈素 represents T'ao Chung-wen 陶仲文 , Chu Mien 朱勉 represents Lu Ping 陸炳 , and so on, with each character in the novel standing for someone.

"There is another novel named Yü Chiao Li 玉嬌李," Chung-lang also told me,"which also comes from the hand of this famous writer. It allots to each character in the earlier novel his or her appropriate fate, according to karma, in the next reincarnation.

Wu Ta in his next life becomes an adulterer, commits incest with his mother, and is paid out in the same coin by his son. P'an Chin-lien becomes a notorious wanton, and eventually suffers execution of the most severe degree. Hsi-men Ch'ing turns into an idiot, and sits helplessly by while his wives and concubines cuckold him. One can see from this that the doctrine of transmigration does not err." Chung-lang had only heard tell of it; he had not seen it. Last year I went to the capital, and while there managed to get a glimpse of this novel from Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung 邱志充, style Liu-ch'ü 六區, of the Board of Works. It was only the first chüan. It was unspeakably obscene and unethical, so that I could scarcely bring myself to read it. The Emperor in it is called Wan-yen Ta-ting 完顏大定, and the feud between Kui-hsi 貴溪 (ie. Hsia Yen 夏言) and Fen-i is obliquely described there. An even more surprising thing is that up to the year 1541 the names of the lesser officials are given directly. I put the book aside and did not open it again. Nevertheless its style is both forceful and pleasing, and seems even superior to that of the Chin P'ing Mei. When Ch'iu left the capital to take up office elsewhere, I do not know what became of thebook.

Evidently therefore, Yüan Hung-tao never saw more than the half of the novel which he obtained in 1596. The words 'a few chüan' are interesting, because they indicate that the novel

was originally divided into ten chüan like the early A editions, rather than into twenty like the B editions.

In a letter written to Hsieh Chao-che, Yüan Hung-tao wrote:

> I imagine that by now you must have Chin P'ing Mei by heart. Why has it not been returned to me ages ago? [1]

From a reference which it contains to the lapse of eight years since the Society of the Grape flourished (ie. 1598-9), it seems that this letter must have been written during Hung-tao's stay in the capital in 1607.[2] It is natural that, having arrived in the capital, he should recall in his letter to Hsieh the last time they were there together. It is not certain when Hsieh borrowed the manuscript, but he did visit Hung-tao at least once during those eight years.[3]

There is at least one other reference to the Tung manuscript. It is contained in the Shan-lin ching-chi-chi 山林經济籍 of the writer T'u Pen-chün 屠本畯.[4]

> Note: Very few copies of the Chin P'ing Mei are extant. The book is closely connected with the Shui-hu-chuan. Apparently in Chia-ching time, someone was maliciously slandered in a memorial to the throne by Lu Ping. As a result, the Court confiscated the property of the accused. Brooding on this injustice, the victim gave vent to his feelings in the Chin P'ing Mei.....(Wang Shih-chen) possessed the complete

work, but now it is lost. Once in the past, when I was passing through Chin-t'an, ...Wang Yü-t'ai 王宇泰 (ie. Wang K'en-t'ang 王肯堂 [1]) showed me this work, and told me that he had bought two cases of the manuscript at an exorbitant price. Reading it, I felt that the style was much like that of Lo Kuan-chung. Later from the household of ....Wang Pai-ku 王百谷 (ie.Wang Chih-teng 王穉登), I again saw two cases of the manuscript, and much regretted that I had not been able to see the whole work.....

This note must have been written after the publication of Hung-tao's 'Rules' (1605-6), but before the first printed edition (say 1610). By this time more copies of the Tung manuscript had been made, and it had evidently begun to change hands for money. The copy in the possession of Wang Chih-teng may well have been obtained from Hung-tao; they had been close friends at least since Hung-tao's days in Soochow (1595-7).[2]

The nucleus of the legend about the authorship can be seen forming in these quotations. In the opinions he ~~expres~~ expressed to Shen Te-fu, Hung-tao for the first time gave it shape; in the comment by T'u Pen-chün it has become more specific, and the name of Wang Shih-chen has been associated with it.

That is all the material so far available about the Tung manuscript. No copies have survived, and to the best of my knowledge, no editions have been based on it.

The Liu Ch'eng-hsi 刘承禧 manuscript.

This is the only other kind of manuscript known to have existed. According to Shen Te-fu, Yüan Chung-tao had this book with him when he came to Peking to take the examinations in 1610. Liu Ch'eng-hsi is mentioned once in Chung-tao's works; there is an entry in his diary which runs:

> Chanced to meet Liu Yen-po 刘延伯 in Li Yu-ch'ing's 李雨卿[1] boat. He showed me Chou Fang's 周昉 painting 'Kuei-fei leaving her bath.' She is standing upright. Around her shoulders a light silk gauze has been placed which covers her skin like a film of snow. The effect is breath-taking. One thing, however -- her feet seem unduly large. I wonder whether the palace in Kuei-fei's time really did begin the practice of foot-binding.....[2]

From its position in the diary, this entry can be shown to belong to the seventh month of 1609. Chung-tao was making a leisurely progress to the capital to rejoin his brother and to take the examinations. The encounter with

Liu Ch'eng-

hsi (Yen-po is his hao; the 'Yen-pai 延白 ' of Shen Te-fu's note is a mistake) took place shortly before he reached Tanyang. On the whole, this seems likely to have been the time at which Chung-tao borrowed the manuscript. However, it is quite possible that he obtained it at some other time, for it appears from his work that the Liu family of Ma-ch'eng were related to his close friend Mei Kuo-chen 梅国禎 , and it may well be that the work was obtained through him.[1]

It is suggested in Shen Te-fu's note that Liu may have obtained his copy of the manuscript from Hsü Wen-chen, to whom his wife was related. This was no doubt an inference on the part of Yüan Hung-tao, based on the belief that Wang Shih-chen or some other enemy of Yen Sung was the author of the novel. 'Wen-chen' is the posthumously-conferred name of the Chia-ching and Lung-ch'ing statesman Hsü Chieh 徐階 , who was also an opponent of Yen Sung. But Hsü Chieh died in 1583, and it is most unlikely on that ground alone that he could have had any connection with the Chin P'ing Mei.[2]

About Liu Ch'eng-hsi himself, not very much can be discovered. He is mentioned in Tsang Mao-hsün's 臧懋循 preface to the Yüan-ch'ü hsüan 元曲選 .

> I possessed many rare editions of tsa-chü plays, but a short time ago, I was passing through Huang-chou and borrowed two hundred from Liu Yen-po .....which

were different from the editions on the market. Evidently, therefore, Liu was a notable collector; in each of the three quotations which concern him, he has been described as in the possession of some rarity -- T'ang paintings, Yüan plays, or the manuscript of the Chin P'ing Mei.

According to the local history[1], he was a military chin-shih of 1580, and served as an officer in the Chin-i wei 錦衣衛. The following account of him is also quoted from the same local history the Ma-ch'eng-hsien chih 麻城县志:

> He occupied a military post, but what he most esteemed were literary and artistic pursuits. He liked to associate with writers, appreciated antiquities, calligraphy, painting. He made a collection of rare books and strange objects, which he never tired of caressing.[2]

As to the way in which he may have come to possess the complete, or almost complete, manuscript, nothing is known.

With this manuscript, then, Yüan Chung-tao arrived in Peking. According to his diary, he arrived in the eleventh month of 1609, and left again, having failed the examination, early in 1610. Shen Te-fu took this manuscript, or his copy of it, back with him to Soochow, and then, according to his own account, locked it away. We are to understand that someone else's copy of the Liu manuscript served as the exemplar of the first printed edition.

There is one other reference to the copy of the Liu manuscript in Shen Te-fu's possession. Li Jih-hua's 李日华 diary Wei-shui-hsüan jih-chi 味水軒日記 runs:

> On the fifth day of the eleventh month of 1617, Po-yüan 伯遠 [2] brought along the copy of the novel Chin P'ing Mei in the possession of Ching-ch'ien 景倩 (ie. Shen Te-fu).[1]

Neither Shen's copy, however, nor any of the other copies has survived. Nor is there any other description of this manuscript, to the best of my knowledge. Fortunately for us, however, it survived long enough to be printed; all the editions of the Chin P'ing Mei which we have are based ultimately upon it.

The Yü Chiao Li 玉嬌李 .

This novel, the sequel to the Chin P'ing Mei, and supposedly by the same author, is mentioned in detail only in Shen Te-fu's note. Despite the paucity of evidence, it is likely that such a novel did exist, for in Chapter 100 of the Chin P'ing Mei -- which Yüan Hung-tao had not even read -- there is described the reincarnation of the principal characters. This description is so specific, giving names and places, that one can well believe that the author had every intention of carrying his story into the next lives of his characters, in order to allot the appropriate rewards and punishments, precisely as is done, for example, in the earliest surviving sequel. It must be admitted, however, that there is no detail in Chapter 100 which shows that the Yü Chiao Li of Hung-tao's description was necessarily by the author of the Chin P'ing Mei.

As to Shen Te-fu's claim that the Yü Chiao Li was a direct satire on the political history of the Chia-ching period, it probably exemplifies a tendency of the time to see novels as romans à clef. There are, of course, plays like the anonymous Ming-feng chi 鳴鳳記 [1] (often attributed to Wang Shih-chen), and stories like the Shen Hsiao-hsia hsiang-hui ch'u-shih-piao 沈小霞相会出師表 [2], which do describe explicitly the crimes committed by Yen Sung and Yen Shih-fan during their period of power. This may have prompted critics sometimes to see satire, in the

specific sense, where none existed. This sort of interpretation has been placed on a number of sixteenth-century plays, so far as can be discovered, without justification.[1]

It is possible, I think, to identify the Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung 邱志充 from whom Shen Te-fu obtained the first part of the novel as an official from Chu-ch'eng 諸城 in Eastern Shantung. He was a chin-shih of 1610, and also, having failed the Palace examination, of 1613.[2] The provincial histories for Hunan[3] and Hupeh,[4] where he served, give his name as Ch'iu Chih-k'e 邱志克, but there is no doubt, from the accompanying detail, that it is Chih-ch'ung to whom they refer. His style is given in the Chu-ch'eng-hsien chih 諸城县志[5] (the 1764 edition) as Tso-ch'en 左臣, which differs from the Liu-ch'ü 六區 of Shen Te-fu's description. However, the same work gives the style of Ch'iu Chih-chuang 邱志壯, who was either his brother or his first cousin,[6] as Shih-ch'ü 士區[7]. Since it is common enough for brothers and cousins to have similar styles as well as similar personal names, it is likely that the name Liu-ch'ü did belong to Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung. As for Tso-ch'en, it was either a second style, or, since the two names are graphically very close to each other, it may possibly have been a mistake.

A few facts about Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung's career can be derived from local histories. He served in the Pu-cheng ssu 布政司 in Hupeh (from 1622)[4], in Honan[8] (1627), in

Hunan[1] (at some time during Ch'ung-chen, 1628-43), and was then promoted to be Yu-pu-cheng-shih 右布政使 of the province of Shansi.[2] During his period of office, he was arrested for some offence, and imprisoned; the Chu-ch'eng-hsien chih extols his son's filial piety in first offering to take his father's place, and then, when that was refused, in keeping him supplied with food and medecine during the eight years that elapsed before his death.[3]

Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung's meeting with Shen Te-fu must have taken place early in his career, before he began his service in the Pu-cheng-ssu. (Although there is no evidence that he ever served under the Board of Works, a transfer from there to the Pu-cheng-ssu was not uncommon.[4]) Moreover, it is likely that Shen Te-fu's note on the Chin P'ing Mei was written in 1619, which is the date of his second preface. He remarks that his meeting with Ch'iu took place "last year, in the capital", and it is certain that Shen Te-fu was in Peking in 1618, taking the chü-jen examination.[5]

Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung himself was noted neither as writer nor as collector, unlike his sons, Yü-ch'ang 玉常 and Shih-ch'ang 石常, who both made reputations as poets.[6] Little significance can be seen in his having possession of the novel except for the strange fact that he came from the very same district of Shantung as Ting Yao-k'ang,

the author of the earliest surviving sequel to the Chin P'ing Mei. Both the Ch'iu and the Ting families were among the half-dozen most notable ones -- judging from examination successes -- in Chu-ch'eng-hsien.

There is no obvious explanation of this fact, and it may, after all, be only a coincidence. Some of the questions it raises, however, can be disposed of at once. It was certainly not an early draft of Ting Yao-k'ang's sequel which Ch'iu Chih-ch'ung showed to Shen Te-fu, for, although the date of Ting Yao-k'ang's birth cannot be exactly ascertained, at that stage he could have been no more than a boy.[1] Nor was it an earlier work by some local writer, which Ting Yao-k'ang later refurbished. If Shen's account of the Yü Chiao Li is accurate, the two sequels were conceived on different lines. The Hsü Chin P'ing Mei is concerned with the early stages of conquest and occupation; its author almost certainly depicted therein the sufferings of the Chinese at the hands of the Manchus. The Yü Chiao Li on the other hand, is apparently placed in the Ta-ting 大定 period (1161-89), some forty years after the invasion.

It seems scarcely possible that Ting Yao-k'ang could have failed to hear of the Yü Chiao Li. Not only must he have heard it spoken of in Chu-ch'eng, but as a young man, he visited Tung Ch'i-ch'ang,[2] and may well have discussed it then. However that may be, his preface to the Hsü Chin

P'ing Mei does not mention it.

Apart from Shen Te-fu's note, there is one other likely reference to the Yü Chiao Li. Chang Wu-chiu's 張無咎 preface to the Hsin P'ing-yao-chuan 新平妖傳, the first edition of which is dated 1620, couples the Chin P'ing Mei with the Yü Chiao Li 玉嬌麗 (sic) in comparing them with the Shui-hu-chuan.[1]

Chapter Seven: The Early Editions

With the help of external references and the conclusions reached in Part One, it is possible to give an outline of the history of the early printed editions.

The first printed edition, Soochow, 1610 or 1611.

For this edition we have only the reference of Shen Te-fu. It is not clear from his account whether either Feng Meng-lung or Ma Chih-chün was involved in its publication. Of the two men, Feng Meng-lung needs no introduction. Ma Chih-chün, on the other hand, though some of his work survives in anthologies, is comparatively little known. He was a chin-shih of 1610, and was appointed to a Customs post in Soochow. A further reference to him is contained in another work by Shen Te-fu, the Pi-chou-chai yü-t'an 敝帚齋餘談 :

> He passed the examinations at an early age, and is now a writer of outstanding talent.

From Shen's note, it is clear that this edition came out in 1610 or 1611, for he says it was not long after he had shown the manuscript to Ma Chih-chün, after his return from Peking. We are also told that Chapters 53 to 57 were supplied, and very poorly supplied, with the result that the novel lacked continuity. Moreover, these supplied chapters contained occasional Soochow-dialect words.

This account establishes a connection between this edition and all subsequent ones. We must conclude that the five missing chapters were never rediscovered.

As was shown in Chapter Three, the earliest surviving form of the supplied chapters is represented by Chapters 53 to 57 in the A editions. One cannot be certain that they are part of the supplied chapters described by Shen Te-fu. They contain enough absurdities to fit his account, but on the other hand, nobody has been able to show that they contain verifiable Soochow dialect. It may be, of course, that the offending expressions have been removed, or even that what in the late Ming dynasty was recognisably Soochow dialect is not so any more.

The 1617 Soochow edition.

One assumes the existence of this edition on the evidence of the Nung-chu K'e preface.

It is often assumed that this edition is edition A.1; yet it is really far from certain. Other editions have the Nung-chu K'e preface, and the colophon too, yet as was shown in Chapters Two and Three, they do not derive textually from A.1. On the other hand, the important Hsin-hsin tzu preface, as well as the prefatory tz'u, are found only in the A editions. Moreover the title of the Hsin-hsin tzu preface (Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua hsü) differs from that of the Nung-chu K'e preface (Chin P'ing Mei hsü) in the A.1 edition itself; this may indicate that

the Nung-chu K'e preface was taken over from an earlier edition. It is in fact not uncommon to find the preface from an earlier edition placed after the new preface. Finally, in confirmation of this, Cheng Chen-to has been inclined, on the grounds of its appearance, to describe the A.1 edition as from the north of China, and not from Soochow.

Presumably, since both the A and B editions derive from this edition, the supplied chapters must have been much as they are in A 55-7.

Shen Te-fu does not refer to this edition, but Li Jih-hua noted in his diary for the fifth day of the eleventh month of 1617 that he had received the copy of the novel in the possession of Shen Te-fu. (See p.103 above) Since the Nung-chu K'e preface is dated only a few weeks later, in the twelfth month of the same year, it is tempting to suppose that Shen may have had some connection with the 1617 edition. But it does not seem to be a new printed edition which is in question, for Li Jih-hua writes 'in his possession'. It may after all be nothing more than a coincidence.

The A.1 edition.

On the above evidence, this may well be a northern edition which was based on the 1617 Soochow edition. It has the following features distinct from the B editions:

The Hsin-hsin tzu preface.

The prefatory tz'u.

The rewritten Chapters 53 and 54.

Apart from these features, A.1 represents an earlier state of the text than do the B editions.

It is not possible to say whether the above three features were present for the first time in A.1, or whether there were other editions between the 1617 Soochow one and this.

The first B edition.

The main features of the development from the 1617 Soochow edition to the first B edition are as follows:

The rewriting of Ch.1 (first part), and the consequent adaptation of the text elsewhere.

The correction of the text. (as in Ch.81).

The abridgement of the text (ranging from the excision of single characters to that of long passages).

The remodelling of the chapter headings.

The rewriting of the initial verse.

The addition of illustrations.

The addition of notes.

It is not possible to say whether the development was a gradual one or not.

The first C edition.

The earliest surviving C editions all have Hsieh I's preface of 1695. That the Hsieh I edition was not the first C edition is proved by a note in the Chin P'ing Mei hou-pa 金瓶梅後跋 of Ch'en Ssu-hsiang 陳思相, a virtually unknown work, of which the preface is dated 1684.[1] Ch'en Ssu-hsiang remarks that the Chin P'ing Mei had been neglected and misunderstood for over 100 years until it came to be edited by such intelligent critics as Chang Chu-p'o. His references to Chang's theory of the authorship, as well as his mention of the novel as Ti-i ch'i-shu 第一奇書, make it clear that it was the first C edition he was speaking of. Thus Chang's edition was published at some time before 1684.

Mention of Chang Chu-p'o is found in two places: in the Tsai-yüan tsa-chih 在園雜誌 of Liu T'ing-chi 劉廷璣,[2] and in the Yu-meng-ying 幽夢影 of Chang Ch'ao 張潮. The former remarks that Chang's editing of the Chin P'ing Mei confers on him the mantle of Chin Sheng-t'an 金聖歎, the seventeenth-century editor of the Shui-hu-chuan. The Yu-meng-ying is a collection of poems by Chang Ch'ao, with appreciations by Chang Chu-p'o and other friends; it too, indicates that Chang Chu-p'o was influenced by Chin Sheng-t'an, for among the many works edited by Chang Ch'ao are a number which show the main features of his method.[3] This is borne out by Chang Chu-p'o's own introductions to the Chin P'ing Mei, which not only

refer to Sheng-t'an, but also make use of his terminology. Strangely enough, Sheng-t'an's edition of the Shui-hu-chuan, together with the edition of the Chin P'ing Mei produced by Chang Chu-p'o under his influence, remained the standard editions of the two novels during the whole of the Ch'ing dynasty. Unlike Chin Sheng-t'an however, who did not scruple to falsify the text of the Shui-hu-chuan to suit his preconceptions, Chang Chu-p'o contented himself with writing notes and introductions, and made only trivial alterations in the B edition which served him as exemplar.

Ch'en Ssu-hsiang's edition.

In the Chin P'ing Mei hou-pa, the following passage occurs:

> When Miao Ch'ing visits the capital as a san-kuan 散官 , the good (or rare) edition (shan-pen 善本) has the phrase 'riding in a black sedan-chair.' The excellence of this lies in the indirect contrast it presents with Hsi-men Ch'ing's riding a white horse on first being appointed a t'i-hsing 提刑 . It is a marvellous piece of writing.

In Ch.55 4b, the A.1 edition describes Miao Yüan-wai as 'riding in a sedan-chair.' Edition B.4 is identical at this point. The difference is not so much in the word 'black,' for ch'eng ch'ing chiao 乘青轎 would be a simple enough mistake on the printer's part for ch'eng-chih chiao 乘着轎 , as in the identification of Miao Yüan-wai

with Miao Ch'ing. As was shown in Chapter Three, the outstanding mistake of the supplied chapters is the failure to recognise that the Miao Yüan-wai of the chapter heading is indeed the Miao Ch'ing of the rest of the novel. We must therefore assume that the shan-pen referred to by Ch'en Ssu-hsiang is different from any surviving edition. Yet it still cannot have had the original text in Ch.55, because, as has been shown in Chapter Three, Miao Ch'ing should have been in Yangchow, not in the capital. If there really was such an edition as Ch'en Ssu-hsiang's remark indicates, then it must have been one in which this mistake in the supplied chapters had been corrected. There is no way of knowing what this edition might have been like, but if there ever was an edition which continued the rewriting of Chapters 53 and 54 (as exemplified in A.1) as far as Ch.57, then that could well have been the one Ch'en Ssu-hsiang referred to.

Ting Yao-k'ang's edition.

The Hsü Chin P'ing Mei[1], of which the author's preface is dated 1660, also identifies Miao Yüan-wai with Miao Ch'ing. Although this is not the only correction it contains, it would probably be too dangerous to try to deduce what kind of edition the author had. The author himself warns the reader to expect mistakes in chronology; when he wrote the novel, he

was staying as a guest, and had not the former work

> with me, and as I was pressed for time, I may have made occasional mistakes, which I hope the reader will disregard.

However, it was certainly not a B edition which he used; the names of the characters in the novel are exactly as they are in the A editions. It is also likely that the title of the edition was Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua, for the preface remarks:

> The former work was called tz'u-hua, and contained many old tz'u and songs.

PART THREE: THE SOURCES

There are times when a search for sources becomes a tedious, unrewarding ritual -- that is to say, when the sources, once discovered, throw no light on the methods and purpose of the author. With the Chin P'ing Mei, it is not so. A study of the sources -- why the author has chosen them and how he has used them -- can provide one sure touchstone for understanding the novel.

It is not hard to see why this should be so. We know nothing of the novel's composition except what we can glean from the text itself. Any conclusions we may draw are bound to be fallible in a field such as this where comparable works are few. On the other hand, a comparison of passages copied into the Chin P'ing Mei with their original sources helps to isolate the author's own contribution, and thus provides evidence from which to deduce his motives and preoccupations.

In fact the critic has an opportunity with the Chin P'ing Mei which is denied him when considering the other early novels. There are two reasons for this. One is that many of the sources used by the author still survive, whereas in the case of the other novels they do not. The other reason is that the Chin P'ing Mei differs essentially from the other novels, which are all in some degree the products of lively popular tradition. In their case,

discovery of one source merely uncovers an earlier form of the same tradition; it would be useless to seek the consistent imagination of a single writer.[1] Yet that is precisely what one expects to find in the Chin P'ing Mei. Whereas the earlier novels are for some purposes best regarded as the growth of popular traditions responsive to historical events, the Chin P'ing Mei can be regarded as the product of one man's imagination influenced by life and literature.

The actual number and diversity of the sources is astonishing; even excluding the songs, there are well over a score of different works, some of which belong to forms which one would not expect to find in prose fiction. Sometimes the borrowed passages are combined in an extremely complex way; in Ch.1 for example, four or five passages, all from different works, have been woven together into one story. Moreover, the uses to which sources have been put vary enormously -- dialogue, plot, description, the conception of a character, and so on. It is even possible to discern innovations which the author has made in the form of the novel under the influence of other kinds of literature.

Not all the sources are of the same value in interpreting the novel. A clear division must be made, for example, between those works which are represented as being performed in the course of the novel, and the rest of the sources. It

is one of the most important facts about the Chin P'ing Mei that these performed works are actually the currently popular songs, plays etc. of the time when the novel was written. Nevertheless, although they have a function in the novel, they are bound to be of less interest than those sources which are incorporated in the narrative.

How large a part are the sources described here of the total number used? It is impossible to guess how many others there are. Judging by the ingenuity shown in the use of some of them, I think it highly likely that there are more to be discovered in the future. No doubt there are also cases in which the work used as source is itself no longer extant. Yet a study of the available sources does at least give some basis for deciding what is, or is not, likely to be of the author's invention.

