

## THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE *P'O-AN CHING-CHI'*

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Toward the end of the Ming dynasty, between 1621 and 1632, there were published in China five collections of colloquial short stories: the *Yü-shih ming-yen* 喻世明言 (originally called *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* 古今小說), the *Ching-shih t'ung-yen* 警世通言, the *Hsinh-shih heng-yen* 醒世恒言, the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* 拍案驚奇, and the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i* 二刻拍案驚奇. The first three are collectively known as the *San-yen* 三言, and the last two, the *Erh-p'o* 二拍. The *San-yen* and the *Erh-p'o* contain altogether about two hundred tales, some of which are genuine "hua-pen" 話本<sup>2</sup> or story-tellers' prompt-books handed down from Sung and Yüan times; and their importance in the history of Chinese popular literature, indeed, can not be too much emphasized.

The study of these stories can be made from various approaches. One basic approach is to trace and restore the original texts of these collections, which, with the passage of time, have to a considerable extent been distorted, altered and expurgated. Only after a restoration of the texts can we read those stories in their entirety and then pass judgment upon them in their true light. With this view in mind, the present writer here attempts an investigation into the original edition of one of the five short story collections, namely the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most significant things about this work is that it was the first Chinese collection of colloquial stories all written by one author, the *San-yen* and other earlier collections of similar nature being of varied authorship. Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 in his *Sung-Yüan hsi-ch'ü k'ao* 宋元戲曲考 (*A Study of Sung and Yüan Drama*)<sup>4</sup> identifies the author Chi-k'ung-kuan Chu-jen 卽空觀主人 as Ling Meng-ch'u 凌濛初.<sup>5</sup> A further study made by another Chinese scholar Ma Lien 馬廉 definitively confirms Wang Kuo-wei's conclusion.<sup>6</sup> Ling Meng-ch'u was a native of Wu-ch'eng 烏程 which is now a part of Wu-hsing 吳興 in Chekiang. He also went by the name of Ling Po 凌波, and had two courtesy names Hsüan-fang 玄房 and Po-an (or Po-han) 波岸 and one literary name Ch'u-ch'eng 初成. He was born of a reputable literary family in the eighth year (1580) of the Wan-li 萬曆 period.<sup>7</sup> After he had for many years devoted himself to literary pursuits, he seems to have shifted his interest to governmental administration. In the seventh year (1634) of the Ch'ung-chen 崇禎 period, he secured an appointment as the assistant magistrate of Shanghai, and eight years later

he was transferred to the post of second-class assistant magistrate of Hsü-chou 徐州. He died a martyr at this post during Li Tzŭ-ch'eng's 李自成 rebellion in the year 1644. Like his contemporary Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍, the compiler of the *San-yen*, he was a scholar, a literary critic, a poet, a playwright, and, most important of all, a short story writer. Before entering upon his political career, he had written some twenty books, including the *Erh-p'o*.<sup>8</sup>

Before Ling's death, the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* had already a great vogue, but for some unknown reason, its original edition was later lost in China. In the Ch'ing period, there appeared a number of new wood block editions of the book, and curiously enough, none of them, as far as is now known, contains the same number of stories as in the original edition. The following is a list of the Ch'ing editions now still in existence:

1. The reproduced Shang-yu-t'ang 尙友堂 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). A copy of this edition, which used to belong to Ma Lien, is now in the possession of the Library of the National Peking University.<sup>9</sup>
2. The Hsiao-hsien-chü 消閒居 editions.
  - a. The thirty-six-chapter editions (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). Copies of these editions can be found in (1) the Ueno 上野 Library in Tokyo; (2) the Nagasawa Bunko 長澤文庫 of the Library of the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo 東洋文化研究所 at Tokyo University; (3) the Library of the Faculty of Letters at Kyoto University; (4) the Municipal Library of Dairen; (5) the Library of the National University of Peking; (6) the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University; (7) and the Chinese-Japanese Library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard University. Besides, an incomplete copy, with thirty-three chapters extant, is in the National Library of Peking. It is doubtful whether the original Hsiao-hsien-chü edition still exists; all these extant editions might be mere reproductions.<sup>10</sup>
  - b. The eighteen-chapter pocket edition (thirty-six stories in eighteen chapters). The Mukyūkai 無窮會 Library and the Cabinet Library in Tokyo each have a copy.<sup>11</sup>
  - c. The twenty-three-chapter pocket edition (twenty-six stories in twenty-three chapters). There is a copy in the Library of Hiroshima University.<sup>12</sup>
3. The Chü-chin-t'ang 聚錦堂 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). Katō Shigeru 加藤繁 is said to have owned a copy.<sup>13</sup>
4. The Sung-ho-chai 松鶴齋 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). There is a copy in the Shionoya On Bunko 鹽谷淵文庫 of the Library of

Tenri University.

