

An Ideal Penis for Men

— Comparative study

on the ideas about the organs for sexual activities
in Histories of China and Japan—

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1. Introduction

This paper is a tentative study on the cultural factors observed in the conceptions of “body”, especially of the male genital organs, in the histories in China as well as in Japan.

Chinese sex manuals, known as *Fangzhongshu* 房中術 (the Art of the Bedchamber) has traditionally paid great attentions on the state of male sexual organ, which is partly natural as the extant literature of the genre was apparently addressed to male audience.¹ Such attentiveness on the penis paradoxically reveals their scheme of “the ideal penis” for men. As these concerns were fundamentally observed in the literature of the Art of the Bedchamber, they were possibly “ideal” only in technical terms, or for sexual activities. Yet, we start to wonder such phalli-centric attitude contains certain cultural factors as well, especially when we compare Chinese sex manuals with Japanese sex-related literature.

Being greatly influenced by traditions of Chinese sexual art,² Japanese

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¹ For the readership of the sexual art, see for instance, Sumiyo Umekawa, *Sex and Immortality- A Study of Chinese Sexual Activities for Better-Being*, a PhD thesis presented to School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 2004. p.125, Footnote 443.

² Early state of Japanese sexology was based on early tradition of the sexual art in China, which were quoted in Tanba no Yasuyori's *Ishinpō* 医心方. From the Muromachi period onward, there were seemingly new arrivals of Chinese erotic literature composed after the Song, of which

literature on sex, most of which were produced especially during the Edo period (1603-1867), share several points concerning the penis with Chinese manuals of the genre. The best instance should be the size of the organ, which could have been the most concerned matter all over the world. Nonetheless, there are clear differences in notions about the organ between these two countries, too. For instance, Japanese care about what can be regarded as beauty of the phallus, on which Chinese pay no attention. Certainly, the entry of beauty amongst the conditions of “the ideal penis” cannot be technical reasons, nor for the sake of sexual activities. It should be something to do with cultural causes.

In order to see cultural aspects underlying in the differences between two countries, this paper examine the written statements about the penis first. We begin with the brief investigation on Chinese articles, which is followed by the short survey on Japanese documents. Then, we consider the ideas of “masculinity” or “phallocraticness” in Chinese culture carried on the back of the concept of “ideal penis”, in comparison with those in Japanese culture. It will be investigated

representative should be *Sunü Miaolun* 素女妙論, of which compilation date would be sometimes during the Ming. As for *Ishinpō*, see Sugitachi Yoshikazu 杉立義一. 1991. *Ishinpō no Denrai* 医心方の伝来 (Transmission of Prescriptions from *Ishinpō*). Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan. As for *Sunnü Miaolun* and its impact in Japan, see Machi Senjyuro 町泉寿郎, *Nihon ni Okeru Bōchūsho to Sono Rekishi teki Hensen* 日本における房中書とその歴史的変遷(Literature of the Sexual Art in Japan and Their Historical Changes), in *Dai Jyūyon Kai Nicchū Dentō Igaku Gakujyutsu Kōjyūkai Tokyo Taikai—Yōsei, Nisen Nendai no Kenkō to Chōjyu no Tameni...Kōen Naiyō Shū* 第十四回日中伝統医学学術交流会東京大会—養生—2000年代の健康と長寿のために—公演内容集(The 14th Congress on Japanese and Chinese Traditional Medicine, Meeting at Tokyo ~ Nourishing Life ~ For Health and Longevity for the 2000's). 1999 pp.55~70; Yamazaki Mituo 山崎光夫, *Sengoku Bushō no Yōjyōkun* 戦国武将の養生訓(Instruction on Nourishing Life for Worriers during the Warring States Period), Tokyo, Shinchōsha, 2004. As for the introduction of and impact from the literature of the later Chinese sexual art, see Umekawa Sumiyo 梅川純代, *Bōchū Seiai Gihō no Nicchū Kōryūshi—Kōki Bōchūsho ha Nihon ni Tutawattanoka* 房中性愛技法の日中交流史—後期房中書は日本に伝わったのか(The History between Japan and China on Sexual Techniques of the Art of the Bedchamber—Have the Literature of the Later Tradition of the Sexual Art Been Transmitted to Japan?). In Tanaka Fumio and Terry Kleeman eds. *Dōkyo to Kyōsei Shisō* 道教と共生思想(Daoism and Symbiotic Ideas). Tokyo. Kawade Shobo, 2009, pp.87-115.

through the following three features; 1. A devotional appreciation toward the “gigantic phallus”; 2. A phallogocentric approach for heterosexual activities with slight on vagina; 3. Whereabouts of the responsibility for sexual pleasure. By so doing, the paper will see the complexity of Chinese ideas of “masculinity” or “phallogocentricity”, and “gender equivalence” within the tradition of Chinese sexual art.