In dealing with the sources, there are obviously two tasks: to describe the sources, and to assess them. For the former purpose, it seems best to consider them under the work from which they have been borrowed. Apart from the Shui-hu-chuan, which is by far the most important, these works belong to the following five categories:

Histories of the Sung period

Colloquial short stories

Plays

Songs

Shuo-ch'ang literature 說唱

Each of these will be discussed in a separate chapter. However, in the case of the Shui-hu-chuan and the songs, the full lists of borrowings are so long that they are relegated to Appendices II and III respectively; the more important of the borrowings are referred to in the relevant chapters. As for the assessment of the sources, each work will be considered in turn, and in Chapter Fourteen, some general conclusions will be drawn.

From this point on, the Chin P'ing Mei is often abbreviated to CPM, and the Shui-hu-chuan to SHC.

Chapter Eight: The Shui-hu-chuan

The edition.

From the passages borrowed from the SHC it is possible to tell something about the edition used by the author of the CPM.

During the sixteenth century, the text of the SHC underwent three kinds of changes -- the addition of new material, textual abridgement, and textual alteration.[1]

The addition of new material means, first, the war against the Liao 遼, and second, the campaigns against T'ien Hu 田虎 and Wang Ch'ing 王慶. Although the latter campaigns occupy twenty chapters in the unabridged editions of the SHC, no passage concerning them is used in the CPM. Since it appears that they were added to the text of the SHC towards the end of the century,[2] it is unlikely that they formed part of the edition used. About the war against the Liao it is harder to be certain. While there are no actual borrowings, the treatment of the Liao invasion in CPM Ch.17 does show a similarity to the account given in the SHC. In the SHC, when the perfidy of Ts'ai Ching and others in concealing news of defeat is finally exposed, the Emperor, after castigating them severely, decided to 'pardon their offences for the time being.' In CPM, when Ts'ai Ching and others are attacked in a memorial, the Emperor sentenced some of the officials, but Ts'ai Ching he 'pardoned for the time

being.' Since the indictment of Ts'ai Ching for this affair is not a historical fact, it is possible that the account in the CPM has been suggested by that in the SHC.

Abridgement of the SHC resulted in a drastic paring-down of the text. It is clear at a glance that it was not an abridged edition which the author of the CPM used.

Textual alteration means all the differences, mostly fairly minor, which distinguish the surviving early editions of the SHC. Since the author of the CPM has freely adapted the passages he borrowed, they cannot be accepted as reliable; all one can do is to search for concurrences among the early editions of the SHC. With the publication of the Shui-hu-ch'üan-chuan 水滸全傳[1], such a task has become possible, for it includes all the variants among the early unabridged editions.

Among these editions, the closest by far to that used in the CPM is the 100-chapter edition which has a preface by T'ien-tu wai-ch'en 天都外臣[2] dated 1589. (The actual 1589 edition does not exist; this is a Ch'ing reprint.) It is even closer to the CPM than the fragmentary Chia-ching edition, which is the earliest extant.[3] In only one or two minor cases is there any correspondence between the CPM version and variants found in any other edition; these few affinities are probably to be explained as obvious corrections.

It is a different matter when one compares the CPM

version with one of the abridged editions. (Unfortunately the 115-chapter Ying-hsiung p'u 英雄譜 edition is the only one accessible to me; only with some misgiving can it be taken as representative.) There are a certain number of cases in which the CPM version and the abridged edition have affinities which are not shared by the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition. For example, in the long poem describing Wu Sung's fight with the tiger, the last character of line 13 is san 散 in both the CPM and the abridged edition, but sang 喪 in all the other editions. Again, in the long poem describing the night which Sung Chiang and the singing-girl are forced to spend together, the 69th character is ch'ien 前 in both the CPM and the abridged edition, but chien 閒 in the other editions. In the same poem, characters 76-9 are lü-k'e ku-huai 旅客孤怀 in the other editions, but shih-nü ch'ing-huai 仕女情怀 in the CPM, and jen-tzu ch'ing-huai 壬子情怀 (presumably a mistake) in the abridged edition. When Wu Sung is about to kill P'an Chin-lien, he addresses his brother's spirit as "(I) your brother Wu II will avenge you!" in the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition, but as "This day (I) Wu II will avenge you!" in the CPM, and as "This day (I) your brother will avenge you!" in the abridged edition.

While these and other affinities are all minor, they do indicate some kind of relationship between the abridged editions and the edition used in the CPM. The abridged

editions could none of them have been the edition used, since the exemplar of the CPM was unquestionably an unabridged edition. To put it at its very simplest, the exemplar might have been the full edition from which the abridgement was first made.

Thus the CPM version has affinities with the abridged editions on the one hand, and with the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition on the other. The latter could not therefore have been the edition which the author of the CPM used. Moreover, since it appeared only seven years before the first reference to the CPM, and since there are records of abridged editions by about 1590,[1] it is unlikely that any edition derived from it could have served as the exemplar of both the CPM and the abridged editions. The simplest explanation must be that some earlier edition existed, from which all three, the abridged editions, the CPM version, and the 1589 edition, were derived.

This destroys the usual assumption about the origin of the 1589 edition. Following a note by Shen Te-fu which identifies T'ien-tu wai-ch'en as the writer Wang Tao-k'un 汪道昆, and says that he based his edition on 'an edition handed down in the family of Kuo Hsün 郭勛,'[2] it has been assumed that Wang based his edition on the well-documented edition of Kuo Hsün in the Chia-ching period.[3] If the Chia-ching fragment is in reality, as it is supposed to be,[4] part of the Kuo Hsün edition, then the

assumption must be wrong, for it is not as close to the CPM version as the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition.

The already complex history of the Shui-hu editions in the Chia-ching period must clearly be re-assessed. But such a re-assessment would require a good deal of speculation; this hardly seems the place to attempt it. All that can be said that directly concerns the study of the Chin P'ing Mei is that the common ancestor of the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition, the abridged editions, and the CPM version is likely to have been, at the latest, a Chia-ching edition.

For the purposes of comparison with the passages copied into the CPM, the text of the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition, as reprinted in the Shui-hu-ch'üan-chuan, will be chosen.

The Wu Sung - P'an Chin-lien story.

Borrowings from the SHC are of two kinds -- the story of Wu Sung and Chin-lien, which has been borrowed directly, and other passages, which have been adapted to fit into the CPM.

The adventures of Wu Sung as narrated in Ch.23-7 of the Shui-hu-chuan are copied in to the CPM in three places. Ch.1-6 tell his story from the fight with the tiger as far as his brother's murder; Ch.9-10 tell of his return and attempted vengeance; Ch.87 tells of his murder of Chin-lien. The main divergence from the plot of the SHC comes in Ch.9; by the time Wu Sung returns from the mission on which he has been sent, Chin-lien is already beyond his vengeance, installed in Hsi-men's household. In an attempt to kill Hsi-men, Wu Sung kills his companion by mistake; for this deed he is sent into an exile from which he does not return until much later. By thus postponing Wu Sung's vengeance, the author of the CPM has contrived to fit most of the action of his novel within the framework of a brief SHC incident.

Within these chapters, although the CPM follows the text of the SHC fairly closely, the author has constantly subordinated it to his purpose. There are some notable excisions, and a good deal of foreshortening. There are numerous added passages, some of them most revealing of the author's attitude. The characters taken over from the

SHC have sometimes been differently conceived. There are differences in narrative technique, and more fundamental differences in the novelist's approach to his work.

Most of the excisions are designed to bring the CPM as quickly as possible to the point at which Chin-lien becomes the centre of interest. Incidents which concern Wu Sung alone have been omitted or abridged. Thus the incident in the inn, which prepares the reader for the possibility that Wu Sung may be able to kill the tiger, has been summarised in a single sentence, while the fight itself has been much abridged. Other excisions concern such inessential characters as the precinct head, Ho IX, who plays little part in the rest of the novel. Even in the abridged passages, however, the author has not scrupled to simplify a phrase, to add a detail of motivation, or to introduce some expressive remark. In the description of the fight, for example, itself generally much shorter than the SHC account, the CPM mentions the rustling of the leaves as the beast crashed its way towards Wu Sung. In another place, a laconic phrase is expanded into an expressive statement; where the SHC has 'Hsi-men's eyes never left Chin-lien's person,' the CPM has 'that thievish pair of eyes, so adept, from long years of flower-plucking, in the art of love.' Among the added dialogue one can sometimes discern the novel's characteristic realism.

"Well, and how does she make love?" (asked Wang after the seduction)

"Splendid, you would hardly credit it."[1] (replied Hsi-men)

There is one departure from the SHC account which may be more important than it seems: this is the change of location from Yang-ku 陽谷 to Ch'ing-ho 清河. Whereas in the SHC, Wu Sung sets out for Ch'ing-ho but meets his brother in Yang-ku, in the CPM it is exactly the opposite. This was certainly a deliberate change, for Ch'ing-ho and its surrounding towns, especially the flourishing Canal town of Lintsing 臨清, play a considerable part in the novel.[2] I think it is even possible to identify the tile factory in the charge of Eunuch Liu with the factory at Lintsing, one of the three great tileworks of the Ming dynasty.[3] It would be pointless to speculate on the author's motive in making this change, but obviously he must have known the Ch'ing-ho district fairly well.

Many of the additions to the text of the SHC are examples of the greater detail required in the CPM. Two characters are added, besides the members of Hsi-men's household; one is Wang's son, who makes a brief appearance in Ch.87 as Chin-lien's lover, and the other is the pitiful little daughter of Wu Chih, Ying-erh 迎兒, who seems to presage that hapless, slovenly maid Ch'un-chü 春菊 in provoking all the viciousness in Chin-lien's character.

Other additions indicate a difference in the author's conception of characters he has derived from the SHC, notably Chin-lien and Wu Sung. The account of Chin-lien's

origin contained in the SHC has been replaced by a different account given in a colloquial short story, Chih-ch'eng Chang Chu-kuan 志誠張主管 , the details of which are found in Chapter Ten. The main difference between the girl of the short story and the Chin-lien of the SHC is one of status and accomplishments. The one is possessed of all the arts and graces of the courtesan; the other is an unlettered maid. The Chin-lien of the CPM has the background and status of the former; her accomplishments in singing and music, as well as her ability to read, are often insisted upon.

While Wu Sung is still the stern, upright hao-han 好汉 of the SHC, the macabre feeling which surrounds his act of vengeance is increased in the CPM. The scenes of roistering, such as the one in the inn, have been omitted; the only Wu Sung we read of is the implacable avenger. Small additions heighten this impression; when Wu Sung returns, he offers to marry Chin-lien -- a ruse scarcely consistent with the straightforward Wu Sung of the SHC -- and it is not until she arrives for the wedding celebration and is confronted with her murdered husband's funeral tablet, that she has an inkling of her fate. The reader already knows from the foreboding felt by Yüeh-niang ("he would kill a man without batting an eye") that Chin-lien will die at her prospective bridegroom's hands. Details of the murder add to this effect:

"We know you have a glib tongue. Now we'll see what your heart is like!" exclaims Wu Sung, as he wrenches it out. The author of the CPM has thus not even attempted to accomodate the heroic figure of Wu Sung within the lifesize realism of his novel; he has merely accentuated the macabre quality of the man's actions.

Other additions to the SHC show the author's concern to explain the thoughts and actions of his characters. This sets them apart from the characters of the SHC, who to our eyes sometimes have the wanton unpredictability of Grettir or some other such hero of the Icelandic sagas. The additions are of two kinds. There are moralising remarks addressed to the reader, such as those in Ch.1 which explain that when a woman of wit and vivacity is matched with an unworthy husband, disaster is bound to occur. There are also passages which represent the thoughts of characters. On a trivial level, Chin-lien reflects after meeting Hsi-men Ch'ing "If he hadn't taken a fancy to me, he wouldn't have turned round seven or eight times to look at me;" Hsi-men Ch'ing, for his part feflects "What a fine wench! How can I seduce her?" A more important example is the song which Chin-lien sings to herself to give expression to her desperate loneliness. This is the first case of what may be called 'the dramatic use of song' (see the twelfth chapter). It represents the introduction into prose fiction of what is essentially a dramatic or shuo

chang 說唱 form.

The author's preoccupation with the evocative description of love-making is also apparent in long passages added in Ch.4. What is also apparent in these passages is the deliberate comedy introduced by the author into these descriptions. There is a double entendre (shuang-kuan 双関) poem which purports to describe a gourd, but which actually describes the male genitals. On this poem the whole scene has been based, for it is on the pretext of borrowing a gourd that Wang goes to summon her neighbour. This kind of comedy is not uncommon in the novel; a comic scene in Ch.86 is built around a similar poem describing a mouse.

The theme of political corruption -- an important but under-estimated theme of the novel -- is also stated in some of the additions made to the text of the SHC. In Ch.2, it is explained that the money Wu Sung is to take to the capital is to be used as bribes to secure the magistrate a good position when his present term of office is over. Another example is found in Ch.10. The prefect sees through the accusation against Wu Sung, and prepares to arraign Hsi-men and the others for trial, but is forced to drop the case when Hsi-men has strings pulled in the capital by the prefect's superiors. Here and elsewhere the description of the working of political machinery is far different from the somewhat naive account of the

SHC. In place of popular legend, for example Sung Chiang's intrigue with Li Shih-shih, the CPM presents an entirely credible picture of bribes, political patronage, and the preferential treatment of merchants who ingratiate themselves with those in power.

Other passages borrowed.

Other borrowings reveal, from one point of view, how close the SHC lay to the author's imagination, and from another, with what ingenuity he adapted passages from it to his own purpose.

In one case, a major figure of the CPM may have been derived from a character in the SHC. In telling the background of Li P'ing-erh, in Ch.10 the novelist remarks that she was once a concubine of Liang Shih-chieh 梁世傑 of Tamingfu, but that when the whole household was slaughtered by Li K'uei 李逵 in the third year of Cheng-ho, she escaped to the capital, taking valuable jewellery with her. This is clearly a reference to the raid on Tamingfu described in Ch.66 of the SHC. Although it was not in fact Li K'uei who slaughtered the Liang household, he impresses himself on the memory more than those who did so. It is true that no mention is made of any concubine of Liang Shih-chieh, but the unfaithful wife of Lu Chün-i 盧俊義 has a few features in common with the account given

of Li P'ing-erh. Together with her paramour, she escapes from the city, taking with her a quantity of valuables. Her character and behaviour are not unlike Li P'ing-erh's. She is described as 'quiet and equable'(p.1028); Yüeh-niang praises Li P'ing-erh as 'gentle-natured.' Both women are neglected by their husbands, Lu Chün-i to devote himself to feats of arms, and Hua Tzu-hsü to whoremongering. Both women connive at legal chicanery in order to ruin their husbands and transfer their considerable wealth to their lovers. It may well be that the conception of Li P'ing-erh's character was influenced by a somewhat inaccurate memory -- witness the mistake about Li K'uei -- of this part of the SHC.

In Ch.84, there is a deliberate attempt to combine several SHC stories into one adventure. The occasion is the visit of Yüeh-niang to the temple at T'ai Shan; at least four parts of the SHC are drawn on.

The description of the Goddess of the Ninth Heaven as seen by Yüeh-niang belongs to Sung Chiang's dream (Ch.42)

The account of Yüeh-niang's escape from danger in the temple is derived from two separate stories of the SHC. The author of the CPM explains that the abbot there is in fact a pander for a notorious villain named Yin T'ien-hsi 殷天錫 , who is able, because he is the brother-in-law of the local prefect Kao Lien 高廉 , to perpetrate all kinds of crimes including the seduction of such

female pilgrims as come to the temple. Yüeh-niang is inveigled into the abbot's room, whereupon Yin appears and attempts to rape her. Her cries bring the others to her help, but by the time they arrive both Yin and the abbot have vanished. Yüeh-niang's brother gives vent to a little of his fury by having the abbot's quarters smashed up. They then lose no time in fleeing down the mountain, which is just as well, for Yin has already collected a band of twenty or thirty idlers armed with clubs and knives, and is giving pursuit.

The figure of Yin T'ien-hsi, together with some of the incident, is drawn from Ch.52 of the SHC. He is a local bully, who, coveting the land of Ch'ai Chin's uncle, is endeavouring to make him give it up. One day, accompanied by twenty or thirty idlers armed with clubs and knives, he rides up to supervise the eviction. He does not realise that the uncle has died from an illness brought on by worry over this affair; when he threatens Ch'ai Chin, Li K'uei steps forward and kills him, and then routs his followers.

The attempted seduction in the temple, together with a good deal more incident, is however drawn from Ch.7 of the SHC. This passage deals with the attempt of the adopted son of Kao Ch'iu (高俅) to seduce the wife of Lin Ch'ung. This young rake, relying on Kao Ch'iu's protection, makes a profession of rape and seduction. One day he saw Lin

Ch'ung's wife as she came to visit the temple; his attempt to seduce her was frustrated by the arrival of Lin Ch'ung. Enlisting the aid of one of Lin's friends to lure him away, the young man tried again, but unsuccessfully. When Lin Ch'ung found he had been duped, he gave vent to his anger by smashing up the friend's house. As well as the obvious parallels with the CPM -- the seduction in the temple, the smashing of the furniture, the friend who acts as pander -- there are a number of verbal parallels. His wife's cries for help, on both occasions, as well as Lin Ch'ung's shouts, are all duplicated.

Thus the figures of two villains from the SHC have been amalgamated; the composite CPM villain even bears the name of one and the nickname of the other. However, even in the SHC, the two men have one thing in common -- their dependence on their relationship to the Kao family, for Kao Lien, to whom Yin T'ien-hsi is related by marriage, is said to be the brother of Kao Ch'iu.

After her escape in the temple, Yüeh-niang survived yet another danger. On her way back to Ch'ing-ho, she was captured by the lascivious bandit chief Wang Ying 王英, and was only freed on the intercession of Sung Chiang 宋江 himself. This whole episode is drawn from Ch.32 of the SHC, where the captured woman is the wife of the local magistrate.

The most important of the other passages borrowed from the SHC are all set pieces, especially those descriptive compositions known as tsan 讚. In several cases, part of the context of the set pieces, has been transferred to the CPM as well. Thus the tsan in Ch.8, which describes how the priests come to chant sutras for the murdered Wu Chih are dumbfounded at the sight of Chin-lien's beauty, is taken from a similar situation in Ch.25 of the SHC. Some of the narrative before the tsan, as well as the remarks addressed to the reader in CPM, are also derived from the SHC, although in the CPM they show a good deal of elaboration.

The most interesting elaboration by the author of the CPM of a theme provided by the SHC is found in Ch.27. It is mid-summer, and intensely hot. The heat is described in a tz'u. There follows a short disquisition on the subject of the kinds of people who fear the heat and those who do not. Of those who fear the heat there are three kinds -- peasants, merchants, and soldiers, while of those who do not fear the heat there are also three kinds. At the end of this disquisition the theme is restated in a four-lined poem. The last two lines are as follows:

While the peasants' insides like broth are broiling,
In the upper rooms the young lords fan themselves.

Both the tz'u and the four-lined poem are found in Ch.16

of the SHC, as well as an eight-lined poem which states the theme of the disquisition, and names the various kinds of people who fear, or do not fear, the heat. The poems occur in the course of the incident in which the birthday presents meant for Ts'ai Ching are waylaid by the outlaws. The four-lined poem is the song sung by the man who suddenly appears over the brow of the hill carrying two buckets of wine. It is possible to discern in the inclusion of these poems an element of protest at the extremes of social inequality on the part of the authors of the SHC. In that case we must credit the author of the CPM with an even stronger protest, for not only has he copied the poems, but has also seen fit to elaborate their theme.

Some of the tsan from the SHC are applied to situations quite different from those they were originally found in. The tsan which in Ch.21 of the SHC describes the scene as Sung Chiang and his mistress sit sullenly facing each other the whole night is used in Ch.59 of the CPM to describe Li P'ing-erh as she sits fretting ~~the whole night through~~ over her sick baby.

Apart from all these cases of verbal borrowing, and many others as well which need not be mentioned here, it seems likely that there are a number of cases of non-verbal borrowing. The likely case of the Liao invasion has already been mentioned. The birthday presents sent by

Hsi-men to his patron Ts'ai Ching remind one of those famous presents sent by Liang Shih-chieh. The conception of the character of Li P'ing-erh is another likely instance. Altogether, considering the author's close reliance on the SHC, it is probable that there are many more cases, difficult though they may be to prove.

Chapter Nine: Histories of the Sung Period.

For its historical background, the CPM relies far less on the SHC than on works of history. Thus although the Imperial Tutor, Ts'ai Ching, appears in the SHC, the account of his seven governmental 'reforms' in Ch.48 of the CPM is based, both in point of content and language, on the formal histories.

This reliance of the author on works of history is certainly not due to any concern on his part for historical accuracy. As with the invasion of the Liao, he has not scrupled to alter facts to suit his own convenience. Ts'ai Ching's reforms, for example, the most notable piece of historical background, are themselves a fiction; they are for the most part an agglomeration of various proposals and edicts of the early twelfth century. Even so, some of them are garbled almost beyond recognition. Ts'ai Ching's fourth proposal concerns the need to mint new coinage because the iron of the old coinage -- often mixed with lead and tin -- has been used by the border tribes to manufacture weapons. In fact the event referred to here was something quite different: it was proposed in the second month of 1105 to mint a new coinage, mixing lead and tin with the iron to make the resulting metal too brittle for use in weapons.[1] Some of the other details reflect the facts of Sung history no more faithfully.

Copying from historical works, however inaccurate it may be, has the same function as the quotation in full of fictional memorials and edicts, of which plenty are also to be found in the CPM; it gives to the novel a credibility it would not otherwise have. The author's aim, in other words, is to obtain historical verisimilitude, if not historical accuracy. But his aim is a great deal more precise than that; almost all the passages quoted from the histories have been chosen to state or illustrate the theme of political corruption. It is through these events and figures, derived -- in some form -- from history, that the author's criticism and satire of injustice and chicanery is mainly directed.

Unfortunately, it is now quite impossible to say which historical work he has copied from. Given the proclivity of Chinese historians to copy from each other, and considering that the passages copied into the CPM are not very long, it is not surprising that the exact source cannot be identified. Some of the copied passages, for example, are to be found in much the same form in chronicle-histories as far apart as the Huang-ch'ao (Kang-mu) pien-nien pei-yao 皇朝綱目編年備要, which was compiled in the Southern Sung, and the Sung-Yüan tzu-chih t'ung-chien 宋元資治通鑑, of which the author's preface is dated 1567. Accordingly, any reference in this chapter to a work of history does not mean that the author of the

CPM actually used that work, but that he used some such work. It is his use of historical works as a category, rather than any one particular work, that we are concerned with.

Apart from the seven reforms of Ts'ai Ching, mentioned above, the three most substantial cases of borrowing concern minor historical figures who have been developed into characters of some importance in the novel.

The most obvious case is that of Tseng Hsiao-hsü 曾孝序, who appears in Ch.48 as Censor of Shantung province. Having discovered the truth about the murder of Miao T'ien-hsiu (see Chapter Three), he sent a memorial to the throne attacking Hsi-men and the other magistrate. On orders from Ts'ai Ching, the memorial was side-tracked. Tseng thereupon (p.lab -- this is the passage copied) went to the capital and submitted another memorial, this time attacking Ts'ai Ching and his policies. For this he was demoted. Later, through another intrigue, he was exiled. Tseng Hsiao-hsü was a historical figure, whose biography is included in the Sung History (chüan 453). The account given there and in other works of his attack on Ts'ai Ching, his consequent demotion and exile, is substantially the same, and told in the same words, as in the CPM. Only his post has been changed to that of Censor of Shantung.

The two other characters which have been derived from historical works are An Ch'en 安忱 and Ts'ai Yün 蔡蘊 . They are closely involved with each other in the

novel, and are best considered together. In Ch.36 p.3a, it is explained, in an aside to the reader, that the young graduates An and Ts'ai, who have come to visit Hsi-men Ch'ing, were concerned in a strange incident at the time of their graduation. An Ch'en was originally selected chuang-yüan, but was attacked by a Censor on the grounds that he was the younger brother of An Tun 安惇, the discredited minister of the previous reign. Accordingly the Emperor removed him and made Ts'ai Yun the new chuang-yüan. Ts'ai had become the protégé of Ts'ai Ching.

This is an inaccurate version of a historical event of the year 1103, as recorded, for example, in the Sung-Yüan tzu-chih t'ung-chien chüan 26 p.24ab. Li Chieh 李階 was removed from the list because his father Li Shen 李深 was in disgrace, and it was An Ch'un, the brother of An Tun, who was allowed to take his place. The role of An Ch'un, in other words, was just the opposite of that allotted to him in the CPM.