5. The Wan-yüan-lou 萬元樓 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). A copy is in the possession of the Library of Kyoto University.
6. The T'ung-wen-t'ang 同文堂 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). A copy is owned by the Library of the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科學研究所 at Kyoto University.
7. The Shan-fei-t'ang 鯨飛堂 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters). A copy is deposited in the Chinese-Japanese Library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard University.
8. The Wen-hsiu-t'ang 文秀堂 edition (thirty-six stories in thirty-six chapters).
9. The T'ung-jen-t'ang 同人堂 edition (thirty-six stories in eighteen chapters). A copy is in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

We may remark in passing that one copy is recorded in the *Hakusai shomoku* 船載書目<sup>14</sup> and another copy is said to have been owned by the Mori毛利 family in Japan.<sup>15</sup> As nobody seems to know the present whereabouts of these two copies, it is doubtful whether they still exist. As can be seen from the above list, all extant Ch'ing editions, with the exception of one, contain thirty-six stories each. Before the discovery of the original forty-chapter edition, many scholars, in discussing the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*, had based their statements only upon these Ch'ing editions. Lu Hsün for example, in his *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-lieh* 中國小說史略 (*A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*), had described the work as containing thirty-six stories,<sup>16</sup> and his description had been repeated by many others.

As a matter of fact, the number of stories in the original edition of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* was mentioned by Ling Meng-ch'u himself in his *Introduction to the Erh-ko p'o-an ching-ch'i* 二刻拍案驚奇小引. Therein he clearly pointed out that forty stories were included in each of the *Erh-p'o*. But as the saying goes, to see is to believe. Before the appearance of a forty-chapter edition, it seems hard for one to be convinced that such an edition was actually put out. For this reason, the original content of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* had long been a baffling problem. Not until 1941 was this puzzle solved by Toyoda Minoru 豊田稷 of Tokyo University, who first came upon a copy of a forty-chapter edition in the library of "a certain temple" in Japan<sup>17</sup> and then reported it in an article entitled *Minkan yonjikkaban hakuan kyōki oyobi suiko shiden hyōrin kanbon no shutsugen* 明刊四十卷本拍案驚奇及び水滸志傳評林完本の出現 (*The Discovery of both the Ming Forty-Chapter Edition of the P'o-an ching-ch'i and the Complete Text of the Shui-hu chih-chuan p'ing-lin*).<sup>18</sup> In spite of Toyoda's discovery and

report, the full text of this edition remained inaccessible to the outside world. More than fifteen years had elapsed before the present writer, with the kind help of Japanese friends, obtained access to the book and made an investigation of its contents. This happened in August of 1956 during the author's stay in Japan.

It might be appropriate here to give a brief description of the copy just mentioned. It is bound in ten volumes and altogether contains forty stories in forty chapters. The lower left corner of the central part of each leaf bears the name "Shang-yu-t'ang" 尙友堂. Judging by the format, the workmanship of the illustrations, the style of the printed characters, and various other indications, it is without question a book published toward the end of the Ming dynasty. In all probability, it is one of the earliest copies printed from the original Shang-yu-t'ang wood blocks.

The title page remains intact. It depicts the book as a collection of "Chi-k'ung-kuan's commented and illustrated stories". The statement is true, because the book does embody a large number of marginal and interlinear comments as well as eighty beautiful illustrations—two for each story. Many people have called this book *Ch'u-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*. It must be noted here, however, that the expression "ch'u-k'o" 初刻 appears neither on the title page nor in any other part of the book. The publisher, as stated on the title page, is An Shao-yün 安少雲 from Chin-ch'ang 金岡 (Soochow).

Following the preface there is a section of five "fan-li" 凡例 or general rules, written by Ling Meng-ch'u in the first year (1628) of the Ch'ung-chen period. This year is most probably the date of publication of the book. If so, the widely accepted view that the work was published in the last year (1627) of the T'ien-ch'i 天啓 period should therefore be corrected.<sup>19</sup> The five "fan-li" are completely missing in the afore-mentioned Ch'ing editions, and their discovery throws new light upon the essential characteristics of the book. It is explicitly stated by the author that the use of a couplet for the title of each story is a practice adopted from the *Shui-hu chuan* 水滸傳 and the *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記; that an occasional realistic description of erotic affairs is not meant to make the book obscene and immoral; that the poems and songs interspersed in the text are for the most part the author's own compositions, and the adoption of some poems and songs written by others merely represents an old tradition in story-writing, not a guilt of plagiarism; that the stories, including those few about ghosts and supernatural beings, are based chiefly upon reason and fact, not upon fantasy; and that the prevailing tone of the book is didactic, as can be easily detected in the separate chapters. Important as these statements are, we should not always take the author's words too literally. His excessive emphasis upon

morality, for instance, may very well have been a pretext under which to narrate immoral affairs. In fact, a number of erotic descriptions in this book are quite daring and excessive.

