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The Edo Period's *Jin Ping Mei**

KAWASHIMA Yuko

Introduction: A Book that “Invites Lust”

Mori Ōgai 森鷗外's (1862–1922)' *Vita Sexualis* キタ・セクスアリス depicts a scene in which a fifteen-year-old boy discovers *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 beneath the desk of his teacher Bunen-sensei, from who he had been learning classical Chinese in Mukojima:

或日先生の机の下から唐本が覗いてゐるのを見ると、金瓶梅であつた。僕は馬琴の金瓶梅しか読んだことはないが、唐本の金瓶梅が大いに違つてゐるということを知つてゐた。そして先生なかなか油断がならないと思つた。

(One day I looked at the Chinese book peeking out from under the teacher's desk, and it was *Jin Ping Mei*. While I had only read Bakin's *Jin Ping Mei*, I knew that the Chinese *Jin Ping Mei* was very different. “Despite being a teacher!” I thought to myself.)

Why was *Jin Ping Mei* peeking out from “under the teacher's desk”? And why did the boy think, “Despite being a teacher!” Such explanations were unnecessary; at the time there was a shared view of *Jin Ping Mei*.

What kind of work is *Jin Ping Mei*? Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848), who wrote *Shinpen Kinpeibai* 新編金瓶梅, an adaption of *Jin Ping Mei*, said the following about the latter in the introduction at the beginning of the former's first volume.

抑 彼書に演たるよしハ、則 宋の巨 商 西門啓といふものゝ、一期淫楽の説 話にて、（中略） 彼書の宣淫導慾なる、君臣父子の間 にハ読べからざるもの多しあり。（中略） その趣向ハ、国 俗の、浮世物真似といふ物めきて、巧 なる条理ハ一箇もなし。

(In the first place, this book depicts the lust-filled life of Xi Menqing 西門慶, a wealthy Song era merchant... It is a book that invites lust and includes much content that should not be read by sovereigns, subjects, fathers, and children... In essence, it is like what is called “popular entertainment” [*ukiyo monomane*] in Japan, and it does not have a single interesting story.)

According to Bakin, *Jin Ping Mei* “does not have a single interesting story,” is “the lust-filled life of Xi Menqing,” and “invites lust.” Was this perception commonly shared in the Edo period?

While deciphering related materials, I would like to think about how our ancestors took in and approached this text that had crossed the ocean to come to Japan in the Edo period.

1. The Importation of *Jin Ping Mei* to Japan

Jin Ping Mei was a long, one-hundred-chapter vernacular novel published approximately four hundred years ago during the Wanli years (1573–1620) of the Ming Dynasty in China. It appears to have come to Japan only some dozen years later during the early seventeenth century. The oldest published edition with an introduction from Wanli 45 (1617) (commonly referred to as the “Cihua 詞話” version or the “Wanli 万曆” version), which was the first to come to Japan, was held by temples and families of feudal lords as a very precious book and was encountered only by few people.

The “Zhang Zhupo 張竹坡” version or the “Di yi qi shu 第一奇書” version—consisting of a version of *Jin Ping Mei* that had been revised at the end of the Ming Dynasty in the Chongzhen years (1628–1644) (referred to as the “Gaiding 改訂” version or the “Chongzhen 崇禎” version) and a critique by the Qing man of letters Zhang Zhupo—would later become available through more general distribution channels. Looking at materials from the Edo period regarding the importation of Chinese texts, we find records of this “Zhang Zhupo” version being frequently brought into Japan. In Kan’en 4 (1751), eleven copies of it were imported, despite each copy having one hundred chapters.⁽¹⁾

From *Tōsei kuruwa dangi* 当世花街談義 (Hōreki 4 / 1754 colophon), we can acquire a glimpse of how *Jin Ping Mei* was received at the time.