Ts'ai Yün is derived from the historical figure of Ts'ai Ni 蔡薿. According to the Sung-Yüan tzu-chih t'ung-chien chuan 22 p.9a (the first year of Ta-kuan 大觀, 1107):

> In summer, in the fifth month, Ts'ai Ni was appointed a Supervising Censor. In his examination essay, calculating that Ts'ai Ching would soon be restored to power, he had written..... Thereupon he was raised to first place, and his answer was officially

published throughout the country. He became an official, and was appointed cheng-tzu 正字 in the Secretariat (Mi-shu-hsing 秘書省). In less than a year he had risen to the post of Censor. Such a thing had never happened before.

The Ts'ai Yün of the novel was also a protégé of Ts'ai Ching, also obtained the distinction of chuang-yüan by suspicious means, was also appointed at once to the Secretariat (the CPM has cheng-shih 正事 , presumably a mistake), and was soon after a Censor (see Ch.49 5b.). There is little doubt that he is based on Ts'ai Ni.

Although these three figures are the most interesting cases of borrowing, since they have been realised by the author as significant characters in his novel, there are a number of other places in which the CPM echoes the formal histories. Like the account of Ts'ai Ching's policies, these passages serve to provide a realistic historical background.

All the passages referred to share one feature; they are all used to illustrate the corruption existing under the monopoly of power held by Ts'ai Ching. Since it is plain that the author has not bothered to abide by historical accuracy in his treatment, we may be sure that his criticism is really directed elsewhere, that is to say, at the political figures and the political institutions of his own time.

Chapter Ten: Colloquial Short Stories.

Passages from at least seven different short stories can be discerned in the text of the novel. In the order in which they appear, the stories are:-

(a) Wen-ching yüan-yang hui 刎頸鴛鴦会 , copied in Ch.1.

(b) Chih-ch'eng Chang Chu-kuan 志誠張主管 , copied in Chapters 1,2, and 100.

(c) Chieh-chih-erh chi 戒指兒記 , copied in Chapters 34 and 51.

(d) Kang-k'ou yü-weng 巷口漁翁 , copied in Ch.47.

(e) Hsi-shan i-k'u kuei 西山一窟鬼 , copied in Ch.62.

(f) Wu-chieh Ch'an-shih ssu Hung-lien chi 五戒禪師私紅蓮記 , copied in Ch.73.

(g) Hsin-ch'iao-shih Han Wu mai ch'un-ch'ing 新橋市韓五賣春情 , copied in Chapters 98 and 99, and also possibly in Ch.1.

Five of these sources have been pointed out before; (d) and (e) are the exceptions. Yet, of the five, hardly one has been treated ~~has been treated~~ in adequate detail from the point of view of its use in the CPM; most have been noted incidentally in considering the short stories themselves. For example, (c), (f), and (g) were noted by

Wu Hsiao-ling 吳曉鈴[1] in a review of the Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 古今小說, in which all three stories appear. There seems ample justification for making a collective study of all seven stories.

(a) Wen-ching yüan-yang hui.

The earliest surviving text of this story is found in the Chia-ching collection Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang hua-pen.[2] The title of the story is included in the Chia-ching catalogue Pao-wen-t'ang shu-mu 寶文堂書目 of Ch'ao Li 晁瑮 (died 1560).

The story deals with the adulteries of a libidinous woman, and ends with her murder. The story itself, however, is not copied in the CPM, only the introductory tz'u[3] and some general comment from the beginning and end. The borrowed tz'u, which is the opening poem in the CPM, deals with the power of women to enslave and ruin men. Even the greatest heroes -- the two mentioned are Hsiang Yü 項羽 and Liu Pang 劉邦 -- have not been able to escape ruination. The short story then explains that the subject of the poem lies in the two words ch'ing 情 'love, passion' and se 色 'carnal love, lust'. This too, together with the short piece of philosophical comment which follows it, is reproduced in the CPM with only minor alteration. From this point however, the CPM diverges from the story, and proceeds to explain the tz'u by describing the careers of

Hsiang Yü and Liu Pang and the ruin and humiliation to which their paramours brought them. After this exegesis, the CPM returns to the text of the short story, and asks the question:

> "Story-teller, why have you chosen to talk about these two words 'love' and 'lust'?"

Whereas the short story now goes on with the tale itself, the author of the CPM proceeds to answer the question, and the first part of his answer is drawn from the general comment at the end of the short story.

The significance of the author's use of this source can scarcely be exaggerated. It indicates that in some degree he regarded his novel in the same light as that kind of hua-pen story which has for heroine a femme fatale of inordinate sexual appetite who ruins physically and financially those whom she captivates. The story Hsin-ch'iao-shih Han Wu mai ch'un-ch'ing, which is copied later in the novel, and, it seems likely, echoed in the author's introductory comments in Ch.1, is another example of this same kind. The attitude traditionally adopted by the narrator of such stories was one of warning his audience (or readers) against being captivated by such women. This is as far as the author of the CPM goes -- unlike the later editors of the novel -- in ever drawing an explicit moral.

How far the author of the CPM really regarded his

novel in this light it is impossible to say. Perhaps for him, as for the story-tellers, this formula provided a satisfactory framework in which an evocative tale could be told with propriety. In fact, the conception of the femme fatale has little place in the novel. In any case, such a role can only be sustained with the simpler, external characterization of the SHC or the hua-pen stories. The attempts to explain Chin-lien's conduct, and especially the inclusion of the song in which she expresses her desperate loneliness, show that, even at the beginning of the novel, a very different notion of character was present in the author's mind.

On page 3a of the first chapter, there is a short passage about the novel's purpose which is drawn neither from the short stories nor from the SHC. We may well suppose it to be of the author's own creation. It describes the novel as 'a tale of the passions' (feng-ch'ing ku-shih 風情故事). This is the only explicit statement in the book of how its author regarded it.

(b) Chih-ch'eng Chang Chu-kuan.

The earliest surviving text of this story is found in the Ching-pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo 京本通俗小說 .

Three passages from this story are used in the CPM, in Ch.1, Ch.2, and Ch.100 respectively.

Ch.1 9b-11a.

Chin-lien's origin in the household of General Wang 王招宣 and her purchase by Chang, which, as was explained in the last chapter, have been substituted for the account given in the SHC, are based on this story. The story tells how a rich old man, Chang Shih-lien 張士廉 , who was over sixty and had no children, one day 'smote his breast, heaved a deep sigh, and said to his servants:

"I am getting on in years, and I have no children. If I had a million taels, what use would they be!"' His retainers advised him to take a wife. Two match-makers were called.

This is the same as the account given of Chin-lien in the CPM, except that there it is his wife to whom he complains and who suggests that he buy a couple of girls to be trained to play and sing for his amusement. The young wife of the short story comes from the household of General Wang, just as Chin-lien does, although the reason for her dismissal is not the same. In the short story she has been dismissed because General Wang's wife has become jealous of her; this resembles Chin-lien's dismissal from the house of her second master, Mr. Chang.

There is another detail borrowed from the short story. The CPM tells how Chang, after sleeping with Chin-lien, developed five symptoms of debility -- which are listed -- as well as 'one that cannot be mentioned.' This passage is derived from the episode in the short story in which the girl, who has been tricked into believing that Chang is a young man, is aghast on seeing how old he really is. He suffers from 'four or five symptoms of debility', four of which are described.

Ch.2 9ab.

The tsan which describes the match-maker Wang is based on one which describes one of the match-makers in the short story.

Ch. 100 7b-8a.

The tsan which describes Han Ai-chieh 韓愛姐 is the same as the one describing the girl as she throws herself on the hero's mercy. The context is vaguely similar: the hero's mother takes the girl in, in the same way as an old woman comes to Ai-chieh's aid.

The passages about Chin-lien are of some importance. As was pointed out in the last chapter, they have the effect of changing the status of Chin-lien; she becomes a figure with the grace and accomplishments of the educated courtesan. It may be true, too, that the author's choice of this story is an indication of the greater sympathy with which he conceived the character of Chin-lien, for

despite the narrator's explicit moral, the girl of the short story is a sympathetic figure, betrayed by salacious old man and priggish young hero alike.

(c) Chieh-chih-erh chi.

The earliest surviving text of this story is found in the Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang hua-pen.

The story tells of a clandestine affair between the young gallant Juan Hua 阮华 and Ch'en Yü-lan 陳玉蘭 , the daughter of a powerful official. Their meetings were arranged by an astute old nun Wang Shou-ch'ang 王守長 , who had the entree to the houses of the great.

It is referred to twice in the CPM, once in Ch. 34, and again in Ch. 51. On the first occasion, it serves as a criminal case brought before Hsi-men Ch'ing in his capacity as magistrate. Returning home at the end of the day, he gave Li P'ing-erh an account of the case which amounts to a precis of the short story. His account follows the story closely except in its denouement: Hsi-men had the guilty nun flogged, and then released her.

In Ch.51 4b, it is described how Hsi-men returned home early and found to his astonished rage that this very nun -- Nun Hsüeh -- had inveigled herself in to his own house. When Yüeh-niang expostulated with him, he explained:

"You don't know the tricks she's been up to! She

> arranged for Minister Ch'en's daughter to have sexual relations with a young fellow called Juan III when she .....went to the temple. Unfortunately this fellow collapsed and died while he was lying with the girl. For her part in all this she received three taels of silver. When it all came out she was brought to my tribunal. I had her stripped and given twenty strokes. I told her to marry and give up her vocation. Why has she still not done so? Shall I have her taken to the tribunal and given a few more strokes?"

The use of this story shows of course that the author sometimes had recourse to popular literature when he had need of incident. What is more significant is the borrowing of the figure of Nun Hsüeh from the short story. It seems to have been the phrase about her having the entree to the houses ~~xkxxk~~ of the rich and powerful that stirred the imagination of the author of the CPM; she appears frequently in the novel, and comes to have a certain hold over the minds of some of the women of Hsi-men's household. She is greedy, shrewd, and unscrupulous; she is part charlatan, part religious mentor, and part entertainer.

(d) Kang-k'ou yü-weng.

This story is found in the collection of cases solved by the Sung judge Pao Ch'eng 包拯, which in most editions is known as the Lung-t'u kung-an 龍圖公案. The earliest surviving edition of this work, entitled Pao Hsiao-~~hsiu~~ su Kung pai-chia kung-an yen-i 包孝肅公百家公案演義, was published by the Wan-chüan-lou 萬卷樓 and has a preface dated with the cyclical year ting-yu 丁酉. Since other Wan-chüan-lou editions belong to the Wan-li period -- there is for example an edition of the San-kuo yen-i dated 1591 -- it seems likely that this is also a Wan-li date, which would therefore be 1597. This edition cannot however be the first edition, since one of the stories has been copied into the CPM, and, as was shown in Part Two, the first part of the novel was complete by 1596. All the stories in the collection share certain features; there is no reason, so far as I know, for thinking that the Kang-k'ou yü-weng may have been in existence before the collection was made.

The story relates that there lived in Yangchow a wealthy and benevolent man named Chiang Ch'i-lai 蔣奇來 T. T'ien-hsiu 天秀. One day an aged priest visited him, and on being treated with great generosity, warned Chiang that a great disaster hung over him, a disaster which he might possibly avoid if he lived prudently at home. Soon after this event Chiang came upon his servant making love

to one of the girls in the household. He reprimanded the servant severely, at which the man conceived a deep hatred for his master.

A month later, a letter arrived from Chiang's cousin in the capital, an official named Huang Mei 黃美, asking Chiang to visit him. Despite the pleading of his wife, and heedless of the priest's warning, Chiang decided to go. Taking Tung 董 (the servant he had reprimanded) and a page-boy called Ch'in-t'ung 琴童 with him, he hired a boat and set off. Tung plotted with the rascally boatmen; Chiang was murdered and the page-boy clubbed and left for dead. By an extraordinary chance, the boy did not drown, but was saved by an old fisherman. Chiang's body was washed up near the Tz'u-hui 慈惠寺 temple in Ch'ing-ho-hsien, where the monks, fearing to involve themselves in trouble, buried it on the foreshore. One day as Pao Ch'eng was riding through Ch'ing-ho, a whirlwind rose up before his horse, and led the way to the place where Chiang's body had been buried. The body was discovered, the monks questioned by the local magistrate and imprisoned.

Eventually Ch'in-t'ung recognised the two boatmen, and accused them of the crime. They were arrested and executed. The monks were released, and Ch'in-t'ung returned with his master's body to give it proper burial. As for Tung, he was never caught, but with the money he had

gained was able to set himself up as a great merchant. Yet he too was to pay the penalty for his crime, for some years later he fell foul of some pirates and was killed.

This is substantially the story told in CPM Ch.47 1a-4b, 10a, and Ch.48 2b-3a. Some of it has already been recounted in Chapter Three in dealing with inconsistencies in the narration of Ch.53 to 57. The names of the characters have been changed. Chiang T'ien-hsiu becomes Miao T'ien-hsiu 苗天秀 ; the servant Tung becomes Miao Ch'ing 苗青 ; and the page-boy -- there is already one Ch'in-t'ung in the novel -- becomes An-t'ung 安童 . Pao Ch'eng does not appear; he and the stupid local magistrate are combined in the figure of the official Ti Ssu-pin 狄斯彬 .

In one or two details the CPM version is an improvement on the short story. For example, it is the young concubine of Miao T'ien-hsiu, and not a mere maid, that Miao Ch'ing is caught dallying with; this explains better the jealous hatred felt by him for his master.

The main significance of the author's use of this story is that it illustrates political chicanery in action. In the CPM, Miao Ch'ing bribes Hsi-men to have him acquitted. When An-t'ung appeals to the honest Censor Tseng Hsiao-~~xxxx~~hsü 曾孝序 (a figure from historical sources, see the last chapter), Hsi-men's patron Ts'ai Ching intervenes. Eventually, when Tseng has accused Ts'ai

directly in a memorial, he is demoted and ultimately exiled. No suggestion of this theme appears in the short story; it is all the work of the author of the CPM.

The author has taken the hint about Miao Ch'ing's becoming a great merchant, and has developed it in a similar way. In the CPM he is represented as being one of that class of merchants, like Hsi-men himself, who make their money by bribing those in power to give them favoured treatment. The reference in the short story has no suggestion of this either.

There is some reason for thinking that the author has not found it easy to fit this story into his novel. It is perhaps the only real break in continuity in the work. Ch.46 ends in Hsi-men's household; Ch.47 begins in Yangchow with people none of whom the reader has heard of before. Nothing like this happens anywhere else; even in the last ten chapters when the scene changes frequently, some at least of the participants are characters with which the reader is familiar. A short poem and a few words of explanation at the beginning of Ch.47 are all that is available to bear the reader over the chasm fixed between the two chapters.

The novelist's usual solution of this difficulty is to explain, in an aside to the reader, the past history of the new figure who has appeared upon the scene. Thus the author could have begun the story at the point at

which Miao Ch'ing offered a bribe to Hsi-men, and given the reader a brief account of how the crime took place. This would of course have drained the story of much of its interest, and that may be the reason why the author did not do so. But it is also possible that he actually preferred the other approach; in considering the passages adapted from the SHC, one is struck by the number of times in which he has altered the text so as to explain the background of the characters before allowing them, so to speak, to come on the scene. Perhaps the same motives affected him here -- desire for a step-by-step narration of events, anxiety lest a good story be truncated -- as (one imagines) influenced his decision to allow the long circumlocutory account of Wu Sung's adventures to stand at the head of the novel.

(e) Wu-chieh Ch'an-shih ssu Hung-lien chi.

The earliest surviving text of this story is found in the Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang hua-pen. The title of the story is included in the Chia-ching catalogue Pao-wen-t'ang shu-mu p.129. The writer T'ien Ju-ch'eng 田汝成 (chin-shih 1526) includes a reference to a story about Hung-lien 紅蓮 in chüan 20 of his Hsi-hu yu-lan-chih-yü 西湖遊覽志餘 (p.368). It would seem likely that the story was current in Hangchow, with which of course T'ien Ju-ch'eng's remarks are concerned, in the Chia-ching period.

The greater part of the story (the end is somewhat curtailed) is represented as being told in Ch.73 11b-14b by Nun Hsüeh. Despite its subject -- it tells how the 'Five Vows' priest deceives his brother-priest and seduces the girl Hung-lien; in the next life the two are reincarnated as the poet Su Tung-p'o and the priest Fo Yin respectively -- it differs from the other tales told by her in that it is no pao-chüan 寶卷; it clearly retains its hua-pen form.

There seems little point in speculating on the story's function in the CPM. It is an amusing enough story. It is also possible that some irony is intended by having the story told by Nun Hsüeh.

(f) Hsi-shan i-k'u kuei.

The earliest surviving text of this story is found in the Ching-pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo.

Two tsan from this story appear in Ch.62 of the CPM, and although at least one of them is also found elsewhere, verbal similarities in the context indicate that they may well have come from this source.

The tsan beginning huang-lo 黃羅 describes the shen-chiang 神將 'ghostly general, genie' summoned up by the old Taoist to exorcise the demons plaguing the story's hero. In Ch.62 14b-15a, the same tsan describes the genie summoned up by the Taoist priest P'an 潘道士 to capture the demons plaguing Li P'ing-erh.

The tsan beginning fei kan 非干 describes the phantom wind which sweeps away the people of the hero's illusion. In Ch 62 16a of the novel it describes the phantom wind which blows out the 'lamps of life' set near Li P'ing-erh, thus indicating that she is beyond redemption.

(g) Hsin-ch'iao-shih Han Wu mai ch'un-ch'ing.

The earliest surviving text of this story is found in the Ku-chin hsiao-shuo 古今小說, chüan 3. It is likely that the entry San-meng-seng chi 三夢僧記 in the Chia-ching catalogue Pao-wen-t'ang shu-mu is a reference to it.

The borrowing of this story forms the subject of an article by Dr. J.L.Bishop.[1]

The story is introduced by five historical examples of the disaster caused by the allurements of women. The story itself tells how in Southern Sung time, there lived near the capital Lin-an a young man named Wu Shan 吳山, the only child of a prosperous silk-merchant and money-lender. He was sober and industrious, and had a wife and child. Every day he would leave his father's house, which served as the main shop, to look after a subsidiary shop in a nearby village. One day on arriving there he was surprised to find some women in the act of moving their belongings from a couple of barges into the empty rooms above his shop. His anger was mollified, however, by the apology of the youngest of the women, and he agreed to let the rooms to them. It was not long before this young woman, Han Chin-nü 韓金奴, made an attempt to seduce him. Snatching an ornamental pin he wore in his hair and running upstairs with it, she made him follow her, and induced him to make love. Once their liaison was

established, she proceeded to obtain money from him. In fact, unknown to him, the family had for a long time been living on the prostitution of this girl and her mother. When the girl began, in Wu Shan's absence, to receive other callers, the neighbours, jealous of their reputation and fearful of trouble, forced the family to move back to the city.

Wu Shan had meanwhile fallen sick. On receiving a letter from Chin-nü, he said he was feeling better, and made an excuse to his parents in order to leave the house. His love-making with Chin-nü, however, left him critically ill, and his very life was despaired of. In one of his dreams a Buddhist monk appeared; in another this apparition revealed itself as a monk who had broken his vows of chastity and died in the house where Wu Shan and Chin-nü had slept together. Ever afterwards he had been compelled to haunt the house, and seeing the adulteries of Wu Shan, he had felt tempted to call the young man to him. Finally, after Wu Shan's father had interceded for his son by burning incense and having sutras read, the ghost released the boy. Wu Shan recovered, and resumed the sober, industrious life he had led before meeting Chin-nü.

The narrative of Ch.98 5a-13a(end of chapter) and Ch.99 1ab has been derived from the short story. One day as Ch'en Ching-chi sat looking over the canal from his tavern in Lintsing, he noticed people carrying their

belongings from a couple of barges into the empty rooms of his tavern. His anger was mollified by the apologies of the younger of the two women there. At that moment, the other woman recognised him.(She was Wang VI 王六兒 , wife of Hsi-men's former manager Han Tao-kuo, and the young woman was their daughter Ai-chieh 愛姐 . Ai-chieh had been sent by Hsi-men to be the concubine of one of his contacts in the capital, the comptroller of Ts'ai Ching's household. She had later been joined in the capital by her parents, absconding with some of Hsi-men's money.) Her husband, Han Tao-kuo, now appeared, and told Ching-chi why they had had to leave the capital. Ching-chi allowed them to stay in the tavern. He and Ai-chieh soon became lovers.

When his wife grew jealous of the amount of time he spent at the tavern, Ching-chi was forced to stay at home for a few days. Deprived of the money given them by him, Wang VI -- but not her daughter -- resumed the trade of prostitute. Heartbroken at Ching-chi's absence, Ai-chieh sent a letter to him, and making the excuse that he had to visit the tavern on business, Ching-chi went off to see her.

After this point -- Ch.99 lab -- the story in the CPM diverges entirely.

The author of the CPM has chosen to use only that part of the short story which describes the meeting of

Wu Shan and Chin-nü and their subsequent love-making. It is interesting to see how, in order to use even this part of the story, some preparation has been necessary. The account of how Ching-chi was offered capital to set himself up in business is given a few pages before this copied passage (Ch.98 2a), and his purchase of the tavern immediately precedes it. It seems likely, since the tavern is not afterwards of any importance in the novel, that these episodes have been created only in order to accommodate the passages from the short story.

In assessing what the author has taken from the short story, one has to admit that in this case he has been uninfluenced by the conception of character shown therein. It is true that the venal Wang VI resembles the mother of Chin-nü, but her character has been established much earlier in the novel. As far as the principal figures are concerned, their roles are almost exactly reversed. Ching-chi, one of the most notable profligates and perverts in literature, is worlds apart from Wu Shan. And Ai-chieh bears no resemblance at all to Chin-nü, the very type of <u>femme fatale</u>; in her faithfulness to the memory of Ching-chi, she shows herself one of the very few virtuous -- and at the same time sympathetic -- women in the novel.

What then remains of the short story that would make its borrowing worthwhile? The scene on the docks, trans-

ferred in the novel to the bustling Canal port of Lintsing, is strongly evoked. It is noticeable how many of the passages borrowed by the author from other works are set descriptions (tsan), although this may be because their borrowing raises fewer difficulties than other material. The account of the love-making -- it is not fair, with the change in character of the two principals,-to call it seduction --is given in detail, and even amplified. The letters exchanged between the two lovers are also used. These points, one must assume, were what persuaded the author of the CPM to make use of this story.

By the way he has used the story, the author has, however, been able to solve one or two problems of his own. It would in any case have been necessary to describe the ultimate fate of such important characters as Han Tao-kuo and his family; use of the short story disposes of this necessity. Moreover, since they came from the household of Ts'ai Ching, Han Tao-kuo's explanation to Ch'en Ching-chi provides a natural account of the collapse of the Imperial Tutor and his regime.

There is one other place in which an echo of this short story is perhaps to be found. In Ch.1 3ab, the author, writing of the subject of his novel, remarks:

> Moreover, what events led to the death of this woman? Those who coveted her destroyed their fine manly

six-foot bodies. Those who loved her lost their vast wealth. The affair scandalised Tung-p'ing-fu, and threw Ch'ing-ho-hsien into uproar.

At the beginning of the story, at an exactly similar stage the narrator explains:

> Today I shall tell of a young man who did not take heed of the warning against lust, and becoming enamoured of a woman, came close to destroying that fine manly six-foot body of his and losing his vast wealth. The affair shocked the town of Hsin-ch'iao.

It seems likely that the CPM echoes some other work at this point, for the phrase about 'losing their vast wealth' does not apply to the main part of the novel at all. Only by a stretch of the imagination can it be said to apply to Ch'en Ching-chi, who sold his property in order to buy Chin-lien, for the sum required was not great, and in any case, the bargain was never transacted. It is hard to tell whether these are just stereotyped remarks found before many stories of this <u>femme fatale</u> kind, or whether they are actually an echo of the story about Chin-nü.

It is impossible to generalise about the author's use of these seven short stories. From some, the narrator's introductory comment has been taken, from others the notion of a character or detail of plot, from yet others, the description of a person or scene. Only two stories -- Kang-k'ou yü-weng and Hsin-ch'iao-shih Han Wu mai ch'un-ch'ing -- are copied at any great length, and even in their case, sacrifices or radical changes have had to be made. The abrupt introduction of the former story led to a breach in the continuity which the reader had been accustomed to, while the main point of the latter story has been lost. To some extent, it has been because of the closeness of texture of the author's narration that it has proved possible to admit only fragments of other works into the novel, but it is also true that -- with the exception of the vaguely-delineated characters which stirred the author's imagination into producing Nun Hsüeh and Miao Ch'ing -- the conception of character in the stories has been too inadequate to serve his purpose.

Of the seven stories, six are either mentioned in a Chia-ching catalogue or exist in a Chia-ching edition. The exception is the Kang-k'ou yü-weng; the date of the Lung-t'u kung-an stories has never been ascertained.