2. Statements on the Penis in Chinese Sex Related Materials

Chinese sex manuals of which emergence cannot be later than the middle of Warring States Periods³ have considerably long history. So far as I reckon, this long tradition can be understood in two historical phases, by the end of the Tang and from the Song onward.⁴ Although there are still plenty to argue for this clarification, this paper will tentatively adopt this division for the convenience of the following discussions. Thus, what this paper will call as “the early art of the bedchamber” is the ideas and techniques observed in the documents compiled before the end of the Tang dynasty, which was roughly understood in terms of “medicine” by the current Chinese people. “The later art of the bedchamber”, on the other hand, indicates those seen in materials written after the Song dynasty, which was vaguely conceived as techniques for “Daoism” by contemporary

³ See for instance, He Jiajun 何介鈞 and Zhang Weiming 張維明 ed. 1982. *Mawangdui Hanmu* 馬王堆漢墓 (Mawangdui Han Tombs). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe. pp. 6-7, p.10; Zhou Shirong 周世榮. 1979. “*Tantan Mawangdui Sanhao Hanmu de Jiandu* 談談馬王堆三號漢墓的簡牘 (Discussing about epistles from Mawangdui no.3 Tomb)”. In Hunanxing Bowuguan 湖南省博物館 ed. *Mawangdui Hanmu Yanjiu* 馬王堆漢墓研究 (Studies on Mawangdui Han Tombs). Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe. pp. 338-339; Harper, Donald. 1997. *Early Chinese Medical Literature---The Mawangdui Manuscripts*. London, New York: Kegan Paul International. pp. 4-5.

⁴ As for the conceptual shift on sexual art in Chinese history, see Umekawa, 2004, PhD thesis, pp.20-37. As for the temporary clarification of the early and later traditions, see Umekawa, 2009, footnote 2 and 3. Also see Umekawa Sumiyo, *The Birth of Aphrodisiacs —The Value on Sexual Pleasure in the Art of the Bedchamber after the Song dynasty*, a paper presented at ICHS 2005 at Beijing, 24th, July, 2005a.

Chinese people.⁵

In addition to sex manuals of both the early and later traditions, this section will survey the accounts on the penis seen in several literary works, especially in those called *yanqing xiaoshuo* 艷情小說 in Chinese, Novels on Voluptuous Feelings. This is because of the comparative purpose of this paper. Japanese literature on sex, as we will see later, is not precisely the “sex manuals” in Chinese way to talk about how to do sex. They usually contain two features of being a guide for sexual life and an erotic reading for fun. Thus, comparison only between such half manual and half entertaining articles with the literature of the Art of the Bedchamber would not be very appropriate. It is because of the matters on supposed audiences. The former was addressing to rather wide variation of people from the commoners to dilettantes or experts on sex, while the latter was supposedly written for the serious practitioners of the sexual art, though the