然るに少しこ小学問がくもんでもしたわろは。別わけて自慢みそに詩を作り。歌をよみ。其中にも髭ひげのない唐本とうほん手合てあは。金瓶梅きんぺいばいに潘金蓮はんきんれんといふてかけ妾めかけがどふしたの。覚悟かくご禅ぜんに未央生びわうせいといふ色男いろおとこが有あての。肝きものつぶれたことを華音かういんで。がんといひ又はまはきやんと云いなどなど。⁽²⁾

(Young people who have educated themselves a bit write Chinese and Japanese poems with pride. Of them, those beardless Chinese studies scholars talk about the concubine Pan Jinlian in *Jin Ping Mei* and the handsome man Miosei in *Kakugozen*, about how the liver is *gan* or *kan* in Chinese, and so on.)

This book says that there are young men who boastfully talk about Chinese novels such as *Jin Ping Mei* and *Kakugozen* (*Rouputuan* 肉蒲団; described below) to women in entertainment districts. Putting aside the question of how much they had actually read of these books, we can see that *Jin Ping Mei* was already known to an extent. The novel *Jin Ping Mei* had, in this way, already begun to spread in Japan.

2. The Reception of *Jin Ping Mei* in the Edo Period

It appears that Japanese people have liked *Shui Hu Zhuan* 水滸伝 since the Edo period. This can be known from its many commentaries and translations that were published after it came to Japan.⁽³⁾ On the other hand, the popularity of *Jin Ping Mei*, which came out of *Shui Hu Zhuan*, was not really comparable. The Chinese literature scholar Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂 (1912–2002) explains this as follows:

日本では江戸末期に大衆作家の馬琴が自作に翻案して『新編金瓶梅』を出したのが、公

然と『金瓶梅』を宣伝した唯一の例とあってよく、『水滸伝』や『西遊記』ほど大衆に親しまれ、日本文学に影響を与えることはなかった。何しろ「淫書」の随一というキワメがついているので、君子の読んだり語ったりするものではないと考えられ、せいぜい唐話（当時の中国語・中国俗語文）をこなす一部の漢学者が、こっそり机の下から取り出して読むくらいであった。この「机の下の読物」という日蔭の身分が、江戸時代から明治・大正と続き、次の昭和も、戦前は公然とこれを研究の対象にすることはできなかつた。淫書という呪縛が、思想の抑圧とともに容易に解けなかつたからである。⁽⁴⁾

(At the end of the Edo period in Japan, the popular fiction writer Bakin released his own adaption entitled *Shinpen Kinpeibai*. However, this is basically the only example of *Jin Ping Mei* being publicly promoted. It was not as widely read by the masses and did not have as great an influence on Japanese literature as *Shui Hu Zhuan* or *Xi You Ji* 西遊記. Above all, being judged as the foremost “obscene book,” it was probably not something read or talk by gentlemen, and at most only read furtively under desks by the Chinese studies scholars who could read or speak *Towa* 唐話 (Chinese / vernacular Chinese writing of the time). Its shady status as an “under-the-desk book” continued from the Edo period into the Meiji and Taisho, as well as the Showa. During the prewar period, one could not openly engage in research on it. This was because, along with intellectual oppression, the curse of it being an “obscene book” had not gone away.)

In other words, because of *Jin Ping Mei*'s content being what it was, from the Edo to the Showa period, it had a shady status as an “under-the-desk book,” and this became a fetter that slowed research on it. This view is not limited to Sawada. Generally, there has been the same perception of the reception in Japan of *Jin Ping Mei*.⁽⁵⁾ It is certainly true that of “China’s Four Classic Novels”; while *Sanguo Yanyi* 三國演義, *Shui Hu Zhuan*, and *Xi You Ji* were translated during the Edo period, not a single translated version of *Jin Ping Mei* was published during the Edo period. Only in the Meiji period was a vernacular translation published (and it was only of the first eleven chapters). However, was this really because it was an “obscene book”?

A commentary on it, never published, was made during the Edo period. Let us use that to begin looking into this issue.

(1) Okaminami Kankyō 岡南閑喬's *Kinpeibai Yakubun* 金瓶梅訳文

From the Shotoku (1711–1716) to the Hōreki (1751–1764) years in the Edo period, there was someone in Osaka whose family name was Oka 岡, first name was Minami 南, and courtesy names were Kankyō 閑喬 and Nanasuke 七介. Medicine was his profession. *Kinpeibai Yakubun*, in which he explains words found in the text, is the oldest extant *Jin Ping Mei* commentary in Japan as well as the oldest extant one from the Edo period.