In addition to these stories, the CPM contains other material which is part of the common currency of the Chinese story-teller. Much of the verse, for example, is

also found in short stories; since it is usually only vaguely associated with its context, and it is impossible to say where it originated, there seems no point in giving details of it. Descriptive compositions, and tz'u and tsan in particular, are of more interest, although except in rare cases it is not possible to tell where the author derived them from. The erotic tz'u in Ch.82 7a, for example, is also found in no less than three different short stories.[1] Such cases, together with the long list of poems and tsan borrowed from the SHC, do however, make one sceptical about regarding any of such elements in the novel as being of the author's own creation.

Chapter Eleven: Plays

Some fourteen plays are mentioned as being performed in the course of the novel; from several of them excerpts of the performed text are quoted. Although these passages are not extraneous to the novel -- they increase the sense of actuality just as the quotation of documents does, sometimes they supply motivation for the action of the characters, and they are usually appropriate to the mood of the company -- they cannot be considered as of great importance as sources. Since, in any case, they have already been treated in some detail in Feng Yüan-chün's essay[1], they will not be considered here.

Songs from two plays of which the names are not given are also represented as being sung. Two songs from the Hsiang-nang chi 香囊記, scene 2, are found in Ch. 36 7a, and two more songs from scene 6 are found in the same chapter on p.5b. A group of songs from the Hsi-hsiang chi 西廂記 (also known as the Nan Hsi-hsiang 南西廂 'the Southern Hsi-hsiang') scene 17, are found in Ch.74 8ab. The Hsiang-nang chi, by Shao Wen-ming 邵文明, probably dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century. The Nan Hsi-hsiang, by Li Jih-hua 李日华 (the earlier Li Jih-hua[2], for there were two living in the sixteenth century), was first mentioned in the catalogue Pai-ch'uan shu-chih (1540). Although the songs from neither play are found

in the Chia-ching songbooks, it is likely that they formed part of the current repertoire of popular song. As we shall see from the next chapter, many of the popular san-t'ao of the sixteenth-century songbooks are in fact drawn from Yuan and early-Ming plays. Although they were taken from the drama, such songs evidently came to lead an independent life as popular song; they are therefore best considered together with the popular song proper.

There are two plays, however, whose relation to the novel is quite different from any of the others mentioned. To some degree, they have been incorporated in the narrative of the CPM. They are the Yü-huan chi 玉环記, and the Pao-chien chi 宝剑記.

The Yü-huan chi.

The Yü-huan chi is one of the plays which is described as being performed in the novel, and in Chapters 63 and 64, parts of scene 6 (the scene in the brothel) are actually quoted. What distinguishes it from the other plays, however, is the inclusion of a song from the same scene in Ch.11, without any indication of its origin. This song, sung by the singing-girl Li Kuei-chieh, is clearly used for some purpose more than mere entertainment. It is the song beginning chü-chih ~~ts'ung~~ tsung-jung 舉止從容, which in the play is sung by the sheng to describe the casual, languid behaviour of one of the singing-girls. In the novel, it is somewhat differently used: first the casual,

languid behaviour of Li Kuei-chieh is described, and then she is represented as herself singing this song, thus effectively describing herself. Here the author has evidently combined two aims: the need to have the girl sing, and the need to describe her. He must have had this scene in mind, and identified the singing-girl in the play with Li Kuei-chieh. This tendency to make the exigencies of ordinary realism serve other aims is found elsewhere in the novel to more obvious purpose.

The Lin Ch'ung Pao-chien chi.

This play is never mentioned in the course of the novel, yet it is infinitely more important than any of the other plays used. Several parts of it are actually integrated into the narrative, just as the passages from the short stories were. As its use in the CPM has not hitherto been remarked, some details of it are given below.

Its author was Li K'ai-hsien 李開先 (1501-1568)[1], from Chang-ch'iu 章邱 in Shantung. A writer of songs and plays himself, he also edited the songs of two Yüan writers. He is said to have written six tsa-chü 雜劇, of which two survive[2], and three ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇, of which, apart from the Pao-chien chi, one other survives[3]. Of the Pao-chien chi itself, a copy of the first edition survives, with a postface dated 1549[4]. It is thus apparently

the latest dateable material that has been copied into the CPM.

The play concerns a story from the SHC -- the persecution of Lin Ch'ung by the powerful minister Kao Ch'iu 高俅 and his adopted son Kao P'eng 高朋 . Broadly speaking, the plot faithfully follows that of the novel, except that in the play Lin Ch'ung's wife survives to join her husband at Liang-shan-po.

In the dramatic criticism of the late Ming period, the play is usually criticised on two grounds, the fact that certain of the song-tunes were apparently of the author's invention, and the fact that the play contains infelicitous rhymes.[1] The late-Ming dramatist Ch'i Piao-chia 祁彪佳 tells the story of Li K'ai-hsien's meeting with the famous poet Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 :

> "How does the play compare with the P'i-p'a chi 琵琶記 ?" Li K'ai-hsien asked him.
>
> "The beauty of the language goes without saying," replied Wang Shih-chen. "I had ten masters from Soochow try singing it, and altered each word in accordance with the tune. After that, it did perfectly well."
>
> Li departed in high dudgeon.[2]

It is said that the play was adapted by Li K'ai-hsien from a play written by local writers.[3] This may be the reason why it uses the tunes of both Northern and Southern drama.[4] It is doubtful whether the play in its original

form, that is to say, the form into which Li K'ai-hsien had cast it, was ever very widely performed. A few decades later, the playwright Ch'en Yü-chiao 陳與郊 (1546-circa 1612) wrote his Ling-pao-tao 靈寶刀, basing himself upon Li K'ai-hsien's play.[1] Although this play did not entirely displace the Pao-chien chi, it seems likely that an adaptation into the K'un-ch'ü 崑曲 form soon did displace it. In his diary for 1632,[2] the playwright Ch'i Piao-chia 祁彪佳 records seeing a performance of it in Peking, but by that date it must surely have been the K'un-ch'ü adaptation which he saw. Indeed, individual scenesof the play, much altered, survived in the K'un-ch'ü repertoire of the Ch'ing dynasty, and at least one of them, Lin Ch'ung yeh-pen 林冲夜奔 'Lin Ch'ung flees by night', is now regularly performed in Peking.

The passages copied into the CPM do not concern the material which belongs intrinsically to the SHC story; there was no need for the author to copy them on that score. For this reason, since the author is usually thought to be, like Li K'ai-hsien, a native of Shantung,[3] it is tempting to infer that there may have been some extra significance in his copying from Li K'ai-hsien's play. Li K'ai-hsien, it is true, was prominent among the Chia-ching literati who were affected by a renaissance of interest in the forms of popular literature, but there seems no way as yet of discovering whether there might have been some connection between the two men.

Altogether, five passages are copied from the play, and utilised in four different places in the CPM. These are:-

(1) Ch.67. Two songs from Scene 33 of the play are sung, it seems, purely for entertainment.

(2) Ch.70. Part of a long soliloquy, spoken by a retainer of the Kao Ch'iu household, is given as a tsan describing the wealth of Chu Mien. (The soliloquy comes from Scene 3.) Immediately after it, there is a group of songs which purport to be sung for entertainment, but which effectively state the author's attitude. (Scene 50.)

(3) Ch.61. Almost the whole of Scene 28 is reproduced, with some additions.

(4) Ch.79. Part of Scene 10 is reproduced.

The first instance -- the two songs in Ch.67 -- need concern us no more than the songs from the Hsiang-nang chi or the Nan Hsi-hsiang.

The second instance is more important. The fact that two different passages from the play are borrowed at the same place in the CPM is additional proof -- if proof were needed -- that the author had the Pao-chien chi specifically in mind. The prose soliloquy, which appears in the novel as a tsan, is a description of, and satirical attack on, the power and opulence of Kao Ch'iu. There is nothing strange about its appearing in the CPM as a tsan,

for such descriptive soliloquies, which are not uncommon among early ch'uan-ch'i plays, are recognisably the same thing as tsan. Both forms are, after all, a kind of rhetoric, comic or serious; both depend on virtuosity, of which assonance and parallelism are the most notable features.

The group of songs is used to reinforce the criticism made in the tsan. The situation in which they occur in the play is this: at the time of the amnesty for the Liang-shan-po rebels, the tyrannical minister Kao Ch'iu 高俅 and his son Kao P'eng 高朋, who had pursued Lin Ch'ung's wife, and persecuted Lin Ch'ung himself, were delivered to Lin so that he could exact vengeance. This group of songs is Lin Ch'ung's bitter indictment of his former persecutors, and through them, of other Court rogues, Court flatterers, and corrupt politicians. The songs are introduced as follows:

"Now you have your enemies in your hands, why are you angry?" Lin Ch'ung is asked.

"Pray be seated, Sir," Lin Ch'ung replied, "and let me give you a brief account of the things these villains do."

Then follow the two songs, in which he accuses the two men and others like them of flattery, intrigue, corruption and crime.

Now in the CPM these songs appear in a situation which at first sight would seem quite inappropriate. Chu Mien has been awarded a new honour by the Emperor, and is receiving the congratulations of his colleagues in high office, including for example, Ts'ai Ching, the Imperial Tutor. Yet strangely enough it is these songs -- essentially a savage attack on all that Chu Mien, Ts'ai Ching and the rest stand for -- which are given as entertainment.

The use of these songs at this point thus represents the most extreme kind of irony. The sort of song which one would expect to find used on an occasion like this is a fulsome eulogy such as can be seen in plenty among the _san-t'ao_ of the Ming songbooks. In fact there is one particular _san-t'ao_ which has a superficial similarity to the songs from the _Pao-chien chi_. It is of the same tune, and has the same first line ('enjoying wealth and high rank, possessing the Emperor's favour') as the _Pao-chien chi_ songs. It seems highly

likely, indeed, that the latter are, to some extent, a satire upon this san-t'ao. It was apparently fairly widely known, for it appears in all three of the early-sixteenth century songbooks -- Sheng-shih hsin-sheng 盛世新声, Tz'u-lin Chai-yen 詞林摘艷, and Yung-hsi yüeh-fu 雍熙樂府. It was evidently intended to serve precisely the situation in Ch.70, for its title in one of the songbooks is given as shang t'ai-shih 上太師 'in honour of the Imperial Tutor.'

Thus, whereas the songs in the Pao-chien chi are a direct exposure of flattery and corruption, and are only satirical in so far as they resemble in form a particular conventional eulogy, in the CPM they are satirical because of the situation in which they are used. Placing the songs in this situation is evidently a deliberate statement on the author's part of his own attitude. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable intervention into the otherwise realistic course of the novel.

The third instance of copying concerns scene 28 of the play, almost the whole of which has been copied into Ch.61 of the CPM. (pp.22b-24a). In the play, this is a scene of broad comedy. Kao P'eng, who has fallen ill, is examined by a quack doctor. Much of the comedy consists of the doctor's absurd diagnoses, such as that his male patient is suffering pregnancy pains. This scene has been largely incorporated into Ch.61, at the point at which Li P'ing-erh is lying ill. The whole character of the

quack doctor -- Doctor Chao -- has been transposed from the play, together with the comic, self-revealing verse with which he introduces himself on to the stage, two of his songs, and most of his dialogue with Kao P'eng. The dialogue has been a good deal augmented in the CPM; a number of ribald diagnoses have been added.

The function of the verse with which the doctor introduces himself is to allow him to expose himself before the audience. Usually it is a comic or villainous character who is given such verse to speak. Obviously, such a convention is not easily applied to the novel. In fact, in the CPM, it does seem a little awkward. First Doctor Chao gives a list of his qualifications, and then says:

"Here are a few lines which give an outline of them:

I am a doctor named Chao,

At my door people constantly clamour, etc."

As he finishes the verse, altogether of some 20-odd lines, we are told that 'everybody burst out laughing,' which is perhaps the hoped-for reaction of the theatre audience.

The fact that this verse is drawn from a play has an extra importance, for there are two, and possibly three, closely analogous poems spoken by other characters in the novel. One is spoken by Midwife Ts'ai in Ch.30 (I am a midwife named Ts'ai, etc.), and another describes Tailor Chao in Ch.40 (I am a tailor named Chao). They are of a

similar, self-mocking kind to the verses spoken by Doctor Chao. One hesitates to say what the ultimate origin of these verses is, but it seems likely that they too may have been borrowed by medium of the drama. The only scholar to have drawn attention to these verses in Feng Yüan-chün,[1] and she has described them tentatively as vestiges of an earlier form of the novel in which both verse and prose forms were used. But the example she cited as comparison, the hua-pen story Wen-ching yüan-yang hui is now recognised as an example of a ku-tzu tz'u 鼓子詞[2], that is to say, an early shuo-ch'ang 說唱 form. This story is clearly, like all shuo-ch'ang literature, meant to be performed, and the sung parts, which are tz'u, amount to impersonal comment on the action. This is quite different from the first-person, dramatic use to which the verse is put in the CPM. It is argued in the next chapter that certain kinds of Ming shuo-ch'ang literature may have supplied the example of the use of song in the CPM, but these verses are a different matter. They are clearly intended to be comic, and to provoke the audience to laughter. They must have been devised in the first place for some kind of drama, perhaps some popular form, and then introduced, like other elements, into the formal drama.

Apart from this introductory verse, two of the doctor's songs are used in the novel. One of them is put in the form of a prose paraphrase, but the other, in which

he praises his medecine, is given without alteration. In the novel, it is introduced as follows:

> "I have a marvellous prescription," said Doctor Chao, "which contains these various ingredients. If you swallow it, you are bound to get better. Listen to me while I explain."

Then follows the text of the song, the tune of which is not given. In the play, the song was introduced as follows: Doctor Chao says:

> "I have the medecine. Let me describe the ingredients to you."

Then follows the tune and text of the song.

Almost all the elements of the dialogue of this scene are found also in the CPM. Many of the diagnoses fall flat because in the novel the patient is a woman, so a number of ailments peculiar to women have been added.

The fourth instance of copying is found in Ch.79 8b-9b, where part of scene 10 has been incorporated in the text of the novel. This is the scene in which Lin Ch'ung, having had a strange dream, sends a servant-boy out for a fortune-teller to interpret it. The fortune-teller asks for Lin's 'eight characters' and says the indications are unfavourable. He is then asked to pronounce on the dream, and his verdict is again unfavourable.

In the novel, when Hsi-men Ch'ing is fatally ill, Yueh-niang sends a servant-boy out for the fortune-teller

Wu Shen-hsien 吳神仙 'Wu the Immortal,' who has been mentioned earlier in the novel. She asks him to pronounce on Hsi-men's 'eight characters', and then later, on a dream she has had. His interpretation is unfavourable. Much of the dialogue is the same as in the play. Although no songs are copied from the play into the CPM, two poems from the Pao-chien chi appear there.

From the number and diversity of the passages copied from this play, it seems certain that it was Li K'ai-hsien's draft of the Pao-chien chi and not any earlier version which the author of the CPM used. Whatever their actual source, however, they are among the most bizarre of the literary borrowings made by the author. He has used one group of songs to make a unique personal intervention into the novel, and has adapted the essentials of two different scenes to fit, a trifle strangely perhaps, into prose fiction.

There is no reason to think that the author's borrowings from drama are limited to the two plays Yü-huan chi and Pao-chien chi. But until further cases of specific borrowing come to light, all one can do is to consider, in general, what influence the drama may have exerted upon the CPM. Considering the author's readiness to use forms peculiar to the drama, such as Doctor Chao's verse and song, it would be surprising indeed if this influence were not considerable.

There are at least two respects in which features peculiar to the CPM can be explained in part by a reference to the drama.

The first of these concerns the number of songs which are used dramatically, that is, as soliloquy or dialogue. It is possible to discern in this use the influence of the drama and kindred forms of literature. This matter will be considered, together with the songs themselves, in the next chapter.

The second concerns the conception of character. We have already seen how at least one character -- Doctor Chao -- has been transplanted into the novel from a particular play, and how two others -- Li Kuei-chieh and Wu Shen-hsien -- have, for a brief space, been identified with characters from the drama. It seems that, with other figures in the novel, a more general influence has been at work. A hint of this is contained in Nung-chu K'e's preface: he describes Hsi-men Ch'ing as the ta-ching 大淨, and Ying Po-chüeh 應伯爵 as the hsiao-ch'ou 小丑, of the CPM. No doubt this remark is to be taken metaphorically; Cheng Chen-to has shown, that in drama after the early-Ming period, the part of the ching became that of the tyrant (petty or powerful), and the part of the ch'ou, that of his sycophant. Nevertheless, the comparison of Ying Po-chüeh in particular with a stock figure of the drama, the ch'ou, is a felicitous one.

Ying Po-chüeh's outstanding quality, apart from his knavery, is his satirical wit. He is able to slide a remark so deftly past Hsi-men Ch'ing that the latter is hardly aware he is being ridiculed. He indulges in verbal duels with servant, singing-girl, and procuress. In Ch.52 for example, he keeps up a running fire of irrelevant remarks to tease and embarrass Li Kui-chieh, while she is singing. His talents are essentially verbal. (It may be in recognition of this that Ting Yao-k'ang has turned him into a street musician, telling passers-by the story of his misdeeds.) It may not be too fanciful to see in the figure of Ying Po-chüeh, with his verbal facility, a representation of the traditional figure of the ch'ou, both villain and jester.

This remains no more than a suggestion even in the case of Ying Po-chüeh. A thorough consideration of the role of the ch'ou in Ming literature would be needed before the point could be regarded as settled. Yet one can think of sixteenth-century plays -- the Yü-chüeh chi 玉玦記[1] and the Hsiu-ju chi 繡襦記[2] are examples -- in which the ch'ou are reminiscent of Ying Po-chüeh. In the case of the other characters of the novel, one must be even more tentative. But if the point were once conceded about Ying Po-chüeh, it would not be hard to see Ying's cronies and the singing-girls, for example, as also influenced by the stereotypes of the drama.

The suggestion that some figures of the novel may

be related to the stock figures of the drama touches on a much greater subject. The outstanding achievement of the CPM is the quality of its characterization; for perhaps the first time in the history of the Chinese novel, the characters are consistently portrayed inwardly, so that the reader comes to know, and sympathise with, their thoughts and feelings. Is it too much to suppose that in this development, the author's experience of the drama, the ideal medium for the expression of thought and feeling, has played a part?

It may seem something of a truism to say that a given novel may have been influenced by the drama. So far as material goes, the two forms cross-fertilised each other time and again in Chinese literature. The playwright cannot even be said to be distinct from the novelist. A good many writers wrote plays as well as novels; just for the Wan-li and T'ien-ch'i periods, one can think of Feng Meng-lung and Lü T'ien-ch'eng 呂天成. Yet their fiction is distinct from their plays in form, and perhaps in feeling; they have apparently been content to let each form do what it has already shown it can do well. It is part of the achievement of the Chin P'ing Mei -- we shall see in the dramatic use of song the most notable indication of this -- that it has attempted, in some slight degree, a fusion of the two forms.

Chapter Twelve: Songs

The number of songs in the CPM is one of the most important facts about it. It indicates, if nothing else, that the author, like Li K'ai-hsien, was strongly affected by the growth of interest in popular literature which occurred during the sixteenth century. Many of the songs, as is shown in Feng Yüan-chün's 馮沅君 essay, are also to be found in the songbooks of the Cheng-te and Chia-ching periods, and there is good reason to suppose that most of the others were also in existence before the CPM was written.

Altogether in the novel, the number of songs quoted in full -- that excludes a number mentioned by name or first line only -- is as many as 20 san-t'ao 散套 (song-groups, sequences) and 120 hsiao-ling 小令 (using the term in its widest sense, to include both hsiao-ling proper, and individual popular songs or su-ch'ü 俗曲). It is simplest to treat separately the two categories of san-t'ao and hsiao-ling.

San-t'ao.

Apart from 25 san-t'ao which are mentioned by name or first line only, there are 20 others which are substantially quoted, 17 in full and 3 up to the second or third song. Of these 20 san-t'ao, 14 are to be found in one or more of the following collections:

Sheng-shih hsin-sheng 盛世新声 (preface d.1517)

Tz'u-lin Chai-yen 詞林摘艷 (preface d.1525)

Yung-hsi yüeh-fu 雍熙樂府 20 chüan (preface, not of the original edition, dated 1566)

Wu-yü ts'ui-ya 吳歈萃雅 (preface d.1616)

10 are found in the first work, 12 in the second, 13 in the third, and 2 in the fourth.

The authorship of 5 of these san-t'ao is recorded in the Tz'u-lin chai-yen; 2 of them have been extracted from tsa-chü plays of the Yuan dynasty, and 3 are original san-t'ao by Yuan and Ming writers. The one beginning fei-ts'ui ch'uang-sha 翡翠窓紗 in Ch.41 4a-5a comprises eight consecutive songs plus the final song of scene 3 of the play Liang-shih yin-yüan 兩世姻緣 by Ch'iao Chi喬吉 (died 1345). That beginning shui-ching kung 水晶宮 in Ch.71 3a-5b comprises all sixteen songs from scene 3 of the play Lung-hu feng-yün hui 龍虎風雲会 by Lo Kuan-chung. The three original san-t'ao -- see the Appendix for details -- are by Tu Jen-chieh 杜仁傑 (Yüan), Chu Yu-tun 朱有燉 (1379-1439) and Ch'en To 陳鐸

(fl. circa 1500), respectively.

Many of the san-t'ao are designated in the songbooks as for special occasions, such as official receptions or seasonal festivals. Their use in the CPM often tallies with the designations. For example, songs which are described in the Tz'u-lin chai-yen as shang wen-ch'en 上文臣 are given in Ch.65 of the novel at a reception for the new provincial censor. Again, in Chapters 42 and 58 there are san-t'ao to celebrate the Lantern Festival and the Seventh Eve (the seventh of the seventh) respectively which are specifically designated as being for these purposes in the songbooks. In fact, in the second case, the singer is actually asked to sing a ch'ing ch'i-hsi 庆七夕 '(song) celebrating the Seventh Eve.' It is clear that in this respect the novel faithfully represents the practice of at least one part of China in the sixteenth century.

Of the six san-t'ao which are not to be found in other works, all but one are indistinguishable in use from the fourteen mentioned. That is to say, they are described as being sung for entertainment on a variety of occasions. It seems reasonable to suppose that they too were songs in current use about the time the novel was written.

The other san-t'ao, the one in Ch.93 2b-4b which begins chiu-la shen-tung 九臘深冬 , is entirely different

in function. Unlike the other san-t'ao, it actually forms part of the narrative of the novel, taking the place of direct speech. Ch'en Ching-chi, reduced to utter poverty and living among a group of beggars, woke up crying from a dream of the life of luxury he had once led, and was asked by the beggars what the matter was.

> "Listen to me, brothers," said Ching-chi, "and I will tell you. There is a fen-tieh 粉蝶 as evidence....."

The phrase 'there is a ..... as evidence' is the traditional way of introducing a poem or song into the narrative. The word fen-tieh which is used here is the name of the tune of a popular san-t'ao of Yuan and Ming time. Several score fen-tieh are found in the Tz'u-lin chai-yen (chüan 3) and in the Yung-hsi yüeh-fu (chüan 6 and 7). In the songs which follow this phrase, Ching-chi describes first his present life as a beggar, and then his past life and misfortunes.

This use of song in place of speech, which is, as was suggested earlier, one of the most extraordinary features of the novel, will be discussed, together with the many similar examples among hsiao-ling, later in this chapter. It can be said here, however, that there is no reason for thinking that this san-t'ao originated with the author of the CPM. Facts relating specifically to the novel occur in only one song; the other facts concern

Ching-chi's adventures immediately before this episode. It is not unlikely that in this case, as in others we have noticed, the adventures have been described by the author simply in order to allow him to use -- in an adapted form -- a passage (in this case, a san-t'ao) which is already known to him.

There is one other point which is of interest. It is surely significant that when Ching-chi sings this san-t'ao he has the status of a beggar. This fact makes the use of the songs far easier to understand, for in the context of Chinese society, beggars, story-tellers, and itinerant minstrels were often one and the same thing. One thinks of Ying Po-chüeh, who in Ting Yao-k'ang's continuation of the novel, becomes a beggar and sits by the roadside regaling passers-by, in song, with the tale of his misdeeds.[4]

Hsiao-ling.

Excluding those songs drawn from Ming plays which were mentioned in the last chapter, there are altogether 103 hsiao-ling or individual songs used in the novel. Of this number, 47 are also to be found in one or more songbooks; they are actually derived from 45 songs in the songbooks, since two songs each occur twice in the CPM with some variation.