⁵ This generalization is based on the survey of bibliographic chapters in standard histories. The first surviving reference to the sexual art can be found in the bibliographic chapter of the 漢書, which categorises the sexual art in a section of “方技”, altogether with the medical techniques (“醫經” and “經方”) and those for the immortals (神僊). The later bibliographies in the following standard histories, such as the 隋書, 舊唐書 and 新唐書 categorise the sexual art under the section of medicine, although a section for “道經” in the first text states to involve thirteen divisions of “房中” and thirty eight *juan* of texts. As pointed out by Douglas Wile, it is in the 宋史 that the sexual art became to be involved in Daoist section. As for the following standard histories, I have used the collated and punctuated edition. 漢書. Compiled by 班固(32-92 A.D.) around 100 A.D. 1996. 北京: 中華書局. 卷三十. “藝文志”. pp1776-1779. 隋書. Compiled by 魏徵(580-643) et al., in 636. 1973. 北京: 中華書局. 卷三十四, 卷三十五. “經籍志”. pp.1050-1051, p.1091. 舊唐書. Compiled by 劉煦(887-946), in 945. 1975. 北京: 中華書局. 卷四十七. “經籍志”. p.2051. 新唐書. Completed by 歐陽修(1007-1072), in 1060. 1975. 北京: 中華書局. 卷五十九. “藝文志”. p.1570. 宋史. Compiled by 脫脫(1313-1355), in 1345. 1977. 北京: 中華書局. 卷二百六, 卷二百七, pp.5202-5313. Wile, Douglas. 1992. Art of the Bedchamber---Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics Including Women’s Solo Meditation Texts. Albany: State University of New York Press. p.24. Although most of the standard histories were compiled in later periods, they reflect the notion during the relevant dynasties to certain extent, as was the clarification of the sexual art in the 宋史 which corresponded with another bibliography composed during the Song dynasty. See 通志. Compiled by 鄭樵 (1104-1162), in 1161. 1935. 上海: 商務院書館. 卷六十七. “藝文”. pp787-794.

literature should have enjoyed larger variety of readers.⁶ Therefore, taking the expressions observed in Novels on Voluptuous Feelings into accounts would serve us more common and popular view on the genital organ shared in China, in addition to the expertised view we have from literature of the Art. It should be noted, however, the number of stories examined in this paper is very limited⁷ and therefore we cannot assume the outcome we have at the end of this section as more than a clue.

⁶ 白行簡, the preface of *Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu* 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦 (*The Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang Songs of Great Satisfaction in Sexual Pleasure*) suggests the circle of literati where apparently Bai belonged had read certain sex manuals, like 洞玄子 and 素女經. Also, one part of this particular poem suggests the rather frequent and common use of sex manual for fun. See for instance, *Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu* 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦 (*The Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang Songs of Great Satisfaction in Sexual Pleasure*) In. Ye Dehui ed. *Shuanmei jingan congshu* 双梅影閣行書 (The Collection of Shadow under Double Pram Trees), Changsha, 1914, p.1-2. Also see Sumiyu Umekawa, “*Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu* in Comparison with Other Literature of the Art of the Bedchamber”. In Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen ed. *Medieval Chinese Medicine : The Dunhuang medical manuscripts*. Routledge Curzon, London, 2003a, pp.253-77.

⁷ I have consulted with the following novels. *Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅 (The Golden Lotus), *Chibozi Chuan* 痴婆子伝 (Biography of Crazy Old Lady), compiled by Furong Furen 芙蓉夫人 and edited by Qingchizi 情痴子. Published as a series of *Zhongguo Lidai Jinhui Xiaoshuo Hainaiwai Chenzeng Miben Jicui* 中国歷代禁毀小説海内外珍藏秘本集粹, Vol.7 of the 1st Collection. Taipei, Shuandi Guoji Shiwu Youxian Gongsì, 1994. ; *Ruyiqun Cuan* 如意君伝 (Biography of The Lady Do as She Wants to Do), compiled by Xu Changling 徐昌齡. I have referred to the following versions: 1) *Zetian huanghou Ruyiqun Chuan* 則天皇后如意君伝, published by Tōto Seihikaku 東都清閣閣. Reprinted in Ota Tatsuo and Ida Yoshiro ed. *Chūgoku Hiseki Sōkan* 中国秘籍叢刊 (Collective Publication on Chinese Secret Books) 3 Vols., Tokyo, Kyūko Shoin. 1987. 2) *Tūzoku Nyoikun Den* 通俗如意君伝 (The Vulgar Version of Biography of the Lady Do as She Wants to Do) with Comments by Jijimusai Mouroku 自辞矛齋蒙陸. In Ota Tatsuo and Ida Yoshiro ed. *Chūgoku Hiseki Sōkan* 中国秘籍叢刊 (Collective Publication on Chinese Secret Books) 3 Vols., Tokyo, Kyūko Shoin. 1987. *Rouputun* 肉蒲団 (Bedding of Flesh), edited by Qingchi Fanzheng Daoren 情痴反正道人. Published as a series of *Zhongguo Lidai Jinhui Xiaoshuo Hainaiwai Chenzeng Miben Jicui* 中国歷代禁毀小説海内外珍藏秘本集粹, Vol.5 of the 2nd Collection. Taipei, Shuandi Guoji Shiwu Youxian Gongsì, 1995., *Cuichunfeng* 醉春風 (Drank with Spring Wind), talked by Jiangzuo Shuian 江左誰菴. Published as a series of *Zhongguo Lidai Jinhui Xiaoshuo Hainaiwai Chenzeng Miben Jicui* 中国歷代禁毀小説海内外珍藏秘本集粹, Vol.5 of the 8th Collection. Taipei, Shuandi Guoji Shiwu Youxian Gongsì, 1996.