In eighteenth-century Japan, Chinese vernacular novels became very popular. During this period, many commentaries and Chinese character reference works for a variety of Chinese vernacular novels, including *Shui Hu Zhuan*, were compiled. Some of them quote *Jin Ping Mei*, and others clearly state

that they referred to it. This gives us a glimpse into how *Jin Ping Mei* had already spread at the time among scholars of these novels.⁽⁶⁾ It would have been entirely natural for people to write commentaries on this text. However, Okaminami's commentary is the only one that exists, and only in manuscript form at that.

Looking at *Kinpeibai Yakubun*, we first find words related to architectural structures: 到底七進, 穿堂, 儀門, and 角門. Then, we find an array of *xiehouyu* 歇後語 riddles, such as 提傀儡兒上場還少一口氣兒哩 and 兩隻脚還趕不上一張嘴哩. Finally, the word explanations of the first chapter begin. In fact, at the beginning of the “Zhang Zhupo” version—though there are some differences between printings—we find supplements, such as 西門慶房屋 (About the Structure of the Ximen House) and 金瓶梅趣談 (*Xiehouyu* Riddles in the Text). From this, we can tell that Okaminami used the “Zhang Zhupo” version that was circulating at the time. Additionally, we can sense his determination to read the book from cover to cover.

However, from the beginning, difficulties awaited. As one can see from **Photograph 1**, already there are untouched characters and characters described as “unclear” (*fushō* 不詳). Then, of the sixty-two *xiehouyu* riddles, approximately half remained untouched. *Xiehouyu* are a type of *chengyu* 成語 (*idiom*), or idiomatic expression, comprised of two parts. They are a kind of wordplay in which one is made to infer the second half from the first part. Many of them are very hard to decipher.

Let us look at one example: 夾道売門神—看出来的好画兒. 夾道 is a narrow alleyway and 門神 is an image of a god hung on a gate that serves as an amulet. When a 門神 that does not stand out on a large street is being sold in a narrow alleyway, one is made to realize that it is a pretty good picture (看出来的好画兒). This phrase therefore means “reconsidering what is good about something.” Looking at *Kinpeibai Yakubun*, we find the following explanation:

夾道売門神看出来的好画兒 化粧ヲシタル面ノコトヲ云 不詳

“A face with makeup applied” makes no sense. Okaminami probably thought that was strange, and therefore followed it with “unclear.”

The scholar of Chinese literature Kuraishi Takeshirō (1897–1975) likened translating the *Jin Ping Mei* to deciphering the Rosetta stone.⁽⁷⁾ *Jin Ping Mei* is truly difficult. Kyokutei Bakin himself pointed out multiple times that *Jin Ping Mei* was a difficult-to-read book that included much slang and idioms: “小説中の手とり物にて、よみ易からず候” (It is hard to read, even for a novel; letter to Jōsai from the twenty-eighth day of the first month of Bunsei 13), “金瓶梅ハ、俗語中にてよミ得がたきもの也” (*Jin Ping Mei* is difficult even for a vernacular novel; letter to Jōsai from the twenty-sixth day of the third month of Bunsei 13), and “彼書中にハ方言洒落、ほのめかしたることもある” (That book includes idioms, riddles, slang, and so on; introduction to *Shinpen Kinpeibai*).⁽⁸⁾

Looking at *Kinpeibai Yakubun* as a whole, we can see that it includes untouched words, as well as ones described as indecipherable using compounds such as 不詳, 不解, and 待考. It is not difficult to imagine that with there being no dictionaries to rely on, Okaminami's work involved considerable difficulties. Even so, he did not give up, and offered interpretations of words till the hundredth chapter.

Next, let us turn to how he handled the sexual expressions that gave *Jin Ping Mei* the status of an “obscene book.” As we can see in **Photograph 2**, he provided notes in a very straightforward fashion without giving them any special treatment. One does not find any major difference between his approach to these expressions and his approach to other difficult-to-understand words.

As I mentioned above, *Kinpeibai Yakubun* is only available to us in manuscript form. It was never published. However, this does not appear to be because, as has been thought, it was an obscene book, but rather because Okaminami was able to create only an imperfect commentary—in other words, the book was too difficult and he was unable to read it with precision.