The 45 songs are distributed among the following works:

Sheng-shih hsin-sheng	1 song
Tz'u-lin chai-yen	10 songs
Yung-hsi yüeh-fu	35 songs
Hsin-pien nan-chiu-kung tz'u 新編南九宮詞 compiled by San-ching-ts'ao-t'ang 三徑草堂 (Lung-ch'ing or Wan-li)	4 songs [1]
Tang-ch'i hui-ch'ang ch'ü 蕩气迴腸曲	2 songs [2]

One other song, of which the first line only is quoted, is identifiable as a song in the Yung-hsi yüeh-fu.

In only a few cases, is the authorship of the songs mentioned in the songbooks.

Many of the 56 songs not found in the songbooks are of the same tunes as those which are found there. Some, however, have tunes which cannot be parallelled in the Chia-ching songbooks; this suggests that they

may belong to a different time, or a different locality, from the songs which make up those songbooks.

By far the largest group of these songs are those to the shan-p'o yang 山坡羊 tune; there are 15 altogether in the novel, and none of them is to be found in the songbooks. The tune is to be distinguished from the variant which is known sometimes as shan-p'o li yang 山坡裡羊 and sometimes merely as shan-p'o yang, examples of which are to be found elsewhere in the CPM, as well as in the Yung-hsi yüeh-fu[1]. Similar songs to the 15 shan-p'o yang in the CPM are found, to the best of my knowledge, in only three other Ming works. Three songs are quoted in Li K'ai-hsien's I hsiao san 一笑散[2]; they are described as coming from a contemporary or slightly earlier collection, the Shih-ching yen-tz'u 市井艷詞, which is no longer extant. They are evidently genuine popular songs, and like those in the CPM, they are in extremely colloquial language. The other two works are both by writers of the latter half of the century; ten examples appear in the Hsing-shih tz'u 惺世詞[3] of Chu Tsai-yü 朱載堉 (b.1536), and three in the Fang-ju-yüan yüeh-fu 芳茹園樂府[4] of Chao Nan-hsing 趙南星 (1550-1627).

There is adequate testimony about the time at which

the tune became popular. Li K'ai-hsien, in a preface for the lost collection Shih-ching yen-tz'u, wrote:

> At the beginning of the Cheng-te period, the shan-p'o yang tune came into popular favour, and at the beginning of the Chia-ching period, the so-nan-chih 鎖南枝 .[1]

The T'ien-hsiang-lou wai-shih chih-i 天香楼外史誌異 (original preface dated 1603) states:

> At the end of Cheng-te or the beginning of Chia-ching, they mostly sang the shan-p'o yang.[2]

The tune remained popular well into the Ch'ing dynasty. Ting Yao-k'ang, who in his preface avowed the intention of bringing the songs up-to-date, included a number of songs to this tune in his Hsü Chin P'ing Mei (1660).

Many of the popular tunes of the Ming dynasty were associated with a particular subject or emotion. Thus the tune Ch'ao T'ien-tzu 朝天子 was commonly used for the purpose of satire. There are not many examples of the shan-p'o yang to go by, but a majority of them express desolation or bereavement. The three songs in which Li P'ing-erh mourns her dead baby in Ch.59, or the four songs of mourning in Ch.89, are all in this metre. It was presumably this which Li K'ai-hsien meant when he said that the tune was in the key of shang 商 , which denoted shang 傷 'hurt, wounded', and that the truth of this 'could be ascertained.'[3]

Both the shan-p'o yang and the so-nan-chih, of which

there are two examples in the novel, are therefore tunes which became popular in the early sixteenth century. There seems to be no reason to think that the songs to these tunes in the novel are necessarily of the author's own creation. Of the fifteen, some, it is true, are integrated into the narrative of the novel, but there are others, not distinct in form, which are merely sung as entertainment. It appears most likely that these songs were current popular songs borrowed by the author, but it is not inconceivable that some or all of them are his imitations of the current vogue.

One tune contained in the novel must have just become popular at the time the novel was written. This is the Kua-chen-erh 掛真兒 , another name for the kua-chih-erh 掛枝兒 , which is referred to in Ch.74 18b. It seems that this tune only became popular in the Wan-li period. Since this question is of some importance in the dating of the novel, it is discussed in Appendix I.

There are altogether four shuang-kuan 双関 or double entendre songs in the novel, and it may be thought that they are of the author's creation. This is unlikely to be so, however, for one of them is also found in the Yung-hsi yüeh-fu.[1]

Important as the number of the songs is, much more important is the variety of uses to which the songs are put in the novel. More than half of them, some 54, are

not used in the plausible way, as entertainment, at all; they are, in one degree or another, incorporated in the narrative. Nothing like this use is found in other novels of the sixteenth century; it seems to make of the Chin P'ing Mei a strange and isolated experiment.

It is true that one or two of the uses to which song is put can be parallelled in the novels of the early seventeenth century. Since, in any case, these uses are similar to those to which both shih and tz'u have customarily been put in earlier fiction, no great originality can be claimed for the author; he has, at the most, merely applied a current form in a well-established situation. One example is the use of song to satirise; some nine songs are used in this way, four of them of the double entendre variety. Thus two such songs are used in Ch.15, one describing the crowd of scroungers who assail Hsi-men Ch'ing in the brothel, and the other the rakes as they disport themselves. Another common example is the use of song to describe; there is a song in Ch.82 which describes the fan sent to Ching-chi by Chin-lien.

However, the distinctive ways in which song is used in the novel are those in which song is used by the characters to express strong emotion. Examples of the expression of anger are Hsi-men's denunciation of the procuress in Ch.20, and her reply. The songs spoken by Ch'en Ching-chi in Ch.83 are expressions of passion. There

are many songs of desolation, including Chin-lien's complaint to Tai-an of Hsi-men's rejection of her in Ch.8, and Ching-chi's sadness at being rejected by her in Ch.52. Songs of bereavement are also common; they include Li P'ing-erh's lament for her dead child in Ch.59, and the laments for Hsi-men and Chin-lien in Ch.89. There is a strong element of pathos in Li P'ing-erh's songs, just as there is in the songs which Hsi-men speaks to his wife on his death-bed and she to him (Ch.79).

There are short stories, both literary and vernacular, in which a great deal of the dialogue is in the form of tz'u, but they are to a large extent jeu d'esprit, and are not to be compared to the CPM in this use of song. The only comparable use is found in the drama, and, as will be discussed later, in forms close to the drama such as certain kinds of shuo-ch'ang literature. Considering the use the author has been shown to have made of drama, it seems most likely that it is in fact a dramatic technique which he has imitated. The songs of the drama are essentially a vehicle for expressing high emotion, and that is the distinctive use made of song in the CPM. The songs in the CPM, however, are not the songs of the drama, which are in a mixture of high-flown, poetic language and the colloquial sppech; they are the popular songs of the period. It may be said, therefore, that the novel's achievement has been to take popular songs and use them dramatically.

The forms of the drama do not, however, fit easily into the framework of the novel. In his efforts to use song dramatically, the author has had recourse to a variety of expedients, some of which, for example the use of songs as love-letters, are plausible enough; there are altogether six love-letters in the novel, each of which is composed of a popular song (one is made up of two songs). Another expedient is to have a character sing a popular song to himself or herself which expresses the emotion felt. Thus in Ch.1, Chin-lien 'when alone, often played this song as evidence...' ; the song is one in which she expresses her desperate loneliness. But in the majority of cases, the fact that song is being used dramatically is perfectly evident. In Ch.79, for example, Hsi-men on his death-bed gave his last instructions to his wife.'She wept, and he said:

"Don't cry. Listen while I tell you what I want you to do. There is a chu-ma-t'ing 駐馬廳 as evidence:

Do not weep, virtuous wife, etc."

When Yueh-niang heard him say this, she replied likewise:

"Husband, I thank you, etc."'

Similarly, in Ch.20, realising that the procuress had deceived him and allowed Li Kui-chieh to be patronised by someone else, Hsi-men pointed at her, and cursed her:

"There is a man-t'ing-fang 滿庭芳 as evidence:

You are wickedness itself, old crone, etc."

The old woman replied likewise:

"Listen, Sir. If you don't come, I deal with others. The whole family depends on her for its living.....etc."'

In the case of the songs of bereavement, a similar expedient is used. In Ch.59, on seeing her dead baby, Li P'ing-erh collapsed, and then 'burst out weeping, and said:

"There is a shan-p'o yang as evidence:

I cry out to Heaven, etc."'

Later, talking with the other women, she 'grew sad again:

"The tune as above:

When I think of my beloved, etc."'

The phrase 'the tune as above' ch'ien-ch'iang 前腔 points to the origin of this technique, for it is, of course, the term used in plays when a tune is being repeated. Still later, the sight of the dead baby's toys recalled him to her. 'She could not help weeping again; a complete shan-p'o yang as evidence:

"When I came into the room, etc."

Four songs in Ch.38 are used in a different way, part dramatically, part descriptively. The first of them, the chiang-erh-shui 江兒水 song beginning Hsiu pa ling-hua lai chao 羞把菱花来照 , is applied in the following way. Chin-lien, claiming that she has wasted away with pining for Hsi-men, asked her maid to bring her a mirror.

There follows a poem on the theme of her fearing to look in the mirror. The poem is now followed by the first part of the song, which of course also states this theme. Hsi-men entered, and they proceeded to fondle each other. Chin-lien complained that his hands were cold, and her complaint is followed by the second part of the song, which originally dealt with the singer's loneliness. She then complained in rhyming prose -- it has the same rhyme as the song -- and then, again without any introduction, comes the final part of the song. Although the third part of the song is clearly meant to be taken as something Chin-lien said, the same is not true of the other two parts. Perhaps they can be considered as descriptive of her mood.

While the practice of dividing the songs into sections and applying them differently is confined to Ch.38, there are a number of songs which raise the same problems as the first two parts of the song mentioned above. Many of them are cases in which, after the formula 'there is a ..... in evidence', a song is given, which expresses in the first person the emotions of the character concerned. The character is not represented as speaking, let alone singing, such songs. One can only conclude that they represent his thoughts and emotions. They correspond, that is to say, to the use of song in the drama as soliloquy. Their use, indeed, is no different from the

use of the songs in which Chin-lien bemoans her loneliness in Ch.1, or expresses her misery to Hsi-men's servant in Ch.8; they merely dispense with the transparent artifice shown there. They come closer to the plain, unambiguous representation of thought and emotion in the novel than any other songs.

Depending on the definition chosen, there are one san-t'ao (the one mentioned earlier in this chapter) and as many as thirty songs which are used dramatically. The number includes songs which are to be found in the song-books, as well as songs not found there; it is not true to say that the songs used dramatically are all of the author's composition.

It was said earlier that the dramatic use of the songs made the CPM seem 'a strange and isolated experiment.' Two questions immediately suggest themselves: first, what induced the author to attempt this experiment? That is to say, what purpose does the dramatic use of song serve? Secondly, are there any parallels to this use in Chinese fiction or drama?

The first question has already been answered in part. Some cases are clearer than others, but almost all of these songs come at a point in the action at which some deep emotion -- love, grief, anger -- is felt by the characters involved. As in the drama, they express their emotion in the form of song, in this case, in the form of popular song.

It is not difficult to show how preoccupied the author of the CPM was with describing the states of mind of the people in his novel. We have already noticed, in comparing the passages copied from the SHC with their originals, some instances in which the CPM has augmented the laconic account of thought or motive given in the earlier novel. The dramatic use of song is no doubt part of the same preoccupation. In the novel as it existed before the CPM, there were few opportunities to give expression to the thoughts and feelings of characters. It is therefore not surprising, that with his preoccupation, the author should have turned to drama and song, with their endless opportunities for such expression.

The second question cannot be answered so confidently. There is no exactly comparable use in early fiction except in the Hsü Chin P'ing Mei, where it is avowedly derived from the CPM itself. Among the late-Ming novels, both the Ch'an-chen i-shih 禪真逸史 and the Ch'an-chen hou-shih 禪真後史 contain a large number of songs, most of which, however, are used merely descriptively. A few songs are difficult to decide about -- just as in the CPM -- but at least it is true to say that there is no consistent use of song in this way. Of the novels I have managed to see, the only remotely comparable use is found in the Han Hsiang-tzu 韓湘子[1], of which there is an edition with a 1623 preface. There are scores of

songs in it, some of them of the shan-p'o yang variety, and many of them used dramatically.

It is just possible that the Han Hsiang-tzu, though itself an exception to the general rule, can suggest a parallel to the use of songs in the CPM. It seems likely, from the nature of its subject as well as the number of Taoist songs it contains, that it was compiled from one or more earlier tao-ch'ing 道情 (a tao-ch'ing is a shuo-ch'ang form with Taoist subject-matter.)[1] That tao-ch'ing on this subject did exist, we know from a reference in Ch.64 of the CPM. (See the next chapter.) Moreover, an expanded form of the tale survives in a tao-ch'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Han Hsiang-tzu chiu-tu Wen-kung 韓湘子九度文公[2], of which there is a Chia-ch'ing edition. In addition, the author of the Han Hsiang-tzu, Yang Erh-ts'eng 楊爾曾, is known to have compiled novels from earlier works; his (Hsin-chüan) Tung-Hsi-Chin yen-i 新鐫東西晉演義 was apparently based on an earlier historical novel.[3] And if, therefore, as seems probable, the Han Hsiang-tzu owes its songs to earlier shuo-ch'ang works, it follows that the closest parallel to the use of songs in the CPM may also be found in that field.

Essentially, shuo-ch'ang is meant to be performed, but not enacted; the passages which are sung are therefore narrative, and not dramatic, in function. But there is a natural tendency to act the various parts, as anyone

who has listened to a Chinese story-teller can confirm. The boundary between telling a story in alternate speech and song (which is shuo-ch'ang) and acting each part in the first person (which is drama) is therefore very easy to cross. It is usually held that this very development produced the tsa-chü drama from the shuo-ch'ang form called chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調 . Consequently, in each age, there are works which, though nominally shuo-ch'ang, might better be described as popular drama; the extreme example among them, perhaps, are those hybrid pao-chüan of the Ch'ing dynasty, in which not only are the songs dramatic, but in which the characters are even allotted the roles of the drama (sheng, tan, etc.). It seems certain that such works, like the hypothetical exemplar of the Han Hsiang-tzu, existed also in the Ming period.

There is some reason for considering the history of popular song the key to the history of the vernacular literature of the Ming dynasty. An appreciation of popular song preceded even the great re-discovery of the Shui-hu-chuan and the hua-pen stories among the literati. Popular songs found their way, on occasion, into the drama, and in the shuo-ch'ang forms, replaced the traditional verse which had been used there; sometimes, in fiction, they appeared where tz'u had appeared before. The dramatic use of song in the CPM seems to be a further extension; a use of popular song perhaps learned

from the drama itself, or, more likely, from those popular shuo-ch'ang forms which are closely related to the drama.

In considering the author's use of his sources, one is bound to ask in what form he borrowed them. In the case of the Shui-hu-chuan and the histories, there can be no doubt that he copied either directly from a written or printed text, or else from his memory of such a text. The colloquial short stories too, were probably, though it is not certain, copied in this way. Only in the case of the drama and the song -- where in any event one would expect it -- is there any indication that the author copied from an auditory memory of the performance. The best proof of this is given by the Pao-chien chi songs; among the numerous minute differences between the text as given in the CPM and the text of the play, there are three features which show that the CPM version derives ultimately from the form in which they were sung. These are: the repetition of a line: the replacement of a character by its homophone: the replacement of a character by its rhyme. Since these same features also distinguish the CPM versions of some of the popular songs from the versions contained in the songbooks, one may well conclude that, in that case too, the author knew the songs by heart from hearing them performed, or even from singing them himself, and that he wrote them down from memory.

Chapter Thirteen: Shuo-ch'ang literature

The word shuo-ch'ang 說唱 denotes that kind of literature which is composed of alternate prose passages and rhymed passages. It is meant for performance -- but not enactment -- by one or more persons; the prose passages are intended to be recited, and the rhymed passages sung. It has a narrative function, and can be regarded as a branch of story-telling.

Shuo-ch'ang literature proper can be traced back to the pien-wen 變文 of the T'ang dynasty, which were, in the first place, popularizations of the Buddhist sutras. (It is likely that the mixed prose-and-verse form was also derived from the sutra commentaries.) The subject-matter soon ceased to be restricted to religious tales; secular stories, old and new, came to be told as pien-wen. In later times, different forms of shuo-ch'ang literature proliferated throughout China. Some of the differences were related to subject-matter or function; others were formal differences concerned with the nature of the rhymed passages. Each age tended to replace the traditional verse-form with its own favourite tunes. Thus in the Sung dynasty, there are new shuo-ch'ang forms which use tz'u and even ch'ü 曲 for the sung parts, and in the Ming dynasty, forms which use popular song.

On a number of occasions, shuo-ch'ang works or performances are described in the CPM. In Ch.15 3a, in the course of the long tsan describing the Lantern Festival, a story-teller is described as performing a ta-t'an 打談, which is the name for a shuo-ch'ang form. Another such form, men-tz'u 門詞, is referred to in conversation in Ch.21 12b. The most interesting descriptions however, are those given of works performed in Hsi-men's household. Altogether there are six such works, four pao-chüan 宝卷 and two tao-ch'ing 道情. The performances are described in some detail, and the text of three of the pao-chüan is actually quoted.

The pao-chüan is a shuo-ch'ang form which has Buddhist subject-matter; it is thus a direct descendant of the religious pien-wen. The four pao-chüan referred to in the CPM are the Wu-tsu huang-mei pao-chüan 五祖黃梅宝卷 (partially quoted in Ch.39 14b-16b, 18ab), the Chin-kang k'e-i 金剛科儀 (partially quoted Ch.51 17b-18b), the Huang-shih-nü pao-chüan 黃氏女宝卷 (quoted, apparently in full, in Ch.74 11b-27b), and the Hung-lo pao-chüan 紅羅宝卷 (mentioned, but not quoted, in Ch.82 5a). There is a fifth work, which is narrated by Nun Hsüeh in the same manner -- except that it has no parts for singing -- as a pao-chüan. It is in fact the hua-pen story, Wu-chieh Ch'an-shih ssu Hung-lien chi, which appears in the Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang hua-pen. It seems

less likely that such stories were told by Buddhist nuns, than that the author took this means of introducing an entertaining, Buddhistic, but hardly moral,tale into the novel. The hua-pen story is dealt with in Chapter Eight.

In two of the pao-chüan, the Wu-tsu huang-mei and the Huang-shih-nü, there are a number of songs in the text quoted. According to 澤田瑞穗 Sawada Mizuho, who has made a study of the pao-chüan in the CPM,[1] and who indeed was the first to identify some of them, these songs are not to be found in the Ch'ing editions which are the earliest available. He concludes that the passages quoted in the CPM are closer to the original form of the pao-chüan -- it is a characteristic of Ming shuo-ch'ang to use popular song -- and that the Ch'ing versions have removed the songs.

The details given in the CPM of the performance of pao-chüan are naturally of the greatest importance, but they have already been pointed out by Feng Yüan-chün[2] and Sawada Mizuho, and it seems unnecessary to describe them here. It is interesting to note, however, how the CPM enables us to see the position of the pao-chüan in Ming life. Each of the performances was given in Yüeh-niang's room, before an audience exclusively female. Not only did Hsi-men not attend, but it is even doubtful whether he knew the performances were being given, and, if he had known, whether he would have approved. Evidently,

therefore, listening to pao-chüan was largely confined to women, and, among women, to those of pious or credulous mind like Yüeh-niang, since the livelier spirits like Chin-lien and Meng Yü-lou frequently expressed their boredom with it.

The term tao-ch'ing has two meanings. It denotes moral or exhortatory songs of a Taoist import, as well as Taoist tales told in a special shuo-ch'ang form. It is the latter, narrative tao-ch'ing that we are concerned with here. Yeh Te-chün 葉德均 , in the course of his study of shuo-ch'ang literature in the Sung, Yuan and Ming periods,[1] has pointed out that two tao-ch'ing are described as being performed in the CPM. One is named in Ch.64 7b as Han Wen-kung hsüeh-yung lan-kuan 韓文公雪擁藍關 , which is part of the story of how Han Hsiang-tzu 韓湘子 converted his uncle, the famous writer and staunch opponent of religious superstition Han Yü 韓愈 , to a belief in Taoism. This is the same subject-matter as that of the Ming novel Han Hsiang-tzu, which was mentioned in the last chapter. The other tao-ch'ing concerns the poet Li Po; it is entitled Li Po hao t'an pei 李白好貪杯 . Both tao-ch'ing were sung by two 'tao-ch'ing singers', summoned especially to the house to perform before the eunuchs in charge of the local tile factory. Unfortunately, the text of neither work is quoted, and one cannot tell whether the sung passages were popular song or the more

usual verse-form. Sometimes, in the Ming period, both forms existed of the same work. Yeh Te-chün[1] has shown that two forms survive of the popular tao-ch'ing 道情 Chuang-tzu t'an k'u-lou 莊子嘆骷髏, one of which, contained in the Hsü Chin P'ing Mei Ch.46, is largely composed of popular songs.

These passages and references tell us a good deal about the importance of shuo-ch'ang performances in sixteenth-century society. It is likely, though debatable, that they also indicate that shuo-ch'ang forms were highly regarded by the author of the CPM. What does prove this point, however, is the actual incorporation of a piece of a shuo-ch'ang work in the novel.[2]

It is the passage in Ch.86 8a which describes the beating administered to Ch'en Ching-chi by Yüeh-niang and her maids. Ch'en Ching-chi, smarting at Yüeh-niang's treatment of himself and Chin-lien, had thrown off a remark about the paternity of Yüeh-niang's child. To avenge herself for this insult, she had him brought before her, and with the help of seven or eight of the women, soundly thrashed. Only by the ruse of slipping down his trousers and baring his private parts, does Ching-chi so unnerve his assailants that he is able to escape. The narrative runs:

She told him to kneel before her.

"Do you admit you were in the wrong?" she asked.

But Ching-chi did not kneel. He continued to hold his head as high as ever. Then Yüeh-niang said:

"There is a ch'ang-tz'u 長詞 as evidence:

At first Yueh-niang had not shown deep affront, but
now her expression changed,
And Ching-chi, for his part, his head held high,
denounced her to her face:
"I can do without your interminable chatter!
I want to get that clear between us!".....

A single rhyme runs through the whole piece, for some twenty lines. The lines themselves vary greatly in length, and cannot be regarded as approximations to the usual three-, four-, six-, seven-, and ten-character lines of shuo-ch'ang literature. On the other hand, no mention is made of the tune of the popular song, if popular song it is. (The term tz'u is not significant -- many of the shuo-ch'ang forms which have verse of regular length are known as tz'u, eg. tz'u-hua 詞話 , ku-tz'u 鼓詞 and t'an-tz'u 彈詞 .) The word ch'ang-tz'u is not, to the best of my knowledge, known in the field of shuo-ch'ang literature.[1]

Yet it seems likely that this passage is either modelled on, or else derived from, a shuo-ch'ang work. It differs from tsan 讚 in several respects. Unlike most tsan, which are in stilted conventional language, it is lively and colloquial; it has a rhyme going right

the way through, whereas tsan rhyme, if at all, only intermittently; and it contains dialogue as well as description. On the other hand, the passage is distinct from the ordinary popular song, which does not have a narrative function, but is either dramatic or descriptive. The only possibility would seem to be that it was ~~the~~ one of the rhymed passages of some lost shuo-ch'ang work.

Thanks to the researches of Yeh Te-chün, a good deal is known of the forms of shuo-ch'ang literature in the Ming dynasty. It appears that a fairly small number of forms was designated by a relatively large number of names. 'Ch'ang-tzŭ' may well be an alternative term for some form already known. Unfortunately, it is not possible to check this, for although the various forms can be roughly distinguished from contemporary references, very few specimens of them survive.

The passage fits awkwardly into the narrative of the CPM. In the middle of the passage, Ching-chi exclaims "You're almost breaking my back with your blows!" and Yüeh-niang ends it by threatening to do him to death if he comes near the house again. Yet as soon as the passage is over, the prose narrative continues from the point at which Yüeh-niang orders the servants to attack him. There is a clear contradiction, although it is a contradiction not uncommon in shuo-ch'ang works them-

selves, where the rhymed passage often repeats what has been told already in prose. This is certainly unusual in the novel however, and one can only conclude that the author set so high a value upon the force and liveliness of this passage that he was prepared to run the risk of impairing his narrative by including it.

From one point of view, the inclusion of a shuo-ch'ang work in the narrative text of the novel is less surprising than the inclusion of the songs. At least there are precedents in the history of the novel; it is usually thought that the Shui-hu-chuan, for instance, was compiled, in the first place, largely from contemporary tz'u-hua. But the novel as a prose form had been established in China for many decades before the CPM was written; there was no necessity for the author to use shuo-ch'ang forms. The inclusion of this passage can only be reasonably explained by assuming, first, that the author regarded the novel as a capacious form able to contain many different kinds of literature, and, second, that he had a very high regard for the directness and vigour of the popular forms.