2-1. Concern on the Male Genital Organ Seen in the Early Literature of the Art

The early literature of the sexual art is consisted of two groups of materials. One is those excavated from Mawangdui in 1973 to become the earliest extant of the genre,⁸ most of which were considered to have been composed before and around the Qin dynasty.⁹ The other is those supposedly compiled by the end of the Tang and quoted in Japanese *Ishinpō* 医心方 by Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 in 984.¹⁰ Although these two groups of materials share the certain underlying ideas and techniques, here we see them one by one, due to the huge periodical gaps they

⁸ Consisted of *Yangshengfang* 養生方 (Recipes for Nourishing Life), *Zajingfang* 雜禁方 (Recipes for Various Charms), *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions), *Heyinyang* 合陰陽 (Uniting Yin and Yang), and *Tianxiazhidaotan* 天下至道談 (Discourse on the Ultimate Way under Heaven) and *Taichanshu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of the Fetus). Amongst these, Ten Questions, Uniting Yin and Yang, and Discourse on the Ultimate Way under Heaven were especially concentrating on sexual art. See for instance, Harper, Donald. 1997. pp. 4-5.

⁹ Although the dates of compositions about any texts found from Mawangdui remain uncertain, scholars agree that outline of the texts might have been set by sometimes during Warring States Periods(475-221 B.C.). He Jiajun 何介鈞 and Zhang Weiming 張維明 ed. 1982. *Mawangdui Hanmu* 馬王堆漢墓 (Mawangdui Han Tombs). Beijing: Wenwu chuban. pp. 6-7, p.10; Zhou Shirong 周世榮. 1979. “*Tantan Mawangdui Sanhao Hanmu de Jiandu* 談談馬王堆三號漢墓的簡牘 (Discussing about epistles from Mawangdui no.3 Tomb)”. In Hunanxing Bowuguan 湖南省博物館 ed. *Mawangdui Hanmu Yanjiu* 馬王堆漢墓研究 (Studies on Mawangdui Han Tombs). Changsha: Hunan renmin chuban. pp. 338-339; Harper, Donald. 1997. pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ Consisted of The *Sunüjing* 素女經 (The Classic of Plain Girl), *Xuannüjing* 玄女經 (The Classic of Dark Girl), *Donxuanzi* 洞玄子 (Master Dongxuan), *Yufang Mijue* 玉房秘訣 (Secrets of the Jade Chamber), *Yufang Zhiyao* 玉房指要 (Essentials of the Jade Chamber), *Beiji Qianjin Yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions for Emergency) and etc. Until the “rediscovery” of *Ishinpō*, most of these sexual classics had been believed to be lost in China. These classics were reconstructed by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 in 1904 and collected in *Shuangmei Jingan Congshu* 雙梅景閣叢書 (Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Collection). See the first chapters of following works. Sugitachi Yoshikazu 杉立義一. 1991. *Ishinpō no Denrai* 医心方の伝来 (Transmission of Prescriptions from *Ishinpō*). Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan.

apparently have.¹¹

It would be *Shiwen* 十問(Ten Questions) which stands as the best example for the phalli-centric concern within the earliest extant of the sex manuals amongst Mawangdui sex manuals. This material is consisted of ten didactic dialogs each of which discusses the general topic concerning about the sexual art and a half of the dialogues concern about the penis (see Table 1). The contents observed amongst five questions can be summarized as follows; 1. about the cuisine to recover the penis after the ejaculation (in Second Question), 2. about the causation, the prevention and the treatment of the impotence (in Fifth Question on the one caused by aging and in Eighth Question on the one because of the tiredness), 3. about the importance of phallic care(in the Sixth Question), 4. about the methods to improve or to reform the genital organ(in the Seventh Question).