The first thirty-six stories are arranged in the same order as those stories in the above-mentioned Ch'ing editions. Their titles are also the same, except for a few minor differences. Among all the extant Ch'ing editions, the reproduced Shang-yu-t'ang edition, as Wang Ku-lu 王古魯 describes it in the recently published book, the *Ch'u-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i* 初刻拍案驚奇,<sup>20</sup> probably has the closest affinity to this original edition. In the Hsiao-hsien-chü editions, there can be found numerous textual changes and misprinted characters; and what is more deplorable, the original marginal notes are all omitted from the top margins and a small number of them are mixed up with the interlinear comments, which themselves are already incomplete. In the other Ch'ing editions the situation is even worse: a great number of passages are either altered or expurgated, and the notes, whether marginal or interlinear, are in many instances completely deleted. The illustrations have also suffered badly, as there is an absolute lack of artistic workmanship in most of their Ch'ing reproductions.

It is particularly noteworthy that the four stories which are missing in the Ch'ing editions are found in this copy of the Shang-yu-t'ang edition. Just why these four stories, which constitute the last four chapters of the book, were dropped in the Ch'ing editions is difficult to explain. We know, however, that they were not cast aside because of obscenity, as there is nothing obscene about them. Their chapter numbers and titles are as follows:

Chapter 37 *Ch'ü-t'u Chung-jen k'u sha chung-sheng; Yün-chou ssü-ma ming ch'üan nei-chih.*

屈突仲任酷殺衆生；鄆州司馬冥全內侄

(Ch'ü-t'u Chung-jen kills living beings in a cruel way; the Yün-chou prefect saves the son of his wife's brother in Hades.)

Chapter 38 *Chan chia-ts'ai hen-hsü tu chih; yen ch'in-mo hsiao-nü ts'ang erh.*

占家財狠婿妬侄；延親脈孝女藏兒

(With intent to seize the family property, the malicious son-in-law becomes jealous of the nephew; in order to prolong her father's family line, the filial daughter hides his son.)

Chapter 39 *Ch'iao-shih t'ien-shih jang han-pa; ping-ch'eng hsien-ling chao kan-lin.*

喬勢天師禳旱魃；秉誠縣令召甘霖

(The presumptuous heavenly teacher seeks to expel the drought demon; the sincere magistrate calls for a timely rain.)

Chapter 40 *Hua-yin tao tu feng i-k'o; Chiang-ling Chün san ch'ai hsien-shu.*

華陰道獨逢異客；江陵郡三拆仙書

(On the Hua-yin road, a stranger is encountered alone; in Chiang-ling Prefecture, the immortal's third letter is opened.)

Except for some minor textual differences, Chapter 38 is the same as the thirtieth chapter of the *Chin-ku ch'i-kuan*, which is entitled *Nien ch'in-en hsiao-nü ts'ang erh* 念親恩孝女藏兒 (*Remembering Her Father's Kindness, the Filial Daughter Hides His Son*). Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第 in his preface to the Ya-tung 亞東 edition of the *Chin-ku ch'i-kuan*<sup>21</sup> fails to answer the question as to the source of the thirtieth chapter just mentioned. Now we know for sure that it was selected from the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*. The story itself is similar to, and probably based upon, the Yüan play under the title of *San chia-ts'ai t'ien tz'u lao-sheng-erh* 散家財天賜老生兒 (*Having Distributed His Wealth, the old Man Is Rewarded with an Heir by Heaven*), written by Wu Han-ch'en 武漢臣.

Chapters 37, 39, and 40 all have their predecessors in the Sung encyclopedia *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記. To be more specific, Chapter 37 is based upon the tale *Ch'ü-t'u Chung-jen* 屈突仲任 in Chapter 100 of the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*; Chapter 39, upon the tale *Ti Wei-ch'ien* 狄惟謙 in Chapter 396; and Chapter 40, upon the tale *Li Chün* 李君 in Chapter 157<sup>22</sup>. In the process of rewriting these tales, Ling Meng-ch'ü naturally added new episodes and described things in greater detail.

A few years ago, also in Japan there was discovered a thirty-nine-chapter copy of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*. It used to belong to Hosono Endō 細野燕堂,<sup>23</sup> and is now in the possession of the Library of Hiroshima University. By comparing it with the forty-chapter copy, we can find that this copy, with the exception of the title page, the table of contents, two leaves of illustrations, and the text of one story, is definitely a later printing from the original Shang-yu-t'ang wood blocks. In view of the fact that two leaves of illustrations in this copy really belong in the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*,<sup>24</sup> the printing must have been made after the publication of the *Erh-k'o*.