(2) After *Kinpeibai Yakubun*

Though incomplete, Okaminami’s work would make a great contribution to the subsequent reception of *Jin Ping Mei*. In a letter, Kyokutei Bakin wrote,

文化中、『金瓶梅訳文』といふ珍書を購求め候ひしが、他本と交易して、今ハなし。これハ編者の稿本にて、只一本ものにてありし也。(letter to Jōsai 篠齋 on the twenty-sixth day of the third month of Bunsei 13)

(During the Bunka years, I purchased the rare book *Kinpeibai Yakubun*. However, I no longer have it because I exchanged it for another book. It was the original manuscript by the compiler himself. There is only one in the world.)

Here, Bakin states that he possessed *Kinpeibai Yakubun* for some time. When Bakin read *Jin Ping Mei*, Okaminami’s *Kinpeibai Yakubun* was near at hand.

There are several manuscript copies of this *Kinpeibai Yakubun*. In the copy that was part of the library of the late Chinese literature scholar Hatano Taro 波多野太郎 (1912–2003),⁽⁹⁾ we find the following next to its title characters: 北山先生題簽 (title characters [written] by Hokuzan-sensei) (see **Photograph 3**). “Hokuzan-sensei” probably refers to Confucian scholar Yamamoto Hokuzan 山本北山 (1752–1812) of the late Edo period. Furthermore, next to Okaminami’s explanation of the phrase *daodi qijin* (到底七進) that appears at the beginning of the book (到底ハ家ノ裏行キノコト七進ハ不詳 “*Daodi* (到底) means the depths of a house. As for *qijin* (七進), I do not know what it means.”), we find Hokuzan’s explanation: 北山云、七進ハ家作ノ仕方ニシテ、三進、五進、七進トテ、七進ハ大家也 “Hokuzan says that *qijin* is a building method. There is *sanjin* (三進), *wujin* (五進), and *qijin*. *Qijin* refers to a large house” (see **Photograph 1**). Based on this, Hatano Tarō writes that Okaminami was a “scholar in the Hokuzan school.” However, for example, in the manuscript in Kyoto University’s library that I reviewed, there were neither Hokuzan’s title characters nor any added explanation 北山云 (the main text’s handwritten notes completely differed as well). Those appear to be only in the manuscript that was part of Hatano’s library.

In the first place, Yamamoto Hokuzan was active much later than the time during which *Kinpeibai Yakubun* is estimated to have been created (around 1750). Therefore, it is unlikely that Okaminami

was a scholar in the Hokuzan school. Rather, it is more natural to think that Hokuzan, or someone around him, acquired *Kinpeibai Yakubun* (either the author's original manuscript or a copied manuscript), and wrote this therein (or, that the book in Hatano's library was copied by someone around Hokuzan). Allowing our imagination to run further, based on the expression 北山云 “Hokuzan says,” we can entertain the possibility that multiple people, including Hokuzan, read *Jin Ping Mei* alongside *Kinpeibai Yakubun*.

(3) A *Jin Ping Mei* Reading Group

In fact, during the Edo period, there was a *Jin Ping Mei* reading group. In the Kagoshima University Library's Tamazato Collection, there is a manuscript of *Jin Ping Mei* with Japanese reading marks for classical Chinese (*kunten* 訓点) and annotations (below, “Tamazato 玉里” Version). Details regarding this work are included in Tokuda Takeshi 徳田武's “Tōyama Katō and *Jin Ping Mei* 遠山荷塘と『金瓶梅』” (*Japan's early modern novels and Chinese novels 日本近世小説と中国小説*, Seishōdō Shoten, 1987). It appears to be a record of a *Jin Ping Mei* reading group led by the Chinese-language scholar Tōyama Katō 遠山荷塘 at the end of the Edo period.⁽¹⁰⁾ Over the course of five years, one of his disciples did transcription work, added Japanese reading marks for classical Chinese, and wrote down Katō's understanding and explanations of the words. In these explanations, we find quotations from a wide range of books: not only classical Chinese novels and vernacular Chinese novels but also *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and *Wuzazu* 五雜俎. At some points, even diagrams have been provided for ease of understanding. *Jin Ping Mei* was read very seriously in this group (see **Photograph 4**).