Especially, one of the strongest concerns seen in this article is the decline of the function of the penis which is usually earlier than those of the works of other physical parts. For instance, the Seventh Question refers to the male sexual organ with the expression as follows; “the thing which is born together with the body but declines faster than the body(夫與身俱生而先身老者)”.¹² Therefore, we can assume that it is the maintenance of the male genital function as well as the methods for it, rather than the improvement and reform of the penis, that *Ten Questions* pays greater attentions.

On the other hand, it is the supplementary “drugs” for the sexual activities as the art, rather than the texts themselves, that would show us the concerns on the penis the best, in the case of the materials compiled before the end of the Tang and quoted in *Ishinpō*. For instance, the 28th *juan* of *Ishinpō* entitled as *Bōnai* 房內

¹¹ Texts quoted by *Ishinpō* were seemingly composed by the end of the Tang dynasty, which is evident in bibliographic records. See Umekawa, 2004. pp.20-37

¹² *Shiwen*(十問) I have referred to the following version; Mawangdui hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 ed. *Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (Manuscripts from Mawangdui Han Tombs). Beijing: Wenwu chubans. 1985. Vol.4. p.149.

introduces 39 remedies to support sexual activities.¹³ Amongst them, 24 recipes were for the use of men, whereas the remaining 15 are for women (See Table 2). 5 drugs for ladies are to shrink the size of vagina, 6 are to treat or to soften the pain at losing virginity, and remaining 4 are for the bad health conditions due to the excessive sex.¹⁴

Meanwhile, most remedies for male are for the well or better being of the penis, with two exceptions.¹⁵ The efficacies proposed by 22 drugs for the penis can be condensed as following three aspects; 1. to cure the impotence, 2. to make it enable to have sex with multiple partners a night or to impregnate women continuously at old age, by means of increasing the vigor and energy, 3. to improve or reform the condition of the penis. Especially, that ten remedies which take up nearly half of the total recipes advocate the first effectiveness shows the strong anxiety toward the impotence.

As for the third effect, we can also find the eight drugs which is one third of the total 24 remedies. What is supposedly improved or reformed through such remedies is as follows; 1)the thickness, 2) the length, 3) the hardness, and 4)what can be called as the impetus or the strength at the erection. Especially, we can see that the first two features of the thickness and the length apparently gain particular interests of people from the fact that there is a subordinate chapter in 28th *juan* of *Ishinpō*, which is entitled as “*Gyokkei Shō Dai Nijyū Nana* 玉茎小第二十七(The 27th

¹³ For this, see Umekawa, 2005a, and Umekawa Sumiyo 梅川純代, “*Biyaku-Chūgoku Seigihō ni okeru Shoku* 媚藥—中国性技法における食(Aphrodisiacs—Diet in Chinese Sexual Techniques)”. In Suzuki Akihito 鈴木晃仁, Ishizuka Hisaro 石塚久郎 ed. *Shokuji no Gihō—Shintai Ibunnka Ron4* 食餌の技法—身体医文論 4(Techniques for Food—Essays on Body, Medicine and Literature 4). Tokyo. Keio Gijyuku Diagaku Shuppankai. 2005b pp93-216.

¹⁴ *Ishinpō* 28th *juan*(I refer to transcriptions of Asakuraya edition. Reprinted in 1955. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chuban.)pp.656-657.

¹⁵ Remedy 20 is a sort of caution not to put near to the penis, whereas the following remedy 21 is a drug to weaken the excessively strong penis. See Table 2, as well as *Ishinpō*, 28th *Juan*. pp652-656.

Subordinate Chapter on the Small Penis)”¹⁶ Of course, this small section shows the interest held by Tanba no Yasuyori rather than by Chinese people. However, it still tells us that there were enough remedies existed for Tanba to set up this special section on the methods to do something for “small penis”.

2-2. Concern on the Male Genital Organ Observed in the Later

Literature of the Sexual Art

It is also through the supplementary “drugs” which can be understood in terms of “aphrodisiacs” in broad sense (for which, see Table 3 and 4) to follow the evaluation on people’s concern on the penis amongst the materials of later tradition of the sexual art. We can observe several characteristics in the “drugs” for the use of sexual activities emerged in the later tradition in comparison with those in the early tradition.¹⁷ What matters at the moment, however, should be the following three points; 1. the increase number of drugs for the use of female, 2. the emergence of “aphrodisiacs” in narrow sense including drugs to improve the sexual pleasure, to promote the physical sensitivity and to make a person fall in love or feel rust, 3. the ramification of effectiveness promised by medicines for the use of male, or more precisely to say, for the use of male genital organ.¹⁸

The effect condensed in the second feature of the above mentioned summary, namely the one to increase the vigor and energy is, for instance, divided into several categories and differentiated one by one, as follows; 1. the permanence or the maintenance of the coitus, 2. the endurance to avoid ejaculation which we can probably name something like “anti-ejaculativeness”, 3. the maintenance of the erection, 4. the increase number of having sex and etc. Such notion can be

¹⁶ *Ishinpō*, 28th *Juan*. pp.655-656.