Chapter Fourteen: Conclusion

Throughout this study of the sources, the assumption has been made that the novel was mainly the work of one person. This is the general view of scholars who have dealt with it, as well as the unanimous view of those earlier chroniclers who have mentioned it. It is not, however, the only view. Feng Yüan-chün long ago suggested,[1] very tentatively, that the novel might have been based on an earlier hua-pen story. More recently, P'an K'ai-p'ei 潘開沛[2] has put forward the claim that it developed, in the same manner as the Shui-hu-chuan, from a group of popular works concerned with the subject. Whatever assumption is made about the authorship will affect our consideration of the sources; conversely, one might expect that the number of sources adduced here -- many more than the number at P'an K'ai-p'ei's disposal -- would throw some light on the question of the authorship.

In fact, of course, the sources enumerated in Part Three are in no way inconsistent with the theory of single authorship; they are not, after all, drawn from works concerned with the same subject as the novel itself. On the other hand, they do not show definitely that the novel could not have been developed as claimed by P'an K'ai-p'ei. In settling the point, the sources so far discovered are of no consequence at all.

One hesitates even to begin discussing the authorship of the Chin P'ing Mei, for despite all that has been written on it from Ming times on, there ~~remains~~ exists hardly one undisputed, creditworthy fact. But it may be possible, if not to prove, then at least to indicate the likelihood of, the theory of single authorship. There is no point in trying to refute the arguments of Feng Yüan-chün and P'an K'ai-p'ei; Feng Yüan-chün's was the merest suggestion, based on a couple of archaisms which can be variously explained, while the arguments put forward in P'an K'ai-pei's article have already been adequately answered.[1] On the other hand, it may be worthwhile giving one or two general reasons why it is inherently unlikely that the novel develpped in the way they claim.

First of all, there is no record of any legend or story-cycle concerned with the subject of Hsi-men Ch'ing and his household. Considering the wealth of evidence on the story-cycles of the San-kuo yen-i, the Shui-hu-chuan, the Hsi-yu-chi and the Feng-shen yen-i, this would be a most surprising thing, if the novel had been developed, as claimed, from popular antecedents. By contrast, after the novel became widely known, it provided the basis for many other works, novels,[2] plays,[3] shuo-ch'ang forms,[4] and paintings.[5]

Secondly, all the novels which we know to have been compiled from earlier popular versions, such as the four

mentioned above, are episodic in nature; adventure follows adventure, sometimes with only slight connection between them. Every reader of the Chin P'ing Mei will have felt the difference; it has a unity almost, but not quite, as closely-knit as the Hung-lou-meng. It is hard to conceive how it could have been put together from popular versions. Furthermore, in reading the other novels, one understands how the style -- swift, economical, making its points clearly and plainly -- has arisen from the exigencies of the story-teller; with the Chin P'ing Mei, one feels the opposite. Despite its racy, down-to-earth language, it is a prose novel, designed above all to be read; it would not do well as a story.

For these reasons, one must continue to regard the novel as largely the product of the imagination of one person. Excluding those novels which are mere recensions of history, it is the earliest such work in Chinese literature.

It is tempting to explain the wealth of sources used by this very fact -- that the author, while creating something essentially new, still fell back on occasion into dependence on other works, in the manner of the novelist of his time. But this inference can, at best, be only speculation. By the sixteenth century, the drama had been established for centuries, and yet plays were

written which were compilations of earlier works. What does seem certain is that the Chin P'ing Mei contains a greater variety of sources than any other novel we know of. The sources are spread fairly evenly through the whole work; when occasion presents, as in the case of Yüeh-niang's trip to T'ai-shan in Ch.84, they are very numerous indeed, but there are few chapters which contain nothing copied.

One is led to ask what intrinsic importance the copied passages have. Despite their number, they are all relatively brief; apart from the Shui-hu-chuan, no single passage runs as far as a chapter in length, and many are as short as a few lines. So far as their contribution to the novel is concerned -- apart from the Shui-hu-chuan, which cannot be considered distinct from it -- I suggest that only the songs which are used dramatically are at all outstanding. Most readers will, I believe, have felt that the songs in which Li P'ing-erh expresses her anguish at the loss of her child significantly enhance the novel; for once the muted pathos of these scenes is broken by a passionate outburst of grief. Other passages of considerable length, like the Kang-k'ou yü-weng story, although exciting enough in themselves, do not, I think, count for very much in the novel. On the contrary, it is even possible to blame the inclusion of this story for the only real break in continuity in the whole central part of the Chin P'ing Mei.

Whatever the assessment of the sources -- it would almost seem that the author intended his selection of them to be a kind of anthology -- their value as means by which to interpret the novel is considerable. A score of ways have already been noticed in which they indicate the author's methods and the themes he wished to stress. More important still, the sources show, as was pointed out at the beginning of Part Three, the kinds of literature which we must take into account in considering the Chin P'ing Mei in the context of its time. For this purpose, the Shui-hu-chuan, the short stories, and the passages of history, are all commonplace; the relationship between the novel and history, or between the novel and the hua-pen story, does not need restating. The truly important sources are the drama, the songs, and the shuo-ch'ang works; it is the recognition that the Chin P'ing Mei has affinities with these kinds of literature which may throw new light upon it.

It was suggested in Chapter Eleven that the author's conception of character -- the greatest single feature of the novel -- had been helped by that in the drama. Similarly, in using many songs dramatically, he may have followed the practice of shuo-ch'ang literature, and thus produced a form more capacious than that of the ordinary prose novel. These sources also bring home to us the popular nature of the Chin P'ing Mei. Neither

prose novel nor drama is a popular form in the way that song or shuo-ch'ang is. This affinity of the Chin P'ing Mei to popular literature is in keeping with its language, surely the most natural of any of the early Chinese novels.

It is in this sense -- in that the affinity to popular forms of literature may presuppose an author of a certain stamp -- that the study of the sources can aid the discussion of the authorship with which this chapter began.

APPENDIX I: The earlier limit for the date of composition.

While in Part Two new evidence was offered in support of an earlier terminus ad quem for the date of composition, the key fact in deciding the earlier limit remains the twenty-five-year old discovery about the reference to the T'ai-p'u ssu 太僕寺 by the historian Wu Han 吳晗.[1]

In Ch.7 9b-10a of the CPM, Meng Yu-lou makes a remark about the Emperor's drawing on the funds from the sale of horses (ma-chia 馬價) of the T'ai-p'u ssu 太僕寺. Wu Han showed how this reference was of help in dating the novel. It is unnecessary, because of his thorough treatment of this point, to go over the ground again in detail, but since the evidence requires the consideration of probabilities, and since naturally new material has become available since he wrote, the main facts about the borrowing in the early stages will be given below.

It was not until after 1568 that the T'ai-p'u, which has been sometimes given the title of the Imperial Stud, had appreciable funds.[2] In that year it was proposed to end the system[3] by which stud horses were distributed to the peasants, who then had to provide fodder and grazing for them, and return a minimum number of foals to the government. After the Board of War had advised against the proposal, it was eventually decided to sell only half the number of stud horses. This money, together with money got from the sale of horses obtained through the Frontier

Markets,[1] greatly swelled the funds of the T'ai-p'u. (The Frontier Markets, initiated about this time, had really made the decision possible to cut down on domestic horse-raising.) In the ninth month of 1581,[2] Chang Chü-cheng 張居正 recommended the sale of the remaining stud horses, and this money too went to the T'ai-p'u.

Appropriation of money from the T'ai-p'u started in the Lung-ch'ing period (1567-72). According to the Ming Shih, 'in the Lung-ch'ing period, (the Emperor) .....,.. several times appropriated money from the Kuang-lu 光祿 and the T'ai-p'u. The President of the Board of Works, Chu Heng 朱衡 , strongly deprecated this practice, but his protest was disregarded.'[3] During the first ten years of the Wan-li period (1573-82), Chang Chu-cheng had a great deal of authority over the boy Emperor, and imposed a policy of economy on the spending of the Imperial household.[4] We are told that after Chang's measure of selling off the remaining stud horses in 1581, the money in the T'ai-p'u amounted to as much as four million taels.[5] After Chang's death in the sixth month of 1582 however, his policies were reversed.[6] According to the Ming Shih again, 'when the State had constructions to be undertaken or gratuities to be administered, the money was frequently borrowed from the T'ai-p'u, and the T'ai-p'u treasury became more and more depleted. In 1587 The Superintendent of the T'ai-p'u asked that borrowing be prohibited. In 1596 .....(the official in charge of the T'ai-p'u) said that whereas in former years,

the treasury had possessed as much as four million taels..... what now was left amounted to not much more than one hundred thousand taels.'[1]

There are therefore two periods during which the funds of the T'ai-p'u were drawn on by the Emperor. The first period was the latter years of the Lung-ch'ing reign, from 1569 to 1572. The second period came after the death of Chang Chü-cheng in the middle of 1582. One must therefore accept 1569 as the earliest possible date of composition.

However, there is some evidence to show that the reference in the novel is more likely to have been to the later period of borrowing. The only reliable reference so far discovered to the borrowing in the earlier period is the one already mentioned. The Kuo Chüeh 国榷, the great chronicle-history of the Ming dynasty, which was not available to Wu Han,[2] nowhere mentions borrowing from the T'ai-p'u in the Lung-ch'ing reign, although it does record borrowing from the other treasuries.[3] By contrast, in the Wan-li period, after the death of Chang Chü-cheng, it records a number of significant facts. In the second month of 1583, 200,000 taels were demanded of the T'ai-p'u.[4] (This was just the time when the extirpation of Chang's policies and reputation was being carried on.) Again, in the ninth month of 1584, 300,000 taels were demanded; after representations by the officials concerned, the amount was cut by

half, but at the same time another 100,000 was levied for a different purpose.[1] In the first month of 1586, an amount of 200,000 was demanded, and again, after representations, eventually halved.[2] In the following month, the great statesman Hai Jui 海瑞 resigned his post, condemning the rapacity of the administration in squandering the money from the sale of horses.[3] Therefore, on the rather scanty evidence so far adduced, it would appear that it was only after 1582 that the borrowing became a great public issue. The depredations of the Wan-li Emperor were evidently more notorious, as well as more prolonged, than those of his predecessor. In the light of these facts, it seems most likely that the novel was composed after 1582.

It would be unjustifiable to base the dating of a novel like the CPM on a single reference. In fact, there is no lack of other evidence; one of the most important facts about the CPM is the close relevance of the conditions described in it to the conditions of its time. On the whole, this relevance is a general one; the conditions described are those of a century rather than a decade. In a few cases, however, it has been found possible to date them fairly precisely. Wu Han adduced a number of them, but since the date of his article, research of the songs and the drama has disclosed more pertinent examples. Since the significance of these discoveries for the dating of the

novel has not been explored, the main facts about them are given below.

The first such example is the reference[1] in the novel to a company of actors from Hai-yen 海鹽 in Chekiang. In Ch.64 6ab, at a banquet to which Hsi-men Ch'ing had invited the eunuchs in charge of the nearby tile factory, a company of Hai-yen actors was provided as the main entertainment.

> "I have provided a company of actors to sing for you, Sir," said Hsi-men Ch'ing.
>
> "Where are they from?" asked Eunuch Hsüeh.
>
> "They're a troupe of Hai-yen actors."
>
> "What! That caterwauling! Nobody can possibly understand what they're singing."

Feng Yüan-chün[2] has noted that Ku Ch'i-yüan's 顧起元 K'e-tso chui-yü 客坐贅語 (author's preface dated 1616) contains the following passage:

> Before the Wan-li period, the nobility and gentry, as well as wealthy people, would usually, for banquets and small gatherings, employ groups of musicians and singers, sometimes three or four people, sometimes large groups singing long sequences from Northern-style plays..... Later, the custom changed, and Southern-style singing was used, with the singer accompanying himself with a single small clapper, or instead, a fan..... At large gatherings, they

made use of Southern-style plays, at first restricted to the Hai-yen and K'un-shan 崑山 styles, and now exclusively the K'un-shan.[1]

Ku Ch'i-yuan was born in Nanking, and his K'e-tso chui-yü is mainly concerned with the events and personalities of that city. It is not surprising, if the conditions described in the CPM are those of the period when the Hai-yen style was becoming popular, that a eunuch, who must have spent most of his life in Peking, should find its singing strange and incomprehensible.

According to the researches of Chou I-pai 周貽白[2], this account can be regarded as accurately reflecting the growth in popularity of the Hai-yen style. It would seem to indicate an early- or middle-Wan-li composition.

The second example concerns the reference to the Kua-chen-erh 掛真兒 tune in Ch.74 18b.

Shen Erh-chieh 申二姐 said: "I'll sing a 'Twelve Months' kua-chen-erh for you ladies to listen to." (Then follows the first lines of the first song, and the phrase i-t'ao 一套 'a sequence, group of songs.')

Kua-chen-erh is the tune or pattern of the songs, while 'Twelve Months' indicates their subject; the first of them is about the yüan-hsiao 元宵 festival in the first month, and the others should evidently continue in the same vein.

Kua-chen-erh is the name of a tune in the drama, but it is also an alternative name for the Kua-chih-erh 掛枝兒, one of the commonest tunes of the popular song. Yeh Te-chün[1] has shown that the song here is in fact a kua-chih-erh -- in any case Shen Erh-chieh is always represented as a singer of popular songs -- and has consequently provided useful evidence of the date of the novel.

As regards the name of the tune, Yeh Te-chün has this hypothesis: 'it was at first called Ta-ts'ao-kan 打草乾, but when it spread to the south, it received the name of Kua-chih-erh. Since this name was similar to that of (the tune in the drama)..... it was mistakenly called Kua-chen-erh. This supposition may well not be far removed from the fact.' However that may be, there is no doubt that all three names refer to the same tune. The identity of Ta-ts'ao-kan and Kua-chih-erh is well documented from contemporary sources, while Kua-chih-erh and Kua-chen-erh are used side-by-side in the same work, the Wan-ch'ü ming-ch'un 萬曲明春, which is a Wan-li compilation.[2]

The tune originated in the north of China. Wang Chi-te 王驥德 remarked in his Ch'ü-lü 曲律[3], of which the preface is dated 1610, that

> The Kua-chih-erh song, that is to say, the Ta-ts'ao-kan, is a speciality of the people in the north; no southerner can hope to match them.

It seems to have reached the south quite early; Yuan Hung-tao

wrote during his term of office in Soochow (1595-7) that 'it is on the lips of every woman and child in streets and lanes throughout the city.'[1] The tune reached a peak of popularity early in the seventeenth century. There are in existence collections of songs composed to it, notably one edited by Feng Meng-lung,[2] and it is not infrequently included in the text of late-Ming novels.[3]

For the date at which the tune became popular, the standard authority is Shen Te-fu's Shih-shang hsiao-ling 時尚小令 :

> In the Lung-ch'ing period, there arose the Nao-wu-keng 鬧五更 , the Chi-sheng-ts'ao 寄生草 .....In recent years, there have been the two tunes Ta-ts'ao-kan and Kua-chih-erh.[4]

Another source, not before quoted in this connection, is the T'ien-hsiang-lou wai-shih chih-i 天香樓外史誌異 , of which the original preface is dated 1603, and in which historical references as late as 1602 are to be found.[5] It includes the following note on the popular tunes of the sixteenth century:

> At the end of the Cheng-te period and the beginning of the Chia-ching, they mostly sang the Shan-p'o-yang 山坡羊 tune in the streets and lanes. At the close of Lung-ch'ing and beginning of Wan-li, it was the T'ung-ch'eng-ke 桐城歌 ..... Nowadays they sing the so-called Kua-chih-erh.[6]

Unfortunately, the Wan-ch'ü ming-ch'un , which contains the earliest surviving collection of songs to this tune, bears no date. All that can be said of it is that it is a Wan-li edition.[1] A number of songs do, however, survive in the Tz'u-luan 詞巒 by Liu Hsiao-tsu 刘效祖.[2] Like much of the contents of that work, they are imitations of the popular tune.[3] Little is known of the author. He is variously described as from Wan-p'ing 宛平 near Peking, and from Pin-hsien 濱县 in N.E. Shantung.[4] He was a chin-shih of 1550. No other imitations of this tune survive from his contemporaries, although Chao Nan-hsing 趙南星 (1550-1627) is said to have written some.[5]

In considering the above evidence, one has to bear in mind that the tune may have taken a few years to spread south. Nevertheless, it does seem to show that the CPM was a product of the Wan-li period.

The above two points seem the most reliable in supporting the T'ai-p'u-ssu reference. Together with that reference, they show that the novel could not have been written before the Lung-ch'ing period, and was probably not written before 1583.

APPENDIX II: Passages copied from the Shui-hu-chuan.

References are, for the CPM, to the A.1 edition, and, for the SHC, to the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition as reprinted in the Shui-hu-ch'üan-chuan.

The Wu Sung - P'an Chin-lien story.

See Chapter Eight for comments on the manner of copying, and the treatment of the copied passages.

1. (CPM Ch.1 3b - Ch.6 4a: SHC pp. 341-401, 405-7).

2. (CPM Ch.9 3b - Ch.10 5a: SHC pp. 407-418, 423-6).

3. (CPM Ch.87 1a, 5ab, 8-10: SHC pp. 415-6).

Other passages copied.

1. (CPM Ch.2 5a: SHC p.723).

   The tsan describing Chin-lien is derived from one describing P'an Ch'iao-yün 潘巧雲 .

2. (CPM Ch.8 11ab: SHC pp.734-5, 739).

   A tsan, prose narrative, and three four-lined poems are drawn from the incident in the SHC in which Yang Hsiung's 楊雄 wife has an affair with a young priest

3. (CPM Ch.9 2b: SHC p.357).

   A tsan describing Chin-lien as first seen by Yüeh-niang.

4. (CPM Ch.10 1a: SHC p.731).

   An eight-lined poem, at the head of the chapter in each work.

5. (CPM Ch.10 7a: SHC Ch.66).
   The origins of Li P'ing-erh. See Chapter Eight.

6. (CPM Ch.11 8ab: SHC p.840).

Tsan describing singing-girls.

7. (CPM Ch.14 5a: SHC p.194).

Tsan describing upright official.

8. (CPM Ch.15 2b,3a: SHC p.516).

Tsan describing Feast of Lanterns. The CPM version, although much longer than the SHC, incorporates everything that is in the latter. According to A-ying 阿英, the CPM version is similar to contemporary accounts of the Feast of Lanterns.

9. (CPM Ch.18 ~~xxx~~ 1a: SHC p.874).

Eight-lined poem, at the head of the chapter in each work.

10. (CPM Ch.19 1a: SHC p.~~345~~ 513).

As above. Thsi latter poem is also found at head of Ch.94.

11. (CPM Ch.27 2b-3b: SHC pp.229-230, 233).

Tz'u and four-lined poem. There is a disquisition on summer heat, derived from these poems, and from an eight-lined poem in the SHC. See Chapter Eight.

12. (CPM Ch.30 6b: SHC p.193).

Tsan, describing a feast.

13. (CPM Ch.59 13b; 14a: SHC pp.312-3).

Tsan which in the SHC describes scene as Sung Chiang and his former mistress are forced to spend the night together, in the CPM is applied to Li P'ing-erh's vigil beside dying child.

14. (CPM Ch.61 21b: SHC p.858).

A tsan, which in the SHC describes the invalid uncle of Ch'ai Chin, has been adapted in the CPM to describe Li P'ing-erh after she has become seriously ill.

15. (CPM Ch.66 4ab: SHC pp.882-3).

A tsan, which in the SHC describes Lo the Chen-jen 羅真人, is used in the CPM to describe Huang the Chen-jen.

16. (CPM Ch.68 11a: SHC p.1335).

An eight-lined poem, which in the SHC describes Li Shih-shih, is used in the CPM to describe the singing-girl Wu Ai-yüeh-erh.

17. (CPM Ch.81 3b,4a: SHC pp.474-5).

Tsan describing a city as the traveller approaches it at night-fall.

18. (CPM Ch.84 2ab: SHC pp.1243-4).

Tsan describing temple at T'ai Shan.

19. (CPM Ch.84 3a: SHC p.678).

Tsan describing Goddess of Ninth Heaven.

20. (CPM Ch.84 3a-7b,10a: SHC pp.858-860).

Yin T'ien-hsi. See Chapter Eight.

21. (CPM Ch.84 3a-7b (as above): SHC pp.113-6).

The attempted seduction in the temple. See Chapter Eight.

22. (CPM Ch.84 8a-9b: SHC pp.501-6).

Sung Chiang rescues the magistrate's wife. See Chapter Eight.

23. (CPM Ch.86 7a: SHC p.126)
Tsan describing fainting woman.

24. (CPM Ch.88 1a: SHC p.563).

Ten-lined poem, at the head of the chapter in each work.

25. (CPM Ch.89 6ab: SHC p.102).

Tsan describing a temple.

26. (CPM Ch.89 7a: SHC p.732).

Tsan describing a lascivious priest.

27. (CPM Ch.93 12ab: SHC p.618).

Tsan describing a famous wineshop.

28. (CPM Ch.89 1a: SHC p.47).

Eight-lined poem, at head of the chapter in each work.

29. (CPM Ch.94 1a: SHC p.513).

Eight-lined poem, at the head of the chapter in each work. The same poem is also found at the head of Ch.19 of the CPM.

30. (CPM Ch.100 10b: SHC p.474).

Tsan. Also found in Ch.81 of the CPM.

There are a number of shorter poems, as well as poems which bear some resemblance to ones in the CPM, which are not included here. Of course, it is quite possible that the tsan and poems listed here may have been copied from works other than the SHC. In that case, the works must have been lost; no item is included here which, to the extent of my knowledge, appears in any other extant work before the CPM.

Appendix III

A LIST OF THE SONGS CONTAINED IN THE CHIN P'ING MEI

The following list contains only those songs found in the authentic part of the novel, that is to say, in Chapters 1-52, 58-100 of the A.1 edition. It is further limited to those songs which are quoted substantially or in full; there are several score other songs which are merely mentioned in the course of the novel. Some of these latter songs -- those that also appear in the songbooks -- can be found in the list included in the Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao.[1]

The songs are arranged in the same order as they appear in the CPM. Information about each song is set out as follows:

Its place in the novel
The first line(s) of the song
The tune of the song
The context in which the song appears
Other works (if any) in which the song is found
Notes

The following abbreviations are used for the most important of the songbooks:

SS Sheng-shih hsin-sheng 盛世新声 , divided into 12 sections according to the 'twelve branches.'

TL Tz'u-lin chai-yen 詞林摘豔 , divided into 10 sections according to the 'ten stems.'

YH Yung-hsi yüeh-fu 雍熙樂府 , 20 chüan.

A letter T placed before the first line of the song indicates that it is the first song of a san-t'ao 散套 ; any song without this T can be assumed to be a hsiao-ling 小令 .

1.11b-12a 想當初姻緣錯配奴 （山坡羊）
Sung by Chin-lien to herself to express her misery at being married to Wu Ta.
See pp. 191,194.

4.4ab 這氣是氣.只兒小 （ ）
A double entendre song, used as 'evidence.'
See p.129.

4.4b 動人心紅白肉色.堪人愛可意梗奴。（沈醉東風）
Describes Chin-lien as seen by Hsi-men Ch'ing.
YH 17.29b.

6.7a 恩兒不戴懶梳粧 （西头南）
Sung by Chin-lien to Hsi-men.
TL甲4a.

8.2a 凌波羅襪 （山坡裡羊）
Describes Chin-lien's 'love trigram.'
YH 20.7a. ~~YH version begins~~ .
Combined with the next song in the CPM.

8.2a 想着門兒私下簾兒.悄呀。 （ " " ）
See above.
YH 20.7a.

8.4a 奇才心邪 （ " " ）
Sung to Tai-an by Chin-lien to express her feeling for Hsi-men.
YH 20.7a.
See p.194.

8.4b 將奴這知心話 （寄生草）
Used as letter.
YH 19.25a.
See p.191.

8.5b 當初奴愛你風流 (綿搭絮)

Sung by Chin-lien to herself to express her loneliness.

YH 15(2nd. part, 後集).35b.

The first of four songs of the same tune, which are also found together in the YH.

11.9b 陷人坑土窖般瞎開掘 (水仙子)

Points out the danger of visiting brothels.

YH 18.49a.

11.11a 舉止從容 (駐雲飛)

Sung by Li Kuei-chieh, in description of herself.

Yü-huan chi 玉环記 , scene 6 .

See p.166.

12.2b 黃昏想。白日思 (落梅風)

Used as the text of a letter.

YH 20.35ab.

See p.191. Combined with the next song.