Even for the sexual expressions, truly detailed explanations have been added in a straightforward fashion, as can be seen in **Photograph 5**. One does not sense even a bit of shame stemming from reading *Jin Ping Mei*.

From this “Tamazato” version, we can see that this group read *Jin Ping Mei* precisely and with an academic attitude. Even so, we find vague and mistaken explanations—*Jin Ping Mei* was difficult. However, was it not for this very reason that this book was valued as an advanced text for readers of vernacular Chinese novels?⁽¹¹⁾

(4) People of the Edo Period and “Obscene Books”

To what extent were people during the Edo period resistant to “obscene books” that had come from China? For example, the famous *Rouputuan*, created during the period from the end of the Ming to the beginning of the Qing, is a bona fide “obscene book” that depicts the sexual history of its main character Wei Yangsheng. However, a translation with explanations was published in Hōei 2 (1705), and, subsequently, an adaptation was also published. This book is also known for having been liked by Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674–1728), a famous Chinese-language scholar from the Edo period. Never separated from *Rouputuan*, Kanzan read it morning and evening. He learned Chinese using this

book.⁽¹²⁾

Such “obscene books” that came from China were not banned by the government. Banned books during the Edo period were primarily ones related to politics and Christianity; bans were not issued for *Jin Ping Mei* or *Rouputuan*.⁽¹³⁾ Many studies have pointed out that *Jin Ping Mei* is an obscene book, but does that really mean much? People who lived in the Edo period treated this book more naturally than we did. Did not the people of the Edo period approach *Jin Ping Mei* and *Rouputuan* more openly than we think?

Next, let us turn to the question of why a Japanese translation with explanations of *Rouputuan* was published, but not one of *Jin Ping Mei*. Where did the difference between these two books lie? Compared to *Rouputuan*, *Jin Ping Mei* is different in various ways, such as its considerable length. However, its decisive difference is that it is very difficult to read. Considering the circumstances that we have looked at above, it is reasonable to conclude that a translation of *Jin Ping Mei* appeared much later than translations of other novels not because it was “obscene” but because it was difficult to read, at least during the Edo period. For the Chinese studies scholars of the Edo period, putting aside their minor individual differences, *Jin Ping Mei* was entirely an “on-the-desk book,” so to speak.

However, it appears that for ordinary people, the circumstances were a bit different. In a letter to a friend, Bakin writes the following:

『金瓶梅』の書名、世に高キ故、よくこの書の事をいふものあれども、この書をよミたるものすくなし。〈中略〉かくのごとき淫書なれども、書名をよく人のしりたるもの故、これを取り直し、趣をかえて、当年合巻に作りなし可申存罷在候。 (letter to Jōsai dated the twenty-sixth day of the third month of Bunsei 13)

(The book title *Jin Ping Mei* is widely known in the world, and there are therefore people who talk about it. However, in reality, there are few people who have actually read it. . . . It is this kind of obscene book. However, since its title is widely known, I created an adaptation, and, this year, made it into a *gōkan* [a type of picture book popular in the late Edo period].)

Bakin writes that while the book’s name was well-known, few people had read it. Perhaps the Japanese were gossiping about it; in China, it had been a well-known sexual book ever since its creation. Or, maybe it was well known as one of “China’s Four Classic Novels.” At any rate, around the time of Bakin it appears that its name was widely known.

Bakin, capitalizing on its popularity, created an adaptation of it. However, though it was an adaptation, he extremely disliked its sexual parts and completely removed such “poison” to make “唐本の金瓶梅とはいたくちがひ候もの” (something completely different than the original *Jin Ping Mei*; letter to Jōsai dated the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month of Tenpō 3). Through the *Shinpen Kinpeibai* mentioned at the beginning of this paper, he widely advertised that *Jin Ping Mei* was an “obscene book.”

From the Meiji period onwards, *Jin Ping Mei* would become established as an “under-the-desk book.” Was this not due to the success of Bakin’s proclamation?