¹⁷ As for this, see Umekawa, 2005a and b.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

understood as the growth or increase of the anticipation toward the function or the work of the male genital organ. Along with such high concern on the penis itself, the improvement and the reform of the organ still keep comparatively strong concerns. Yet, the points to matter does not show any change from the thickness, the length, the hardness and the strength.

As for the first two characteristics seen in the supplementary “drugs” of the later tradition, these are linked with each other. The drugs for the use of female increased its number dramatically in comparison with those in earlier tradition. However, many medicines are for the use of “promoting physical sensitivity”, of “increasing the sexual pleasure” or even of making a lady open her legs immediately. Therefore, we can say that the later tradition started to regard things like that female also feel sexual pleasure. It, however, still does not really care about the female genital organ, as there is not much differences on effectiveness gained from remedies focusing on vagina, between the early and the later tradition. They mainly shrink female vagina, although there is one recipe to widen the vagina which is too small for the penis to insert.¹⁹ Thus, even though the “aphrodisiacs” in the later tradition started to realize the existence of female during the sexual activities, or that sexual activity was indeed an act between the male and the female, they still neglected the being of vagina. Or it would be more appropriate to say that they were too phalli-centric to notice that female vagina have more variation than being in the need to be shrink or not.

2-3. Short Summary on Male Genital Organ Observed in Chinese Sex

¹⁹ **錦帳生春丹(三峰採戰)

Manuals

To say briefly, we can sum as follows. 1) It is the male penis amongst other genital organs that the literature of the sexual art in China paid greatest attention. 2) It is about the matters of impotence which is concerned the most amongst any other issues concerning the penis. 3) The permanence or the maintenance of the erection, or the coitus as well as the endurance from ejaculations is also highly concerned. 4) It is the thickness and the length the reform or the improvement of the organ tend to do something on. 5) It is always the width when female vagina matters and narrow and small vagina like the one girls or virgins would have is seemingly valued.

Most of these points can be understood in relation with the nature of the literature of the sexual art. As for the first four points, that the sex manuals in China was fundamentally addressing to the male audience would be deeply related. These concerns observed in manuals should have reflected the real concerns held by ancient men to some extent. Also, the high concern on the permanence, maintenance of the erection and coitus including the feature not to ejaculate should be related with some underlying ideas of the Art of the Bedchamber. Such interests are especially linked with the view to see the orgasm as the timing to produce, or discharge the highest quality of *qi* 氣 from the human body. This is why one of the important techniques for the sexual art is to obtain the highest quality of *qi* at the female orgasm while preserving the highest quality of *qi* of male self, by sustaining him from his orgasm.²⁰ Under these circumstances, the permanence of the erection or the coitus would have been needed, to some extent, in order to bring female to her climax. Meanwhile, the ability of not to ejaculate was required to protect his own best *qi*.

There are, however, some inconsistency against the concepts of Chinese

²⁰ As for the orgasm and *qi*, see Umekawa, 2004. pp.115-147.

sexual art. For instance, the improvement or the reform of the penis mentioned as the fourth point is one of the matters which had gained great attention from the earliest examples. However, the Art of the Bedchamber fundamentally claims that the size, length and so forth do not matter only if a man knows the righteous way to have sex.²¹ This in turn declares people care about the goodness or badness of the penis because they do not possess the appropriate sexual techniques, or more plainly, they do not know the Art. As the potential readers of sex manuals would have been supposedly “know” the techniques and the art, they had, in theory, no need to worry about the state of their own penis. Thus, there is no need for manuals to introduce the methods to improve or reform the penis. Still, as we have already seen, this has been the matter which could have been gaining very keen interests of potential readers.