On the title page of the Hiroshima University copy, there appears the expression "*ch'u-k'o*". It seems obvious that it was added by the publisher to distinguish this book from the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i* then already published. Besides, one also finds that the original publisher's name and his advertising note are both omitted from the title page. In all probability, when this later printing was made, the original wood blocks, already incomplete at that time, had fallen into the hands of a new owner.

In contrast to the forty-chapter copy, this copy is rather poorly printed, and many parts of it are in a blurred condition. It is especially true of the illustrations, which make up only thirty leaves including two leaves taken from the *Erh-k'o*.<sup>25</sup> There can be found no illustrations for eleven of the thirty-nine

stories that are actually included in this book.<sup>26</sup> This is another indication that some of the original wood blocks had been lost or worn out at the time when this copy was printed.

We should also call attention to the fact that the last story of the forty-chapter copy appears as Chapter 23 in this copy and the original twenty-third story<sup>27</sup> is entirely dropped here. The question arises: Where has the original Chapter 23 gone? The answer to this question can be found in a copy of the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*, which is now in the custody of the Cabinet Library in Tokyo. As we know, the *Erh-k'o* was also published by the Shang-yu-t'ang. In all probability, the book contained forty stories when it first appeared. The Cabinet Library copy has only thirty-nine stories, and its fortieth chapter is a play,<sup>28</sup> not a story. It is most likely that this play is a later insertion, not the original fortieth chapter of the *Erh-k'o*. Interestingly enough, we also find that Chapter 23 of the Cabinet Library copy of the *Erh-k'o* is the same as Chapter 23 of the forty-chapter copy of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*. In the judgment of the present writer who has compared these two chapters, they were definitely printed from the same wood blocks. It is obvious, then, that the Cabinet Library copy actually has only thirty-eight *Erh-k'o* stories and its Chapter 23 should really belong in the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*. It might have been printed at a time when the blocks for two of the original forty stories of the *Erh-k'o* had been lost or destroyed. Confronted with such a situation, the publisher might have taken the liberty of picking one chapter from the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* and putting it in the *Erh-k'o* in order to have an equal distribution of stories in both collections. It is quite possible that the thirty-nine-chapter copy of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* was produced under these circumstances.

It is also to be mentioned that, as the present writer has found out, the fortieth chapter of the temple copy and the twenty-third chapter of the Hiroshima University copy, representing as they do the same story, are not printed from the same wood blocks. The later is no doubt a reproduction of the former. On the whole, the reproduced text is a poor one. There are quite a few typographical differences or errors in it. Besides, it does not retain the calligraphic elegance and beauty of the original.

To sum up, the Japanese temple copy of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* does represent the original forty-chapter Shang-yu-t'ang edition. Its discovery has enabled us to have a full understanding of the original contents of the book and to solve many problems which have for a long time puzzled scholars. After a lapse of more than three hundred years, this copy is found still in good condition except for loss of two leaves of text, which fortunately can be replaced from the Hiroshima University copy. The latter copy, containing thirty-nine chapters,

is largely a later impression from the original Shang-yu-t'ang wood blocks, and partly a reproduction. Its general contents, its printing condition and its dropping of the original Chapter 23 throw new light upon the evolution of the editions of both the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* and the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*. The temple copy and the Hiroshima University copy are the only two extant copies of the original Shang-yu-t'ang edition published toward the end of the Ming dynasty. In the study of the *Erh-p'o*, their value is indeed inestimable.

## NOTES

1. The author wishes to thank all his Japanese friends for their kind help with the present study. He is particularly grateful to Professor Nagasawa Kikuya who has given him both oral and written advice as to the editions of the *Erh-p'o*. The last four chapters of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* in its original form will be annotated and reprinted in the next issue of the *Tsing Hua Journal*.
2. Genuine "hua-pen" are to be distinguished from the "hua-pen" written by men of letters in imitation of the prompt-books of the storytellers. For information on this distinction, see Lu Hsün 魯迅, *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-lüeh* 中國小說史略 (reprinted edition, Peking, 1952), Ch. 13, pp. 123-131; Ch. 21, pp. 206-217.
3. In the study of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i*, the author has made use of a number of writings by others. For the information of the reader, some important ones are listed as follows:
  - (1) Shionoya On 鹽谷澗, "Mindai no tsuzoku tampen shosetsu" 明代の通俗短篇小説, *Kaizo* 改造, Vol. 8 (1926), No. 8, pp. 130-140.
  - (2) \_\_\_\_\_, "Min no shosetsu [sangen] ni tsuite" 明の小説「三言」に就て, *Shibun* 斯文, Vol. 8 (1926), No. 5, pp. 309-319; No. 6, pp. 375-396; No. 7, pp. 468-479.
  - (3) Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也, "Futatabi denki yonjussu to hakusai shomoku to no kankei ni tsuite" 再び傳奇四十種と舶載書目との關係について, *Shibun*, Vol. 8 (1926), No. 8, pp. 558-563.
  - (4) \_\_\_\_\_, "[Sangen] [nihaku] ni tsuite" 「三言」「二拍」はついで, *Shibun*, Vol. 10 (1928), No. 9, pp. 592-616; Vol. 11 (1929), No. 5, pp. 377-385.
  - (5) \_\_\_\_\_, "Genzon Mindai shosetsusho kankosha hyo shoko" 現存明代小説書刊行者表初稿, *Shoshigaku* 書誌學, Vol. 3 (1934), No. 3, pp. 171-178; No. 5, pp. 277-280.
  - (6) \_\_\_\_\_, "Geh Min ryōchō ni okeru gikyoku shōsetsu no shoshigaku teki kōsatsu" 元明兩朝に於ける戯曲小説書誌學的考察, *Kangakukai zasshi*