Conclusion: *Jin Ping Mei*'s Subsequent Path

In closing, I will briefly summarize the path of *Jin Ping Mei* from the Meiji period onwards. Between Meiji 15 (1882) and 18, Matsumura Misao 松村操 would publish the first vernacular translation of *Jin Ping Mei*. However, due to the translator's death, it was aborted in the middle of the eleventh chapter. In Taishō 12 (1923), Inoue Kōbai 井上紅梅 published *Jin Ping Mei and the State of Chinese Society* 金瓶梅と支那の社会状態 (up to chapter 67), and in Taishō 14 (1925) Ka Kin'i 夏金畏 and Yamada Masato 山田正人 published a joint translation entitled *A Complete Translation of the Jin Ping Mei* 全訳金瓶梅 (up to chapter 22). However, all of them were abbreviated translations, omitting or blocking out sexual depictions. Despite this, both books were banned in Taishō 14 (1925). We can see how society's suppression of "obscene books" had become strict to an extent incomparable with that of the Edo period. Perhaps in a reflection of the human nature to desire to read a book once it is banned, some years earlier, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927) had written the following in a postcard dated October 19th, Taishō 5 (1916), to Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之介 (1891–1974): "I pray that you are safe in your travels. If there are no other 'obscene books,' then buy the cheapest *sekiin* (lithography) of *Jin Ping Mei* for me." It appears that at the time a cheap *sekiin* version of the original was circulating and people who could understand older vernacular Chinese enjoyed reading it "under the desk." On the other hand, it seems that for those who could not read it, its image as an enigmatic "obscene book" grew stronger and stronger.⁽¹⁴⁾

Subsequently, in 1932, the "Cihua" version, thought to be the oldest woodblock print version of *Jin Ping Mei*, was discovered in Shanxi province (after the "Zhang Zhupo" version began circulating, the "Cihua" version disappeared, and even the fact that it existed was completely forgotten). Then, a version belonging to the Tokuyama Domain was found in the Nikko mountain Rinnō-ji temple in Japan. This instantly invigorated research on *Jin Ping Mei*, and multiple translations and scholarly works were published. The translation by Ono Shinobu 小野忍 and Chida Kuichi 千田九一, based on the "Cihua" version, covers the entire book (although sexual depictions are left out to a great degree).⁽¹⁵⁾ It has been published multiple times and is still widely used. Later, a detailed translation, focusing on the incomplete sexual depictions in the Ono-Chida translation, was published,⁽¹⁶⁾ as was Tanaka Tomoyuki 田中智行's *A New Translation of the Jin Ping Mei* 新訳金瓶梅 (Chōeisha, 2018).⁽¹⁷⁾ We can finally read this difficult work in Japanese without much trouble.

There is no doubt that *Jin Ping Mei* is a novel that includes graphic and relentless sexual depictions. However, that is not the only topic that *Jin Ping Mei* covers in great detail. All kinds of everyday details are spelled out, from room furnishings, clothing and accessories, and banquet games to song lyrics. Sexual depictions are one (major) element, and *Jin Ping Mei* is certainly not a work that focuses only on those.

Is *Jin Ping Mei* an "obscene book"? The Qing-period *Jin Ping Mei* critic Zhang Zhupo offered at an early stage an answer to this question that has been asked again and again ever since the book's appearance.

凡人謂『金瓶』是淫書者、想必伊止知看其淫處也。

(Those who say that *Jin Ping Mei* is an obscene book are only looking at its obscene parts.)

Notes

* This work is the revised version of my article in *Intriguing Asia*, Vol.105 (Bensei Shuppan, 2007). This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 16K02589.

(1) See Oba Osamu 大庭脩, ed., *Research on books that came on boats from China during the Edo period 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究* (Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūsho, 1967) and (*Holdings of the Imperial Household Agency's Archives and Mausolea Department*) *List of Chinese books imported to Japan in the Edo period: with bibliographical introduction and index 宮内庁書陵部蔵舶載書目附改題* (Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūsho, 1972).

(2) Mizuno Minoru 水野稔, ed. *Compilation of sharebon 洒落本大成* vol. 1 (Chūō Kōron-sha, 1978).