12.2b 燈將殘。人睡也 (" ")

See above.

YH 20.35b.

12.3b 這細茶的嫩芽 (朝天子)

Spoken by Ying Po-chüeh, nominally on the subject of tea.

YH 18.21a. It bears the note ch'ao chi ming ch'a 嘲妓名茶 , which means that while ostensibly referring to tea, it is actually a satire on singing-girls.

See p.188.

15.8b 這家子打和 (朝天子)

Describes the melon-seed hawkers who enter the brothel.

See p.189.

15.9b 在家中也閙 (" ")

Describes the game of football played by the rakes.

See p.189.

18.10a 我愛他身体輕盈 (點絳唇)

Erotic double entendre song, ostensibly referring to ~~kiss~~ mosquitoes.

See p.188.

19.3a 我見他斜戴花枝 (折桂令)

Spoken by Ch'en Ching-chi to himself to express his sadness.

YH 17.43b. The same song, with a few minor variations, also appears in Ch.52.

20.15ab 虔婆你不良 (滿庭芳)

Hsi-men curses the procuress.

See pp. 189,191.

20.15b 宮人听知 (" ")

The procuress's reply.

See above.

27.7a 向晚来雨过南軒 (梁州序)

Sung by the whole company.

The song is continued on p.8b.

33.6a 初相交在桃园兒裡結義相交下来 (山坡羊)

Sung by Ch'en Ching-chi. It is described as a kuo-tzu hua-erh ming shan-p'o yang 菓子花兒名山坡羊, a shan-p'o yang of which the ostensible subject is fruit and flowers.

33.6b 我听見金雀兒花。眼前高哨 (" ")
Sung by Ching-chi.
See above.

33.7ab 寃家.你不来白閃我一月 (" ")
Sung by Ching-chi. It is described as Yin-ch'ien ming shan-p'o yang 銀錢名山坡羊 , a shan-p'o yang ostensibly about money. The first of two such songs.

33.7b-8a 姐姐你在閒元兒家 (" ")
Sung by Ching-chi.
See above.

35.14b 殘紅水上飄 (玉 芙 蓉)
Sung by the page Shu-t'ung.
Hsin-pien nan-chiu-kung tz'u 新編南九宮詞 , 正宮 . Attributed to Li Jih-hua 李日华 . The first of four such songs, which are also all found in the same place in the songbook,[1].

35.17b 可人心二八嬌娃 (折 桂 令)
Sung by Hsieh Hsi-ta.
YH 17.47a.

36.5b 花边柳边 (朝 元 歌)
Sung by Soochow actors.
Hsiang-nang chi scene 6.
The first of two such songs from the play.
See p.165.

36.5b-6a 恩德浩無边 (畫 眉 序)
Sung by Soochow actors.
Yü-huan chi scene 12.
The first of two such songs from the play.
See p.165.

36.7a 紅入仙桃 (錦堂月)

Sung by Shu-t'ung.

Hsiang-nang chi scene 2.

The first of two such songs from the play.

See p.165.

38.5ab 美宠宗 ( )

Describes erotic scene.

38.8b 閃把幃屏来靠 (二犯江兒水)

Expresses Chin-lien's feelings, and also describes action.

TL甲8a; YH 15(2nd. part).21b-22a.

See pp.192-3. This song is given in three parts.

38.10a 懊恨薄情輕棄 (" ")

Sung by Chin-lien to express her loneliness.

TL甲8a; YH 15(2nd. part).22a.

See pp.192-3. This song is given in two parts.

38.10b 常記的當初相聚 (" ")

Sung by Chin-lien to express her feelings.

TL甲8a; YH 15(2nd. part).22a.

See pp.192-3.

38.12ab 羞把菱花来照 (" ")

Sung by Chin-lien to relieve her loneliness.

TL甲8a.

This song is given in three parts. It is the fourth song of a group of four, all of which are found together in TL. The title of the group in TL is given as kuei-yüan 閨怨 'the mistress's plaint.'

41.4a-5a T.翡翠宻紗 (閙鵪鶉)

Sung by singing-girls.

SS未1b-2b; TL癸8a-9b; YH 13.60a-61a.

See p.181.

42.9b-10a T. 鳳城佳節賞元宵 (新水令)
Sung by singing-girls.
SS 午11ab; TL 戊29b-30a; YH 11.3ab.
Its title in TL is yüan-hsiao 元宵 . This represents its function in CPM also, where it is called a teng-tz'u 燈詞 .
See p.182.

43.9a-10b T. 繁花滿月開 ( )
Sung by singing-girls.
Wu-yü ts'ui-ya 吳歈萃雅,亨集.

44.2b-4b T. 俏冤家生的出類拔萃 (十段錦)
Sung by singing-girls.

45.7b 心中牽掛 (柳搖金)
Sung by Wu Yin-erh.
The first of two such songs.

46.2a-3b T. 雪月風花共裁剪 (醉花陰)
Sung by Li Ming 李銘 and others.
SS 丑7b-8a; TL 壬45a; YH 1.10a-11a.

46.6ab T. 東野翠烟(消) (好事近)
As above.
SS 酉5ab; TL 乙45a; Nan-~~xxxx~~-kung tz'u chi 南宮詞紀 ; chüan 2; Wu-yü ts'ui-ya 亨集 .
TL has title shang-ch'un 賞春 'enjoying the pleasures of spring.'

46.7b 子時那這淒涼 (一江風)
Sung by the singer Yü Ta-chieh 郁大姐.
The first of four such songs.

49.5b-6b T. 別後杳無書 (漁家傲)
Sung by the Hai-yen 海鹽 actors.

49.7b T. 中秋將至 (下山虎)
Sung by the Hai-yen actors.

49.9a 東風柳絮飄風 (玉芙蓉)
Sung by Shu-t'ung.
The first of four such songs, pp.49a-10a.

50.7b 烟花寨委實的难过 (山坡羊)
Sung by singing-girl in brothel.
This song is similar in form to the shan-p'o yang songs which are used dramatically.

50.8a 進房来四下观看 (" ")
As above.

52.9b-11b T. 思量你好辜恩 (伊州三台令)
Sung by Li Kuei-chieh.
SS 丙4ab; TL 乙 43a-44a; YH 16.39b.
Interspersed with Ying Po-chieh's repartee in the CPM. See p.178.

52.15a-16a T. 新綠池边 (端正好)
Sung by Li Ming.
SS 甲18a-19a; TL 辛 44b-46a; YH 2.37b-39a.

52.19b 我見他戴花枝笑撚花枝 (折桂令)
Describes Ching-chi's frustration.
YH 17.43b.
This song is found with slight variations in Ch.19.3a.

58.13b T. 暑才消大太郎漸西 (集賢賓)
Sung by Li Kuei-chieh.
SS 申5ab; TL 庚 22a; YH 14.14a.
Title in YH is ch'ing ch'i-hsi 庆七夕 'to celebrate the seventh eve.' This is also its function in the CPM. See p.182.
Only the first song of the t'ao is given.

59.16a 叫一声青天。你如何坑陷了奴性命 （山坡羊）
Sung by Li P'ing-erh to express her anguish.
See p.192.

59.19b-20a 進房来。四下静由不的我俏冤 （ " " ）
As above.

59.21a 想嬌兒想的我無顛無倒 （ " " ）
As above.

60.4a 一個姐兒十六七 （清江引）
Sung by Ch'un-mei.
Tang-ch'i hui-ch'ang ch'ü 蕩气回腸曲 中.
The first of two such songs.

61.4a 一向来。不曾和寃家面会 （"四不应"山坡羊）
Sung by the singer Shen Erh-chieh.
The first of 2 such songs.

61.4b-5a 初相会。可意人 （鎖南枝）
As above.
The first of 2 such songs.

61.11b-12b T. 紫陌紅徑 （一枝花）
As above.
TL乙 41b-43a; YH 16.11a-12a.

61.17a 懨々病轉濃 （罵江怨）
As above.
The first of a group of four songs.
TL甲x 2ab; YH 15(2nd. part).9ab.

61.24a 甘草甘遂與礞砂 （朱奴兒）
Spoken by Doctor Chao.
Pao-chien chi scene 28.
See p.175.

65.14a T. 宮居八輔臣 (一枝花)
Sung by actors.
SS 巳 8ab; TL 己 29a-30a; YH 8.4ab.
Title in TL is shang wen-ch'en 上文臣; see p.182. It is attributed by TL to Chu Yu-tun 朱有燉. Only the first song of the t'ao is quoted in the CPM.

65.15b 洛陽花。深園月 (普天樂)
Sung by actors.
SS 戊 8b; TL 甲 15b-16a.
Attributed by TL to Chang Ming-shan 張鳴善 (late-Yüan or early-Ming).

67.11b 寒夜無茶 (駐馬廳)
Sung by Ch'un-hung.
Pao-chien chi scene 33.
See p.170. This is the first of two such songs from the play.

68.15b 一見嬌羞 ( )
Sung by singing-girls Wu Yin-erh etc.
The first of four such songs.

70.13ab T. 享富貴受皇恩 (端正好)
Sung by singing-boys of Chu Mien.
Pao-chien chi scene 50.
See pp.170-2.

71.3a-5b T. 水晶宮鮫綃帳 (" ")
Sung by singing-boys.
SS 子 20b-22b; TL 辛 50b-54b; YH 2.3b-6a.
From the Lung-hu feng-yün hui of Lo Kuan-chung. See p.181.

72.14a-15a T. 翠簾深小房櫳 (新水令)
Sung by page-boys.
YH 11.27b-29a.
CPM lacks the last song of YH.

73.3b-5a T. 憶吹簫玉人何處也 (集賢賓)
Sung by actors.
TL庚5a-7a; YH 14.9a-10a.
Attributed by TL to Ch'en To. See p.181.

73.15a-16b T. 彤雲密布剪 (玉交枝)
Sung by Yü Ta-chieh

74.8ab T. 第一未為壓驚 (宜春令)
Sung by actors.
Nan hsi-hsiang scene 17.
See p.165.

74.18a 更深靜峭 (月中花)
Sung by Li Kuei-chieh.
TL甲9b-10b; YH 15(2nd. part).23a-24a.
Attributed by TL to Chang Shan-fu 張善夫, a Ming writer, who is unknown except for this reference.
This is the first of a group of four songs.

74.19a T. 正月十五鬧元宵 (掛真兒)
Sung by Shen Erh-chieh.
See pp.188, 218-221.
First song only.

75.13a 花嶺月艷 (江兒水)
Sung by Yü Ta-chieh.
The first of four such songs.

77.8b-9b T. 想多嬌情性兒標 (青衲襖)
Sung by singing-girls.
SS己10b-11b; TL己33b-35b; YH 9.78a-79b.

79.20b 賢妻休悲 (駐馬廳)
Hsi-men on his death-bed addresses Yüeh-niang.
See p;191.

79.20b 多謝兒夫 (" ")
Yüeh-niang's reply.
See above.

80.5b 恨杜鵑声透珠簾 (折桂令)
Describes love scene.
YH 17.44b-45a.

82.1b 將奴這銀絲帕 (寄生草)
Used as the text of a letter.
YH 19.25a. The YH song, which appears elsewhere in the CPM -- Ch.8 -- seems also to be the basis for this song.

82.2a 紫竹白紗甚逍遙 (水仙子)
Describes fan.
See p.189.

82.3ab 入門來將奴摟抱在怀 (六娘子)
Chin-lien addresses Ching-chi.
YH 20.42ab.

82.3b 兩意相投情掛牽 (" ")
Ching-chi's reply.
YH 20.42ab.

82.4a 螢歸半夏紫紅石 (水仙子)
Allusive; used to describe erotic scene.

82.4b 假認做丈婿親厚 (紅繡鞋)
Describes erotic scene.
YH 18.30ab.

82.10a 我嘴摵着他油鬢髻 (醉扶歸)
Describes Ching-chi's reactions.

83.1b 動不動將人罵 (寄生草)
Used as the text of a letter.
YH 19.24b-25a.

83.5b-6a 我與他好似並头蓮一處生 (鴛鴦落)
Chin-lien expresses to Ch'un-mei her love for Ching-chi.

83.6b 央及春梅好姐 (河西六娘子)
Chin-lien pleads with Ch'un-mei to take a message to Ching-chi.
YH 20.42a.
Slightly adapted in CPM.

83.6b-7a 我與馬坊中。推取草 (鴛鴦落)
Describes the thoughts of Ch'un-mei.

83.7b 將奴這桃花面 (寄生草)
Used as the text of a letter.
YH 19.20b.

83.8b 未聚的因些閒話 (四換头)
Chin-lien expresses her loneliness to Ching-chi
YH ~~18.30b~~ 20.40a.

83.10b 会雲雨風般踈透 (紅繡鞋)
Chin-lien and Ching-chi express their feelings by making up this song.
YH 18.30b.
See p.190.

85.8a 妖廟大燒皮肉 (" ")
Used as the text of a letter.
YH 18.30b.

85.8b 我為你躭惊受怕 (" ")
Used as the text of a letter.
YH 18.29b. (The song seems to have been adapted from the YH song which begins 我為你受浪打鷂 .)

86.12ab 你身軀兒小 ( )
Erotic double entendre song; ostensibly describes a mouse.[1]

89.4b-5a 燒罷紙小脚兒連跺 ("哭"山坡羊)
Expresses Yüeh-niang's grief before Hsi-men's grave.[2]

89.5a 燒罷紙滿眼淚墮 (" ")
Sung by Meng Yü-lou before Hsi-men's grave.

89.8b 燒罷紙把鳳头鞋跌綻 (" ")
Ch'un-mei weeps before Chin-lien's grave.

89.11b-12a 燒罷紙淚珠兒乱滴 (" ")
Meng Yü-lou weeps before Chin-lien's grave.

91.13b 告爹行.停嗔息怒. (山坡羊)
Li Ya-nei's 李衙内 concubine complains to him.

93.2b-4b T.九臘深冬雪漫天 (粉蝶)
Ching-chi relates his misfortunes to the beggars among whom he lives.
See pp.183-4.

93.13b 淚双垂 (普天樂)
Sung by singing-girl to Ching-chi in brothel.
YH 18.49ab.

94.12b 前生想着火欠下他相思債 (四塊金)
Sung by Sun Hsüeh-o 孫雪娥 , partly to please her patron, and partly to express her own thoughts.
TL甲8a.

96.6a 宽家為你幾時休 (懶畫眉)
Sung by singing-girls.
The first of four such songs.

NOTES TO PART ONE

Chapter one

p.5 n.1 Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu 中国通俗小説書目, pp.116-7.

p.5 n.2 "Kimpeibai no hampon."

p.7 n.1 Hsin-k'e Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua 新刻金瓶梅詞話 published by the Ku-i hsiao-shuo k'an-hsing-hui 古佚小説刊行会, Peking, 1933.

p.8 n.1 Among these editions are:

Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua, Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chen-pen ts'ung-shu 中国文學珍本叢書 series, Shanghai tsa-chih kung-ssu, 1935.

Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua, Kuo-hsüeh chen-pen wen-k'u 国學珍本文庫 series, Chung-yang shu-tien, Shanghai, 1936.

For other similar editions, see "Kimpeibai hamponkō 金瓶梅版本考."

p.9 n.1 "T'an Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua 談金瓶梅詞話", 257.

p.9 n.2 For example, Nagasawa Kikuya in "Kimpeibai no hampon."

p.9 n.3 This information is supplied on a hand-written flyleaf inserted in the edition itself.

p.10 n.1 For a detailed discussion of this edition, see "Kyōto Daigaku zō Kimpeibai-shiwa ni tsuite 京都大學藏金瓶梅詞話について" by Torii Hisayasu.

p.10 n.2 "Kimpeibai no hampon."

p.10 n.3 "Bōzan hōko kanshoroku 某山法庫观書錄 ."

p.10 n.4 Ibid. Preface (3) is described as Tung-wu chu-k'e hsü 東吳珠客序 . It is impossible to say whether the nung is missing in the edition itself, or whether it has been mistakenly omitted in Toyoda's article. The preface is apparently dated 1617.

p.10 n.5 Ibid.

p.10 n.6 See n.2.

p.11 n.1 "Kimpeibai no hampon."

p.12 n.1 I do not know the present whereabouts of this edition. It is described as being in Wang's possession in the "Chin P'ing Mei pan-pen chih i-t'ung 金瓶梅版本之異同 ."

p.12 n.2 For a description of this edition, see Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu p.183.
One of the engravers who also helped to engrave the Chin P'ing Mei illustrations was Liu Ch'i-hsien 刘啓先 .

p.12 n.3 "T'an Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua", p.257. This edition of the Wu-sao ho-pien was in the possession of Cheng Chen-to himself. See Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p.809 n.12.

p.14 n.1 For notes on many of the editions of the Chin P'ing Mei, and on this edition in particular, see "Kimpeibai hamponkō" by Torii Hisayasu.

p.16 n.1 Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p.116.

p.21 n.1 Interview, 1958.

p.21 n.2 "P'ing-shuo 瓶說 ", by Chou Yüeh-jan 周越然. The title of the edition is given as Hsin-k'e hsiu-hsiang p'i-p'ing Chin P'ing Mei 新刻繡像批評金瓶梅 . It is divided into 20 chüan and 100 hui. It has mei-p'ing, and contains the Nung-chu K'e preface, as well as 200 single-page illustrations.

p.21 n.3 "Yü chih kou-shu ching-yen 余之購書經驗 ."

p.23 n.1 "Kimpeibai no hampon" and "Kimpeibai hamponkō."

p.25 n.1 10 columns, 22 characters. See Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p.117. There is an early edition with this lineation in the Sinologisch Instituut Library at Leiden.

Chapter Two.

p.28 n.1 Wan-li yeh-huo-pien, chüan 25.

p.29 n.1 The nature of the disparity between the chapter headings was pointed out in Cheng Chen-to's "T'an Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua", p.259. A theory of the development of chapter headings from rudimentary titles to polished couplets is elaborated in Feng Yüan-chün's 馮沅君 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao 金瓶梅詞話中的文學史料," pp.185-6.

p.29 n.2 Among the earliest novels, as distinct from short stories, which make consistent use of tz'u for initial verse are the Chao-yang ch'ü-shih 昭陽趣史 and the Chu-lin yeh-shih 株林野史, both late-Ming works.

p.30 n.1 See The Evolution of a Chinese novel, p.66-7.

p.30 n.2 There are nineteenth-century editions which are only a fraction of the length of the original. See "Kimpeibai hamponkō."

p.30 n.3 The original edition is in Fu Hsi-hua's possession.

p.30 n.4 "T'an Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua", p.259.

Chapter Three.

p.32 n.1 Wan-li yeh-huo-pien, chüan 25.

p.40 n.1 As commonly used in the fiction and drama of the Ming period, it means a man of property who is not an official.

p.52 n.1 T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 太平廣記, chüan 92, Wan-hui 萬迴.

p.53 n.1 The earliest text of this name I have been able to discover so far is the Fo-ting-hsin-t'o-lo-ni-ching-yen-wen 佛頂心陀羅尼經諺文, in 1 chüan, which exists in a 1541 edition in the Ueno (formerly Teikoku) Library in Tokyo. (See the Bussho-kaisetsu-daijiten 佛書解說大辭典 vol.9, p.321. No mention is made there of the origin of the work.)

It is a text commonly used fro this purpose. Copies of the Ch'ing dynasty, printed by private subscriptiog, are still occasionally to be found in the Peking bookshops.

p.60 n.1 An historical account of these terms is found in Lü Shu-hsiang's 呂叔湘 "Shuo 'men' 說們."

p.67 n.1 There is, for example, a ku-tz'u 鼓詞 called Te-ch'ao ao-ch'i 得鈔傲妻 by Han Hsiao-ch'uang 韓小窗. It is reprinted in Ku-tz'u hsüan 鼓詞選 pp.125-9.

Chapter Four.

p.68 n.1 See Chapter Six.

p.70 n.1 "T'an Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua," p.258.

NOTES TO PART TWO

P.80 n.1 See p.113.

p.80 n.2 Do.

p.81 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei ti chu-tso shih-tai chi ch'i she-hui pei-ching 金瓶梅的著作時代及其社会背景 ."

Chapter Six.

p.82 n.1 Ibid.

p.83 n.1 The Ch'i-fa 七發 by the Han poet Mei Ch'eng 枚乘 (circa 150 B.C.) is a fu 賦, contained in the Wen-hsüan 文選 , which tells how a visitor from Wu tried seven different ways of stimulating the Crown Prince to throw off his illness. This is presumably the point of Hung-tao's reference.

p.83 n.2 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao 袁中郎尺牘全稿 , p.46.

p.83 n.3 Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-liao 中国小說史料 , p.82. It is wrongly attributed to Yüan Chung-tao. My translation follows the punctuation of the modern editions of Yüan Hung-tao's letters, rather than that of this extract.

This passage in Hung-tao's letter is also referred to in the Chin P'ing Mei hou-pa 金瓶梅後跋 , which is described on p.111 below.

p.83 n.4 1595-7. See especially Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao pp.179-184.

p.84 n.1 It is contained in the Hsieh-an chi 歇庵集 chüan 9. A modern reprint is to be found in the Wan-Ming hsiao-p'in wen-k'u 晚明小品文庫, vol. 1, p.10.

p.84 n.2 For an introduction to his life and friends, see "Yüan Chung-lang p'ing-chuan 袁中郎評傳" and "Chung-lang shih-yu k'ao 中郎師友考" by Jen Wei-k'un 任維焜.

p.85 n.1 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, pp.179-184.

p.85 n.2 T'ang Hsien-tsu nien-p'u 湯顯祖年譜, p.120.

p.85 n.3 See Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi 袁中郎全集, p.132.

p.85 n.4 K'e-hsüeh-chai chi (wen-chi) 珂雪齋集文集, p.94. Chung-tao arrived in the tenth month of 1595.

p.85 n.5 See, for example, Yüan Chung-lang wen-ch'ao chüan-kao 袁中郎文鈔全稿, p.8.

p.85 n.6 He returned to the capital after this leave. See his biography in the Ming shih 明史, chüan 288.

p.86 n.1 Chüan 3.

p.86 n.2 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, p.37. I am not sure what specific reference the analogy of the Tao-te ching has to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.

p.87 n.1 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, p.179.

p.88 n.1 According to his biography in the Ming shih, chüan 288, he 'asked to be relieved of his post on the grounds of illness, and returned.' He evidently passed through Soochow on the way back, for he was there in the third month of 1597. (Hua-ch'an-shih sui-pi, chüan 2).

p.89 n.1 Yu-chü shih-lu 遊居柿錄 , p.245.

p.89 n.2 Ibid., p.70. Chen-chou was near the present-day I-cheng 儀征 in Kiangsu. Chung-tao stayed there from the first month of 1598 until the seventh month of the same year, when he moved to the capital. On p.69, he says that he went to Chen-chou after failing the provincial examination in 1597.

p.90 n.1 This information is derived from his brother's letters. See Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, pp.14-16.

p.90 n.2 Ibid., p.36.

p.90 n.3 Yu-chü shih-lu, p.35.

p.90 n.4 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, pp.14-16, 36.

p.91 n.1 Hung-lou-meng hsin-cheng 紅楼夢新証 , pp. 426-7.

p.92 n.1 See The Evolution of a Chinese novel, pp.63-6.

p.92 n.2 See Yu-chü shih-lu, p.247.

p.92 n.3 See Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, p.92. "Hsü Wen-chang is the Li Po and the Tu Fu of this age."

p.92 n.4 There is a poem of Yüan Hung-tao's which describes Li Chih expounding the Shui-hu-chuan. (Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi 袁中郎全集 p.26.) 五言古

p.92 n.5 See the Ch'ü-lü. None of the songs survive. 曲律

p.93 n.1 K'e-hsüeh-chai chi (shih-chi) p.52. Yu-chü shih-lu, p.69.

p.93 n.2 Yu-chü shih-lu, p.72.

p.93 n.3 Yu-chü shih-lu, p.70.

p.93 n.4 The best description of the Society is contained in the introduction to a poem by Hung-tao. (Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi 五言律 p.145.) For some of the poems written at this time, see pp.61-2 of the same work.