- 漢學會雜誌, Vol. 4 (1936), No. 2, pp. 224-238.
- (7) \_\_\_\_\_, "Kazō Chūgoku shōsetsu shomoku" 家藏中國小說書目, *Shoshigaku*, Vol. 8 (1937), No. 5, pp. 195-199.
- (8) \_\_\_\_\_, "「Sangen」shomei hampon zoku kō" 「三言」書名板本續考, *Shoshigaku*, Vol. 13 (1939), No. 3, pp. 57-64.
- (9) \_\_\_\_\_, "「Hakuan kyōki」kō" 「拍案驚奇」考 (an unpublished article written in January, 1956).
- (10) Toyoda Minoru 豊田稷, "Bōzan hōko kanshoroku" 某山法庫觀書錄 *Shoshigaku*, Vol. 16 (1941), No. 6, pp. 143-150.
- (11) \_\_\_\_\_, "Minkan yonjikkaban hakuan kyōki oyobi suiko shiden hyōrin kanbon no shutsugen" 明刊四十卷本拍案驚奇及び水滸志傳評林完本の出現, *Shibun*, Vol. 23 (1941), No. 6, pp. 34-40.
- (12) Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, "Wahon no seikaku ni tsuite" 話本の性格について, *Toho gakuho* 東方學報, Part 3 (1941), No. 12, pp. 411-436.
- (13) Ma Lien 馬廉, trans., "Ming-tai chih t'ung-su tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo" 明代之通俗短篇小說, *K'ung-te yüeh-k'an* 孔德月刊, Nos. 1 and 2 (1926). This article is a Chinese translation of Shionoya On's "Mindai no tsūzoku tampen shōsetsu", with notes by the translator.
- (14) \_\_\_\_\_, "Kuan-yü pai-hua tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo 「san-yen」 「erh-p'o」" 關於白話短篇小說「三言」「二拍」, *Yü-ssu* 語絲, No. 111 (December 25, 1926), pp. 1-6.
- (15) Lu Hsün, *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-lüeh*. See Note 2.
- (16) Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第, "San-yen erh-p'o yüan-liu k'ao" 三言二拍源流考, *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing T'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an* 國立北平圖書館館刊, Vol. 5 (1931), No. 2, pp. 11-62.
- (17) \_\_\_\_\_, *Lun Chung-kuo tuan-p'ien pai-hua hsiao-shuo* 論中國短篇白話小說 (Shanghai, 1953).
- (18) \_\_\_\_\_, *Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu* 中國通俗小說書目 (rev. ed., Peking, 1957).
- (19) Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸, "Pai Kuo-chia T'u-shu-kuan aung chih Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo yü hsi-ch'ü" 巴黎國家圖書館中之中國小說與戲曲, in his *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh lun-chi* 中國文學論集 (2 vols., Shanghai, 1934; 3rd ed., 1949), Vol. 2, pp. 409-462.
- (20) \_\_\_\_\_, "Ming-Ch'ing erh-tai te p'ing-hua chi" 明清二代的平話集, in his *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh lun-chi*, Vol. 2, pp. 530-677.
- (21) Ch'en Ju-heng 陳汝衡, *Shuo-shu hsiao-shih* 說評小史 (Shanghai, 1936).
- (22) Chao Ching-shen 趙景深, *Hsiao-shuo hsien-hua* 小說閒話 (Shanghai, 1937).
- (23) \_\_\_\_\_, *Hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'ü hsien-k'ao* 小說戲曲新考 (Shanghai, 1939).