(3) For details, see Takashima Toshio 高島俊男, *Shui Hu Zhuan and Japanese people: From Edo to Showa 水滸伝と日本人—江戸から昭和まで—* (Taishūkan Shoten, 1991).

(4) “*Jin Ping Mei* research and materials 『金瓶梅』の研究と資料,” in *China's eight great novels 中国の八大小説* (Heibonsha, 1965).

(5) The same understanding is found in Ono Shinobu, *Jin Ping Mei's Japanese and European translations 『金瓶梅』の邦訳・欧訳*, *Books 図書* (Iwanami Shoten, 1973–8) and Kusaka Midori 日下翠, *Jin Ping Mei: the most curious book in the world 『金瓶梅』—天下第一の奇書—* (Chūkō Shinsho, 1996).

(6) For details, see my “*The Reception of Jin ping mei in the Edo Period: Focusing on dictionaries, essay collections and late Edo period sharebon 江戸時代における『金瓶梅』の受容 (1) —辞書、随筆、洒落本を中心として—*,” *Ryukoku Kiyō*, Vol. 32, No. 1, (2010) and *Jin Ping Mei's conception and reception 『金瓶梅』の構想とその受容* (Kenbun Shuppan, 2019).

(7) Based on Ono Shinobu, *Guideposts: Chinese literature and me 道標—中国文学と私—* (Ozawa Shoten, 1979).

(8) Based on Shibata Mitsuhiko 柴田光彦 and Kanda Masayuki 神田正行, ed. *Compilation of Bakin's correspondence 馬琴書翰集成* vol. 1 (Yagi Shoten, 2002). Same source used below.

(9) A reproduction is found in *Chinese literature language studies compilation 中国文学語学集成*, part 1, vol. 1 (Fuji Shuppan, 1988).

(10) Regarding Tōyama Katō, see Ishizaki Matazo 石崎又造, *A history of Chinese vernacular literature in early modern Japan 近世日本に於ける支那俗語文学史* (Shimizu Kōbundo Shobō, 1967); Aoki Masaru 青木正児, “*Annotations on the Biography of Tōyama Katō, who was skilled in interpreting Chinese romance novels with the yueqin 伝奇小説を講じ月琴を善したる, 遠山荷塘が伝の箋*,” in *Complete works of Aoki Masaru 青木正児全集* vol. 2 (Shunjūdō, 1970); Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口剛, “*Impressions of Katō 荷塘印影*,” in *Yamaguchi Takeshi's works 山口剛著作集* vol. 6 (Chūō Kōronsha, 1972); Iwaki Hideo 岩城秀夫, “*The priest Ikkei and Kamei Shōyō 僧一圭と亀井昭陽*,” in *Collection of Eastern studies articles celebrating the long life of Dr. Mori Mikisaburō 森三樹三郎博士頌寿記念東洋学論集* (Hōyū Shoten, 1979); Tokuda Takeshi, “*Tōyama Katō to*

Hirose Tansō, Kamei Shōyō 遠山荷塘と広瀬淡窓・亀井昭陽,” in *The world of Edo Chinese studies 江戸漢学の世界* (Perikansha, 1990); Fan Keren 樊可人, “On the compilation of the *Genkai Kōchū Kohon Seisōki* by Tōyama Katō 遠山荷塘『診解校注古本西廂記』の成立経緯について,” in *Nihon Chūgoku Gakkaihō, 69th compilation, Nihon Chūgoku Gakkai, 2017*; and Fan Keren, “The *Jōga Sei*’ in by Tōyama Katō: An Inquiry into the Reception of *Minshingaku* in the Late Edo Period 遠山荷塘の『嫦娥清韻』について—江戸後期の明清楽受容に関する一考察—,” in *Tōhōgaku 東方学, 136th compilation* (Tōhōgakkai, 2018).

(11) For details, see my articles “How vernacular Chinese novels were read during the Edo period: focusing on the *Jin Ping Mei* in the Tamasato Collection of Kagashima University Library 江戸時代における白話小説の読まれ方—鹿児島大学付属図書館玉里文庫蔵「金瓶梅」を中心として—,” in *Studies of Chinese literature of the middle age 中国中世文学研究* 56 (2009) and “The *Chin Ping Mei* as a Form of ‘Material’ in Edo Japan: With Reference to Takashina Masatsune’s Reading of the *Chin Ping Mei* 江戸時代における「資料」としての『金瓶梅』—高階正巽の読みを通して—,” *Tōhōgaku, 125th compilation* (Tōhōgakkai, 2013).