The Ch'ung-kuo ssu was apparently the popular name for the famous Hu-kuo ssu 護国寺 in the N.W. of Peking. (See Ti-ching ching-wu lüeh 帝京景物略 , p.7.)

p.93 n.5 According to the "Shih-t'an 'Chin P'ing Mei' ti tso-che shih-tai ch'ü-ts'ai 試談金瓶梅的作者時代取材 , it has a preface of 1606. The writer, however, gives no reference to the edition he used, and it is impossible to check this fact. None of the modern editions contain such a preface, and at least one early edition is without it. (See the "Shang-cheng" of Chou Yüeh-jan.) To the best of my knowledge, no other scholar makes reference to a preface.

p.93 n.6 See Yüan Chung-lang Ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao p.163

p.94 n.1 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, p.162.

p.94 n.2 I-tien 逸典. Shen Te-fu has changed the phrase to wai-tien 外典.

p.94 n.3 Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi 五言律, p.143.

p.94 n.4 Chüan 25. The Yeh-huo-pien has two prefaces by the author, dated 1606 and 1619 respectively. The first preface belongs to the original form of the work, which was never published. The other preface belongs to the second augmented form of the Yeh-huo-pien. Hence Shen's note on the Chin P'ing Mei must have been written before 1619.

p.95 n.1 Presumably Shen Te-fu knew that half the work was in existence, and so put the question in this form.

p.95 n.2 The text has pai 白. It can be seen from the local history -- Ma-ch'eng-hsien chih 麻城县志, chüan 15 -- that it should have been po 伯.

p.97 n.1 Wan-yen 完顏 is the dynastic name of the Chin emperors of China. Ta-ting 大定 is the title of the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗, which lasted from 1161 to 1189. This is about 40 years after the story of the Chin P'ing Mei comes to an end. In comparison, the Hsü Chin P'ing Mei of Ting Yao-k'ang is set earlier, in the T'ien-hui 天会 period (1123-35).

p.98 n.1 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, p.160.

p.98 n.2 The introduction to a poem written in the spring of 1607 states that seven years have elapsed since the Society broke up. (Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi 五言律 p.145.) This means that the letter to Hsieh Chao-che must have been written later in 1607 or in 1608.

p.98 n.3 He visited Hung-tao at his house at Liu-lang 柳浪 near Kung-an. Hung-tao spent much of the time from 1600 to 1606 there. See Hsieh Yü-ch'u li-shan ts'ao yin 謝于楚歷山草引 (Yüan Chung-lang wen-ch'ao ch'üan-kao, p.17.)

p.98 n.4 Quoted in Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-liao p.82 as from the Shan-lin ching-chi chi of T'u Pen-chün. The Shan-lin ching-chi chi is a ts'ung-shu of which widely differing editions exist. The Naikaku Bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku pp.534-5 contains a reference to a Ming edition of which the Shang-cheng of Yüan Hung-tao forms part (ts'e 10). It seems most likely that T'u Pen-chün's note was originally an editorial comment on the reference contained in the Shang-cheng to the Chin P'ing Mei.

p.99 n.1 Yü-t'ai is his style. He was a chin-shih of 1589, and thus a contemporary of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. (Ming tz'u-tsung 明詞綜, chüan 4.)

p.99 n.2 Yüan Chung-lang ch'ih-tu ch'üan-kao, p.18.

p.100 n.1 Li Chang-keng 李長庚 T. Yu-ch'ing 酉卿 , a close friend of the Yüan brothers.

p.100 n.2 Yu-chü shih-lu, chüan 3, p.57.

p.101 n.1 See Mei Ta-chung-ch'eng chuan 梅大中丞傳 (K'e-hsüeh-chai chi (wen-chi), chüan 8, pp.260-7)

p.101 n.2 The novel was probably written after 1582. See Appendix I.

p.102 n.1 Ma-ch'eng-hsien chih, chüan 15.

p.102 n.2 This passage is quoted in a note on Liu Ch'eng-hsi by Tai Wang-shu 戴望舒. (Hsiao-shuo hsi-
hsi by Tai Wang-shu 戴望舒. (Hsiao-shuo hsi-
ch'ü lun-chi 小說戏曲論集 , pp.91-2.) As Wang-shu would seem to have misquoted, or else not to have noticed a slip by, the local history he was using. He gives the date of Liu's graduation as 1610, but with the cyclical characters for 1580. The edition which I have consulted (see Bibliography), as well as the provincial gazetteer, both give the date as 1580.

p.103 n.1 Quoted in the Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-liao p.85 as from the Ku-tung so-chi 骨董瑣記 of Teng Chih-ch'eng 邓之誠 .

p.103 n.2 ~~[illegible]~~. Not yet identified.

p.104 n.1 See Ku-pen hsi-ch'ü ts'ung-k'an 古本戏曲丛刊 , First Series.

p.104 n.2 Ku-chin hsiao-shuo, chüan 40.

p.105 n.1 See Chiao Hsün's 焦循 Chü-shuo 剧說 p.57, which contains references to a number of Ming plays which were given this kind of interpretation by Ming critics.

p.105 n.2 Chu-ch'eng-hsien chih, chüan 21.

p.105 n.3 Hunan t'ung-chih 湖南通志 , chüan 120. Commercial Press ed., 1934, p.2496 上. Also chüan 102 (p.2239 上).

p.105 n.4 Hupeh t'ung-chih 湖北通志 , chüan 113. Commercial Press ed., 1921, 2740 下.

p.105 n.5 Chüan 21.

p.105 n.6 Ibid. He is described as the grandson of Ch'iu Fu 邱桴 , who was also the grandfather of Chih-ch'ung. (Entry under Ch'iu Fu.)

p.105 n.7 Ibid. He was a military chü-jen of 1630. In contradiction to the above entry, he is here described as the grandson of Ch'iu Shun 邱楯, Ch'iu Fu's brother.

p.105 n.8 Ibid., chüan 24.

p.105a n.1 See p.105 n.2.

p.105a n.2 Chu-ch'eng-hsien chih, chüan 21.

p.105a n.3 Ibid., chüan 39.

p.105a n.4 Take, for example, the case of Hsieh Chao-che. (Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan, p.648.)

p.105a n.5 See Ch'ien Fang's 錢枋 preface to the Yeh-huo-pien.

p.105a n.6 Chu-ch'eng-hsien chih, chüan 35.

p.105b n.1 See the biography of his mother, née T'ien 田氏. (Ibid., chüan 45). She was 31 years old at the time of her husband Ting Wei-ning's 丁惟寧 death.

From facts contained in his own biography, this can be shown to have occurred about 1616. (Ibid., chüan 31.)

p.105b n.2 See Ting Yao-k'ang's own biography. (Ibid., chüan 36).

p.106 n.1 Quoted in Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p.117.

Chapter Seven.

p.111 n.1 It is in the possession of Fu Hsi-hua.

p.111 n.2 Quoted in Yüan-Ming-Ch'ing san-tai chin-hui hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'ü shih-liao 元明清三代禁毀小說戲曲史料, p.262.

p.111 n.3 He edited the T'an-chi ts'ung-shu 檀几丛書 and the Chao-tai ts'ung-shu 昭代丛書. In the ~~former~~ latter is found, for example, a work called Tu Chuang-tzu fa 讀莊子法 'How Chuang-tzu should be read.'

p.113 n.1 The original edition is in Fu Hsi-hua's possession.

NOTES TO PART THREE

p.116 n.1 This interpretation is briefly discussed at the beginning of Chapter Fourteen.

p.117 n.1 For a brief account of the form of literature known as shuo-ch'ang, see the beginning of Chapter Thirteen.

Chapter Eight.

p.119 n.1 The early history of the text of the Shui-hu-chuan is a fairly complex matter. It seems hardly justifiable to relate it here; accordingly I assume a knowledge of the most recent generally-accepted results of research, such as may be found in the Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien 水滸傳的演变 of Yen Tun-i 嚴敦易, pp.149-205. The most recent account in English is found in The Evolution of a Chinese novel, pp.61-86.

p.119 n.2 There is a fragment of an edition which includes these campaigns and which is ~~dated~~ earlier ~~before~~ than 1594. See Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien, p.199.

p.120 n.1 Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she 人民文學出版社, 1954.

p.120 n.2 This is edition 2 referred to on p.185 of the Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien.

p.120 n.3 It consists of one chüan, five chapters. It was formerly in the possession of Cheng Chen-to. See Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien p.185. (edition 1).

p.121 n.1 Hsiu-hsiang ch'üan-chuan Ying-hsiung-p'u 繡像全傳英雄譜 . A Ch'ing blockprint edition, in the School of Oriental and African Studies Library. It has the Hsiung Fei 雄飛 preface. On the upper part of each page is the 115-chapter edition of the SHC, and on the lower part, the 120-chapter edition of the San-kuo yen-i. This kind of edition is sometimes named Han-Sung ch'i-shu 漢宋奇書 . It is referred to on p.197 of the Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien.

p.122 n.1 This can be deduced from T'ien-tu wai-ch'en's preface. See Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien, pp.186-7.

p.122 n.2 Wan-li yeh-huo-pien, chüan 5 (p.139).

p.122 n.3 See Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien, p.199.

p.122 n.4 Shui-hu-ch'üan-chuan, preface pp.4-5. But note Yen Tun-i's reservations, Shui-hu-chuan yen-pien pp.157-8.

p.123 n.1 There is reason to believe that Shen Te-fu's information about Kuo Hsün may not be reliable. His attribution to him of the authorship of the historical novel Ying-lieh-chuan 英烈傳 is not now generally accepted. See Ying-lieh-chuan, preface p.3 ff.

In the Chia-ching catalogue Pai-ch'uan shu-chih 百川書志, there is mention of an edition in 100 chüan. If there were no need to credit Shen Te-fu, this would be the most likely

exemplar of the T'ien-tu wai-ch'en edition, which is in 100 hui.

p.126 n.1 Ch.4. 'Splendid' hardly does justice to this expression. The Chinese is se-ssŭ tzu-nü or se-mi tzu-nü 色系子女, which is made from chüeh-hao 絶好 'splendid' by the process of splitting each character into its component parts. It is a slang term, of course.

p.126 n.2 Eg. in Chapters 98 and 99.

p.126 n.3 See T'ien-kung k'ai-wu 天工開物 p.137.

"As for the tiles used in the Imperial palaces, the largest (of the factories supplying them) is at Lintsing."

The others were the Liu-li-ch'ang 琉璃廠 in Peking, and the great tileworks at Soochow.

See also Ming shih, chüan 82 (Shih-huo-chih 6).

p.128 n.1 Grettis saga. Translated into English as The Grettir saga (Everyman).

p.130 n.1 Actually Tu Ch'ien 杜遷 and Sung Wan 宋萬.

p.134 n.1 Although every reader of the classical Chinese novel knows the feature here named as tsan, there seems to be no word in common use for it. They can best be described as a form of parallel prose. Rhyme is found seldom, and then inconsistently; the language is conventional and even stilted. They are an early component of

the vernacular literature; it is possible that they could be traced back to passages of a kind of parallel prose in the pien-wen 变文 of the T'ang dynasty. See Cheng Chen-to: Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih 插图本中国文學史 p.549.

p.135 n.1 It has been suggested that the SHC has here copied from a lost hua-pen story. See "Shui-hu-chung so ts'ai-yung ti hua-pen tzu-liao 水滸中所採用的話本資料," by Wang Li-ch'i 王利器. There is no evidence, however, that the CPM necessarily used the hua-pen story.

Chapter Nine.

p.137 n.1 Sung-Yüan tzu-chih t'ung-chieh 宋元資治通鑑 chüan 22.

p.138 n.1 There is a facsimile reproduction of the Sung edition by the Seikadō Bunko.

Chapter Ten.

p.143 n.1 Han-hiue vol.II (Peking, 1947), 444-455. The inclusion of stories (a) and (b) was described by Ono Shinobu 小野忍 and Senda Kyūichi 千田九一 in their translation of the novel. (Kimpeibai, vol.1 p.312.)

p.143 n.2 This name is generally applied, for convenience' sake, to the surviving remnants of various collections published by Hung P'ien 洪楩 .

p.143 n.3 This tz'u is also used as the introduction to story 38 of the Ch'u-k'e p'ai-an ching-ch'i 初刻拍案驚奇 . The accompanying comment is different, however,

p.150 n.1 See Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu pp.110-1 The edition is not accessible. I have made use of a Ch'ing edition by the Ta-ch'eng-t'ang 大成堂 .

p.150 n.2 Ibid., p.31. There is also a Wan-chüan-lou edition of the Kuo-se t'ien-hsiang 国色天香 in the Naikaku Bunko. (Naikaku Bunko Kanseki Bunrui mokuroku, p.290.) It is dated 1597.

p.156 n.1 The former tsan is, for example, found in the Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang hua-pen story Loyang san-kuai chi 洛陽三怪記 .

p.157 n.1 "A Colloquial short story in the novel Chin P'ing Mei." See also C.Birch: Ku Chin Hsiao Shuo: A Critical Examination, pp.224-241.

p.164 n.1 The three stories are:

(1) Chang Yü-hu chi 張于湖記 . Contained in the Kuo-se t'ien-hsiang. Mentioned in the Pao-wen t'ang shu-mu, p.118.

(2) Chieh-chih-erh chi, see pp.148-9 above.

(3) Jen Hsiao-tzu lieh-hsing wei-shen 任孝子烈性為神 . (Ku-chin hsiao-shuo, chüan 38.) Mentioned in Pao-wen-t'ang shu-mu, p.129.

Chapter Eleven.

p.165 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao 金瓶梅詞話中的文學史料 ," pp.188-198.

p.165 n.2 The two men are confused by Feng Yüan-chün, ibid., p.211 note 67. See Aoki Masaru's 青木正兒 Chung-kuo chin-shih hsi-ch'ü shih 中国近世戯曲史 , pp.189-90.

p.166 n.1 For details of the passages taken from this play, see Chou I-pai 周貽白 : Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih 中国戯剧史 , pp.371-2.

p.167 n.1 There is a chapter on Li K'ai-hsien in Yagisawa' Hajime's 八木澤元 Mindai gekisakuka kenkyū 明代剧作家研究 , pp.172-268.

p.167 n.2 See Ming-tai tsa-chu ch'üan-mu 明代杂剧全目 by Fu Hsi-hua, pp.91-3.

p.167 n.3 His other extant play is in the possession of Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎 of Kyoto.

It is the Tuan-fa chi 斷髮記.

p.167 n.4 There is a facsimile reproduction of it in the Ku-pen hsi-ch'ü ts'ung-k'an, first series. A modern reprint is included in the Shui-hu hsi-ch'ü chi 水滸戲曲集, second series. Page references in this chapter are to the former.

p.168 n.1 Shui-hu hsi-ch'ü chi, second series, introduction p.2.

p.168 n.2 Yüan-shan-t'ang Ming ch'ü-p'in chü-p'in chiao-lu, p.55.

p.168 n.3 See "Li K'ai-hsien ho t'a-ti Lin Ch'ung pao-chien chi 李開先和他的林冲寶劍記, p.289.

p.168 n.4 Ibid., p.302.

p.169 n.1 See the note appended to his play. Shui-hu hsi-ch'ü chi, second series, p.157.

p.169 n.2 Extracts are quoted in Yüan-shan-t'ang Ming ch'ü-p'in chü-p'in chiao-lu, p.300.

p.169 n.3 The Chin P'ing Mei hou-pa rejects the theory of Wang Shih-chen's authorship on the grounds that the dialogue in the novel is Shantung dialect.

p.172 n.1 Sheng-shih hsin-sheng, p.1a; Tz'u-lin chai-yen 辛 11a ff.; Yung-hsi yüeh-fu, chuan 3, 2a ff. For details of these works, see the next chapter. The Tz'u-lin chai-yen says it was written by Ch'iu Ju-ch'eng 邱汝成 of the Ming dynasty.

p.174 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao," pp.183-5.

p.174 n.2 See Cheng Chen-to's Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih 中国俗文學史, part two, p.70. See also Yeh Te-chün's 葉德均 Sung-Yüan-Ming chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh 宋元明講唱文學, p.8.

p.177 n.1 "Ching yü ch'ou 淨與丑."

p.178 n.1 Liu-shih-chung ch'ü 六十种曲 ed.

p.178 n.2 as above.

p.179 n.1 His novel is the Hsiu-t'a yeh-shih 繡榻野史, the only known copy of which is in the possession of R.H. van Gulik. Part of it is reproduced in his Erotic colour prints of the Ming period.

Chapter Twelve.

p.180 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao."

p.184 n.1 Hsü Chin P'ing Mei.

p.185 n.1 See Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p.809. Feng Yüan-chün has noted the inclusion of the songs.

p.185 n.2 Referred to in Feng Yüan-chün's essay, but without any details. It has not been possible so far to trace this work.

p.186 n.1 Yung-hsi yüeh-fu, chüan 20.

p.186 n.2 pp.11ab.

p.186 n.3 See Ming-tai ko-ch'ü hsüan 明代歌曲選 pp.73-80.

p.186 n.4 Fang-ju-yüan yüeh-fu 芳茹園樂府 , contained in Chao Nan-hsing chi 趙南星集 , of which there is an edition with a 1610 preface. (Peking Library). Reprinted in Ch'ing-tu san-k'e erh-chung 清都散客二种 ed. Lu Ch'ien 盧前 , 1935. Selections are found in modern anthologies, such as Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh-shih and Ming-tai ko-ch'ü hsüan.

p.187 n.1 Quoted in Yeh Te-chün's "Ming-tai su-ch'ü hsü-lun 明代俗曲序論 " as from Li K'ai-hsien's collection Chung-lu hsien-chü chi 中麓閑居集 .

p.187 n.2 Chüan 5. See Appendix I.

p.187 n.3 See n.1.

p.188 n.1 The song which is about tea (on one level) and singing-girls (on another). CPM Ch.12 3b. It is found in Yung-hsi yüeh-fu chüan 18 p.21a.

p.195 n.1 See Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p.173. See also Cheng Chen-to's "Han Hsiang-tzu 韓湘子."

p.196 n.1 See Yeh Te-chün: Sung-Yüan-Ming chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh, pp.24-5.

p.196 n.2 See "Han Hsiang-tzu." I have a late-Ch'ing lithographic edition by the Chu-chi shu-chü 鑄記書局 of Shanghai.

p.196 n.3 Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p.40.

Chapter Thirteen.

p.199 n.1 Another term is chiang-ch'ang 講唱 .

p.201 n.1 "Kimpeibai-shiwa shoin no hōkan ni tsuite 金瓶梅詞話序引の宝巻について."

p.201 n.2 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao."

p.202 n.1 Sung-Yüan-Ming chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh.

p.203 n.1 Ibid., p.25.

p.203 n.2 It is possible that there is a second example -- the passage spoken by Li Kuei 李貴 in Ch.90 2a -- though it seems more likely to derive from the drama.

p.204 n.1 The term is used in one other place in the CPM; in Ch.78 9b, it describes a long, fairly colloquial tsan.

p.206 n.1 See Sung-Yüan-Ming chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh, p.48.

Chapter Fourteen.

p.207 n.1 "Ku-chü ssu-k'ao pa 古劇四考跋 ," pp.118-9, note 206.

p.207 n.2 "Chin P'ing Mei ti ch'an-sheng ho tso-che 金瓶梅的产生和作者 ."

p.208 n.1 See Hsü Meng-hsiang 徐夢湘 : "Kuan-yü Chin P'ing Mei ti tso-che 関於金瓶梅的作者 ."

p.208 n.2 See Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, pp.117-8.

p.208 n.3 There are two plays in manuscript in the Ma Lien Collection at the Peking University Library.

p.208 n.4 Fu Hsi-hua includes seven titles of tzu-ti shu based on the CPM in his "Ming-tai hsiao-shuo yü tzu-ti shu 明代小說與子弟書."

p.208 n.5 A folio of 200 paintings, based on the illustrations to the CPM, is accessible in pre-war reproduction in China, under the title of Pi-mei-t'u 艷美圖 .

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

p.213 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei ti chu-tso shih-tai chi ch'i she-hui pei-ching."

p.213 n.2 Ming shih, chüan 92, ma-cheng 馬政 . "It was in the Ch'eng-hua period that the T'ai-p'u first had funds, but they amounted to little more than 30,000 taels."

p.213 n.3 For a brief account of this system, see Chang Chü-cheng ta-chuan 張居正大傳 p.358.

p.214 n.1 See Hou Jen-chih 侯仁之 : "Ming-tai Hsüan Ta Shan-hsi san-chen ma-shih k'ao 明代宣大山西三鎮馬市考 ."(Translated as "Frontier Horse markets in the Ming dynasty." Chinese Social history ed. Sun and De Francis, 309-332.)

214 n.2 Chang Chü-cheng ta-chuan, p.358.

p.214 n.3 Ming shih, chüan 79, ts'ang-k'u 倉庫 .

p.214 n.4 Chang Chü-cheng ta-chuan, pp.~~380-390~~ 355-8.

p.214 n.5 Ming shih, chüan 213, biography of Chang Chu-chen

p.214 n.6 Chang Chü-cheng ta-chuan, pp.380-390.

p.215 n.1 As p.213 n.2.

p.215 n.2 See Wu Han: "T'an Ch'ien ho Kuo-chüeh 談遷和国榷 ," shih-hsüeh 史学 feature, Kuang-ming jih-pao 光明日報 23 July, 1959.

p.215 n.3 p.4107. In the third month of 1569, 300,000 taels were drawn from the T'ai-ts'ang 太倉 .

p.215 n.4 Ibid., p.4432.

p.216 n.1 Ibid., p.4485.

p.216 n.2 Ibid., p.4524.

p.216 n.3 Ibid., p.4528.

p.217 n.1 There are other references in Chapters 63, 64, and 73.

p.217 n.2 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao, p.193.

p.218 n.1 ie. K'un-ch'ü 崑曲 .

p.218 n.2 Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih, pp.368 ff.

p.219 n.1 "Ming-tai su-ch'ü hsü-lun 明代俗曲序論 ."

p.219 n.2 The sole surviving copy is contained in the Sonkeikaku 尊經閣 Library in Tokyo. It is in 6 chüan. Chüan 4 is composed of Kua-chih-erh. The chüan heading says Kua-chen-erh, yet some of the songs are labelled Kua-chih-erh. The work is also known as the Ta-Ming-ch'un 大明春 . For a description of it, with photographs see Fu Yün-tzu 傅芸子 : "Tung-ching kuan-shu chi 東京觀書記 ."

p.219 n.3 Chüan 4.

p.220 n.1 The reference is contained in his preface to his brother's poems, Hsü Hsiao-hsiu shih 敍小修詩 . (Yüan Chung-lang wen-ch'ao, pp.2-3.) This preface formed part of Hung-tao's second published collection, Chin-fan chi 錦帆集.

According to Chung-tao, this collection comprised work done during the term at Soochow. See Chung-lang hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi hsü 中郎先生全集序. (K'e-hsüeh-chai chi (wen-chi), p.87.)

p.220 n.2 See Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih, pp.275-281.

p.220 n.3 See also Chao Ching-shen 趙景深 : "Kua-chih-erh." Hsiao-shuo hsi-chü hsin-k'ao 小說戲劇新考, pp.319-322.

p.220 n.4 Wan-li yeh-huo-pien, chüan 25.

p.220 n.5 The only edition I have seen is a lithographic one by the Te-chi shu-chü 德記書局 of 1900. It is in 8 chüan. It was apparently the work of one Hsüeh Ch'ao 薛朝 H. Ssu-chen tzu 思貞子, whose name is given on page 1. It bears two prefaces, the first dated 1603, and the second, by Yüan Mei 袁枚, who re-edited it, dated 1753. (Whether the editorship of Yüan Mei is genuine, I do not know.)

p.220 n.6 Chüan 5.

p.221 n.1 "Tung-ching kuan-shu chi."

p.221 n.2 The Tz'u-luan is a collection made by a descendant of Liu Hsiao-tsu's in the K'ang-hsi period.

p.221 n.3 See Fu Yün-tzu: "Kua-chih-erh yü p'i-p'o-yü 掛枝兒與劈破玉."

p.221 n.4 His biography in the Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan 列朝詩集小傳 (p.393) says Pin-chou. The Tz'u-luan says Wan-p'ing.

p.221 n.5 See his biography in the Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan, pp.554-5.

NOTES TO APPENDIX II

p.223 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua feng-su k'ao 金瓶梅詞話風俗考 ."

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

p.226 n.1 "Chin P'ing Mei tz'u-hua-chung ti wen-hsüeh shih-liao", pp.198-203.

p.230 n.1 Ibid., p.214.

p.232 n.1 Ibid., p.201.

p.235 n.1 His name occurs frequently in the Lu-kuei-pu 錄鬼簿 .

p.237 n.1 CPM has chi-sheng-yao 寄生藥 , which is presumably a mistake for chi-sheng-ts'ao 寄生草 , the name given to the tune in YH.

239 n.1 It is not certain whether this is a song. It is described merely as a 'few lines.'

p.239 n.2 The name k'u shan-p'o yang is not to the best of my knowledge, found elsewhere, except in the Hsü Chin P'ing Mei. It may simply denote shan-p'o yang songs which are used for the purpose of mourning; it does not seem to indicate a different form.

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Chin P'ing Mei hou-pa 金瓶梅後跋. By Ch'en Ssu-hsiang 陳思相. See p.111.

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