- (24) Hsu Shih-nien 徐士年, *Ku-tien hsiao-shuo lun-chi* 古典小說論集 (Shanghai, 1955).
- (25) T'an Cheng-pi 譚正璧, *Hua-pen yü ku-chü* 話本與古劇 (Shanghai, 1956).
- (26) Wang Ku-lu 王古魯, ed., *Ch'u-k'o p'o-an-ching-ch'i* 初刻拍案驚奇 (Shanghai, 1957).
- (27) \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Erh-k'o p'o-an-ching-ch'i* 二刻拍案驚奇 (Shanghai, 1957).
- (28) Paul Pelliot, "Le Kin kou k'i kouan", *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1925), pp. 54-50.
- (29) A. Waley, "Notes on the History of Chinese Popular Literature", *T'oung Pao*, No. 3-5 (1932), pp. 346-354.
- (30) Jaroslav Průšek, "Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel", *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. 11 (1939), No. 1, pp. 91-132; Vol. 23 (1955), No. 4, pp. 620-662.
- (31) \_\_\_\_\_, "New Studies of the Chinese Colloquial Short Story", *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. 25 (1957), No. 3, pp. 452-499.
- (32) J. I. Crump, Jr., "*P'ing-hua* and the Early History of the *San-kuo Chih*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 71 (1951), No. 4, pp. 249-256.
- (33) Cyril Birch, "Some Formal Characteristics of the *Hua-pen* Story", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 17 (1955), Part 1, pp. 346-364.
- (34) \_\_\_\_\_, "Feng Meng-lung and the *Ku chin hsiao shuo*", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 18 (1956), Part 1, pp. 64-83.
- (35) John Lyman Gishop, *The Colloquial Short Story in China: A Study of the San-Yen Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).
4. The *Sung-Yüan hsi-ch'ü k'ao* is also known as *Sung-Yüan hsi-ch'ü shih* 宋元戲曲史, which was published by the Commercial Press in 1915.
5. See Sun K'ai-ti, "San-yen erh-p'o yuan-liu k'ao" (already cited in Note 3), p. 41. In the eleventh section of his *Sung-Yüan hsi-ch'ü k'ao*, Wang Kuo-wei quotes briefly from "Ling Meng-ch'u's preface to the *Hsi-hsiang chi* 西廂記". As we know, this preface is really the one that appears under the authorship of "Chi-k'ung-kuan" in Min Ch'i chi's 閔齊伋 edition of the same play. Wang Kuo-wei seems to have made the identification on the basis of Ling Meng-ch'u's seals that occur under the sign-

- ature of Chi-k'ung-kuan in Min Ch'i-chi's edition. See A. Waley, "Notes on the History of Chinese Popular Literature" (already cited in Note 3), pp 351-352.
6. See Ma Lien, trans., "Ming-tai chih t'ung-su tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo" (already cited in Note 3),
  7. Many scholars including Sun K'ai-ti have placed the birth date of Ling Meng-ch'u around the year 1584. According to Yeh Te-chun 葉德均 an authority on the life of Ling Mengch'u, he was definitely born in the year 1530. See Wang Ku-lu's introduction to the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i* (already cited in Note 3).
  8. Most of Ling Meng-ch'u's works are listed in the *Hu-chou Fu chih* 湖州府志 (wood block edition, 1874), ch. 59, and the *Wu-ch'eng Hsien chih* 烏程縣志 (wood block edition, 1881), ch. 31. A comparatively more complete list is given in Wang Ku-lu's introduction to the *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*
  9. See Wang Ku-lu's introduction to the *Ch'u-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i* (already cited in Note 3). After a careful investigation, Wang Ku-lu found that this reproduced edition was most probably put out after the fall of the Ming dynasty. See Appendix 2 in Wang Ku-lu, ed., *Ch'u-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*, p. 735.
  10. Another copy of an early Hsiao-hsien-chu edition is mentioned by Nagasawa Kikuya in his "[Sangen.] [nihaku.] ni tsuite" (already cited in Note 3), *Shibun*, Vol. 10, No. 9, p. 610. It used to belong to the Library of the Yenching College of Chinese Studies at Peking. What has happened to it now is yet to be found out.
  11. As is described on the title page of the Mukyūkai copy, the wood blocks for this edition were cut in 1816.
  12. The wood blocks for this edition were cut in 1778.
  13. As can be seen from the title page of this copy, the edition was published in 1734. For information on this copy, see Nagasawa Kikuya, "[Sangen.] [nihaku.] ni tsuite", *Shibun*, Vol. 10, No. 9, pp. 610 and 616.
  14. See Nagasawa Kikuya, "[Sangen.] [nihaku.] ni tsuite", *Shibun*, Vol. 10, No. 9, pp. 611-612.
  15. See Nagasawa Kikuya, "Futatabi denki yonjussu to hakusai shomoku to no kankai ni tsuite" (already cited in Note 3), p. 563; "[Sangen.] [nihaku.] ni tsuite", *Shibun*, Vol. 11, No. 5, pp. 377-378.
  16. See Lu Hsun, *Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih-lieh* (already cited in Note 2),

p. 211.