(12) In Amenomori Hoshu 雨森芳洲, “*Kisso Sawa 橘窓茶話*” vol. 1, in *Compilation of Japanese zuihitsu essays 日本隨筆大成* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1928).

(13) See Konta Yōzō 今田洋三, *The Edo period’s banned books 江戸の禁書* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981) and Ōba Osamu, *Historical tales of exchange between Japan and China 日中交流史話—江戸時代の日中関係を読む—* (Nenshōsha, 2003).

(14) Also see my “*Jin Ping Mei during the Meiji and Taisho: three translations 明治・大正期の『金瓶梅』—三種の訳本を中心として—*,” in *Collection of Japan-China comparative culture articles 日中比較文化論集* (Hakuteisha, 2019).

(15) In 1948, Tōhō Shokyoku published the first book of this translation (up through chapter 40). Subsequently, the publisher was changed to Mikasa Shobō and Kawade Shobo. It was then again changed to Heibonsha, which in 1959 published all one hundred chapters in *Complete Collection of Chinese Classical Literature 中国古典文学全集* vols. 15–17; subsequently *Chinese Classical Literature Compendium 中国古典文学大系* vols. 35–37. In addition, Iwanami Shoten published a revised edition in 1973.

(16) Sakato Minomushi 坂戸みの虫, ed., trans., *Jin Ping Mei: the world of sexual desire 金瓶梅詞話—淫の世界—* (Taihei Shooku, 1999) and Tsuchiya Hideaki 土屋英明, ed., trans., *Kinpeibai [Jin Ping Mei]* (Tokuma Shoten, 2007).

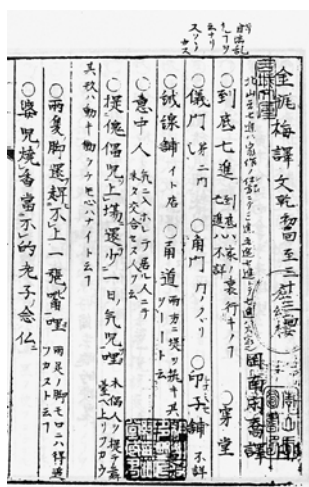
(17) Currently, only the first volume (up through chapter 33) has been published. There are plans to publish the second and third volume as well.

(かわしま ゆうこ、広島大学大学院文学研究科教授)

Professor of Chinese Literature, Graduate school of letters, Hiroshima University

【Photograph 1】 The beginning of *Kinpeibai Yakubun* (Hatano Taro's library)

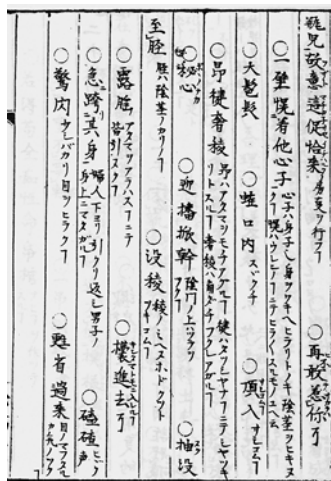
A reproduction is found in *Chinese literature language studies compilation* 中国文学語学集成 (Fuji Shuppan, 1988).



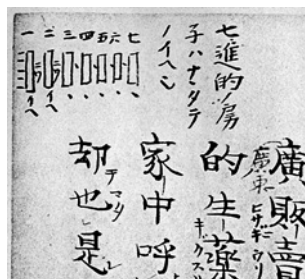
【Photograph 3】 Title characters of *Kinpeibai Yakubun* (Hatano Taro's library)



【Photograph 2】 *Kinpeibai Yakubun* Chapter 27 (Hatano Taro's library)



【Photograph 4】 Headnotes of *Jin Ping Mei* Chapter1 (The Tamazato Collection of Kagashima University Library)



【Photograph 5】 *Jin Ping Mei* Chapter27 (The Tamazato Collection of Kagashima University Library)