17. The temple is called "Rinnōji" 輪玉寺 and is situated in Nikko. This copy of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* is said to have been purchased by the famous Abbot Tenkai 天海 of the Rinnōji at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. Wang Ku-lu, who visited the Rinnōji at the same time with Toyoda Minoru, has mentioned the name and location of the temple as well as the name of the famous abbot. See Appendix 3 in Wang Ku-lu, ed., the *Ch'u-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i*, p. 742. When the present writer visited the temple in 1956, the book was deposited in the temple proper, not in the Jigendō 慈眼堂 which is some distance away. The Jigendō is a hall dedicated to the memory of Tenkai.
18. This article has been cited in Note 3.
19. Before the discovery of the temple copy, many scholars thought that the original edition of the *P'o-an ching-ch'i* was put out in 1627. Shionoya On, Lu Hsun, Ma Lien and Sun K'ai-ti, for instance, all held this view.
20. This book has been cited in Note 3.
21. See Sun K'ai-ti, "*Chin-ku ch'i kuan hsü*" 今古奇觀序, P. 12, in *Chin-ku ch'i-kuan* 今古奇觀 (Ya-tung Tu-shu-kuan 亞東圖書館, Shanghai, 1933).
22. See *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記 (Photolithographic reproduction of a Ming edition, Wen-yu-t'ang 文友堂, Peiping, 1934). Also see Toyoda Minoru, "Minkan yonjikkaban hakuan kyōki oyobi suiko shiden hyōrin kanbon no shutsugen", p. 36.
23. See Nagasawa Kikuya, "Hakuan kyōki kō" (cited in Note 3).
24. The two leaves of illustrations belong to the following two chapters of the *Erh-k'o*:
  - (1) Chapter 3 Ch'uan hsueh-shih ch'uan jen yuan-hsiang ku;  
Pai ju-jen pai chia ch'in-sheng nu.  
權學士權認遠鄉姑; 白孺人白嫁親生女。
  - (2) Chapter 7 Lu shih-chun ch'ing kou huan-chia ch'i;  
Wu t'ai-shou i p'ei ju-men nu.  
呂使君情媾宦家妻; 吳太守義配儒門女。

It is to be noted that each of the two leaves contains two illustrations. There are altogether four illustrations—two for each chapter.
25. The two leaves taken from the *Erh-k'o* have just been described in Note 24. The other twenty-eight leaves are those for Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 37.

26. The illustrations for Chapters 6, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23 (Chapter 40 in the forty-chapter copy), 30, 36, 38, and 39 are found missing.
27. The original twenty-third story is entitled "Pa-tzũ hun yu wan su-yuan; hsiao-i ping ch'i hsu ch'ien-yuan 大姊魂游完宿願; 小姨病起續前緣".
28. The play is entitled "Sung Kung-ming nao yuan-hsiao tsa-chu 宋公明鬧元霄雜劇".

## 拍案驚奇的原刊本

李 田 意

二言二拍是在明末出版的五部話本集子，每部包括話本四十篇，合之共為二百篇。其中不僅包括明朝人自己所作的話本，而且當時尚遺存於人間的宋元舊本也多半被蒐羅在內。這五部集子在中國白話文學史中所佔地位之重要，已為學界所週知，勿待詳贅。這五部集子問世以後，曾經風靡一時。後來因為明末清初的變亂以及其他種種關係，各集的原刊本竟一一在中國佚失。單就拍案驚奇一書而言，在清代雖曾有各種新刊本出現，但是大多數都是三十六卷本，沒有一種是保持着原刊四十卷本的全貌的。據本文作者的調查，現存的拍案驚奇清刊本有以下九種：

一、覆尚友堂本（三十六卷，三十六篇）—馬廉氏曾藏一部，現已歸北京大學圖書館所有。

二、消閒居本

a. 三十六卷本（三十六篇）—東京上野圖書館、東京大學東洋文化研究所圖書館、長澤文庫、京都大學文學部圖書館、大連市圖書館、北京大學圖書館、耶魯大學圖書館、哈佛大學哈佛燕京學社漢和圖書館各藏一部。北京圖書館亦藏一部，殘存三十三卷。前北京燕京華文學校曾有一部，現在誰屬，不得而知。這些三十六卷本不盡為同版。據作者所知，以上野、大連、華文學校、京都大學、耶魯大學諸本為最古，但亦未必是消閒居原本。

b. 十八卷巾箱本（三十六篇）—東京無窮會圖書館及內閣文庫各藏一部。

c. 二十三回巾箱本（二十六篇）—廣島大學圖書館藏一部。

三、聚錦堂本（三十六卷，三十六篇）—加藤繁氏曾有一部。

四、松鶴齋本（三十六卷、三十六篇）—天理大學圖書館、鹽谷溫文庫藏一部。

五、萬元樓本（三十六卷，三十六篇）—京都大學圖書館藏一部。

- 六、同文堂本（三十六卷，三十六篇）—京都大學人文科學研究所圖書館藏一部。
- 七、鱧飛堂本（三十六卷，三十六篇）—哈佛大學哈佛燕京學社漢和圖書館藏一部。
- 八、文秀堂本（三十六卷，三十六篇）。
- 九、同人堂本（三十六卷，三十六篇）—巴黎國家圖書館藏一部。

此外，舶載書目裡記載了一部，據云日本毛利家亦曾有一部。但是這兩部書今日何在，已無從得知了。

一九四一年日人豐田穰氏與我國王古魯氏同訪日光輪王寺，在寺中見到一部明尚友堂刊四十卷本拍案驚奇。隨後豐田穰氏發表了一篇論文，題目為“明刊四十卷本拍案驚奇及水滸志傳評林完本之出現”，從此世人得知拍案驚奇原書乃尚友堂所刊行，而且確為四十卷。一九五六年本文作者因機緣湊巧，竟亦得覩此天壤間之秘笈，並將其本文詳細校閱了一遍。本書有凡例五則，不見於清刊本，凡例之末題“崇禎戊辰初冬卽空觀主人識”，可知此書當刊行於一六二八年，並非如許多學者所言刊行於一六二七年。此書有封面一頁及插圖四十葉（八十幅），均極美觀。本文除卷十二缺第十四葉及卷三十五缺第八葉外，皆完整無恙。

數年前日本又出現了一部三十九卷本拍案驚奇。此書原屬於細野燕堂氏，現已屬於廣島大學圖書館。當本文作者在日本的時候，曾經將此書和輪王寺的四十卷本對照了一遍，乃知此書乃尚友堂原刊後印本。但是為什麼只有三十九卷呢？原來四十卷本裏的第二十三卷（“大姊魂游完宿願；小姨病起續前緣”）在此書裏已被刪去，而另以四十卷本中之第四十卷（“華陰道獨逢異客；江陵郡三拆仙書”）的本文改為第二十三卷。本文作者曾將四十卷本拍案驚奇裏的第二十三卷和內閣文庫所藏二刻拍案驚奇一書裏的第二十三卷詳細比較，乃知二者完全為同版所出，那就是說，在三十九卷本拍案驚奇裏被刪去的第二十三卷被放在一種後印的二刻裏了。按內閣文庫所藏之二刻本雖為四十篇，而最後一篇乃係雜劇，並非話本，顯然不是二刻原書的第四十卷。其餘三十九篇有一篇（即第二十三卷）係來自拍案驚奇，所以實際上只有三十八篇是真正屬於二刻原書的。大概在印行內閣文庫所藏二刻本的時候，二刻原書的第二十三卷和第四十卷的板子已經殘闕或毀壞了，印行的人乃以拍案驚奇

原書中的第二十三卷補入，這樣，初二集乃各有話本三十九篇。

在三十九卷本拍案驚奇的封面上出現了“初刻”字樣。同時，三十九卷本裏只有插圖三十葉，其中有兩葉乃係二刻一書裏第三卷（“權學士權認遠鄉姑；白孺人白嫁親生女”）及第七卷（“呂使君情媾宦家妻；吳太守義配儒門女”）的插圖。可知三十九卷本拍案驚奇之出現必在二刻原書印行之後。再者，據本文作者的觀察，三十九卷本拍案驚奇裏的第二十三卷和四十卷本裏的第四十卷雖內容相同，而並不是同板。換而言之，三十九卷本裏的第二十三卷非出自原板，而係重刻。從這些情形看來，當此三十九卷本印行的時候，拍案驚奇原書的板子也已經殘闕不全了。

據吾人目前所知，拍案驚奇的尚友堂原刊本只有以上所說的兩部書尚存留人間。一部是四十卷足本，乃原刊初印本；一部是三十九卷本，除一小部分有更動並有重刻現象不計外，大致說來乃原刊後印本。前者除有兩葉本文已佚失外，仍然完整無恙。但是失去的兩葉尚可以用後者配補。如此，則拍案驚奇原書可以完全恢復舊觀了。從研究拍案驚奇的原刊本上說，這兩部書是有莫大的價值的。

當本文作者在日本作研究工作的時候，曾經得到許多日本學者和朋友們的幫助，令人非常感激。廣島大學和輪王寺曾給予種種便利，尤為可感。長澤規矩也先生並曾多方教導，作者在此謹向他致無限的謝意。