By the way, it should be noted that the fifth point is not a matter for modern feminism ideas should challenge against. I do not deny the possibility that the small vagina could have been dreamed of from the point of view of male pleasure, but it is a matter related much more with other underlying ideas of the sexual art, rather than such patriarchal selfish prejudice against women. Indeed, especially in the early tradition of the art, male sexual pleasure which would be lead to male orgasm is not what the art seeks for. On the contrary, it is something one should rather avoid. It is the idea of *qi* which connects with this fifth point of female vagina, which is supposed to reach its max or fullest amount around boy’s first ejaculation and girl’s first menstruation.²² As these occur during the period in which the

²¹ “交接時女或不悅、其質不動、其液不出、玉莖不強、小而不勢、何以爾也...今陳九事...慎莫違失”, “肥大者內寸半、弱小者、入一寸。” *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. pp.637-638. Also see Umekawa, 2004, pp.123-130.

²² See for instance, Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸. 2001. “氣の自然觀・生命觀(*Ki no Shizenkan/Seimeikan*), The Ideas of Qi in Nature/ The life”. 中国文化研究(*Chūgoku Bunka Kenkyū*, The Study of Chinese Culture) . The initial number. Kyoto: Chūgoku bunka Kenkyūkai. pp2-6.p4; Umekawa, pp.52-66

secondary sex characteristic start to appear, any quality for women related with this particular period was valued.²³

2-4. Statements on Male Genital Organ Observed in Novels on Voluptuous Feelings

As I have already confessed, I have consulted with very limited novels this time and therefore the following observation of mine cannot be standardized. Yet, so far as I have aware from reading these limited but famous erotic stories, it is overwhelmingly about the penis that we can find the statements concerning genital organs. Indeed, I can find only a couple of mentions about female genital organs as follows; 1. about the general explanation about the structure of female genital organ (seen in *Chibozi Chuan* 痴婆子伝), 2. about the very big and wide vagina (seen in *Chibozi Chuan* and *Ruyiqun Chuan* 如意君伝), and 3. about the condition of pubic hair (seen in *Ruyiqun Chuan* and *Cui Chunfeng* 醉春風). Amongst these three, the second point to which I will return later interestingly concerns about the “size” of female “genital organ”, just like the case for the penis. And indeed, it is again the size of the penis which usually gains the greatest attention amongst these stories, when the male organ is mentioned.

For instance, *Chibozi Chuan* is a sort of sexual life history of a lady until she was divorced by her husband. She sometimes recalls men with whom she had relations and what came back to her memories most vividly was apparently the size of their organs. Interestingly enough, she explains the characteristics of the penis in terms of comparison with those of others. For instance, she remembers her first

²³ For this, see Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸 and Umekawa Sumiyo 梅川純代, *Ki no Shisō karamiru Dōkyō no Bōchūjyutsu—Ima ni Ikiru Kodai Chūgoku no Seiai Chōjyuhō* 「氣」の思想から見る道教の房中術—いまに生きる古代中国の性愛長寿法—(Daoist Art of the Bedchamber from the Ideas of Qi—Ancient Chinese Sexual Methods for Longevity Living Today). Tokyo. Goyō Shobō. 2003b. pp.???. Umekawa, 2003a.

affair with her father-in-law and says that “the penis of the father in law makes that of Datu its elder brother, that of Yinglang its younger brother and that of the husband its equal(翁之陽、當兄、事大徒弟、事盈朗、而與夫相伯仲)”.²⁴ It means that the penis of her father in law is smaller than Datu’s but larger than Yinglang’s and almost the same as his own son, i.e. her husband’s. It shows that the heroin remembers the volume of the penis not because it was the large or small. It was rather because it was the size what matters the most for her during the sexual affairs.

We have another instance for the reminiscence of male penises in *Ruyiqun Cuhan*, which depicts the sexual life of declining years of Zetian Wuhou 則天武后.²⁵ She recalls the conditions of male sexual organ of the partners with whom she had relations and tells her last consolation, Bi Aozao 薛敖曹. Although she does not “compare” each organs in a manner the heroin of *Chibozi Chuan* does, her description on the penis is much more complicated appraisal in a way. For instance, she cares about expansion of the penis²⁶ and the ability or potential to bring her sexual pleasure²⁷ which includes the maintenance or the permanent of the coitus,²⁸

²⁴ *Chibozi Chuan*. p.88

²⁵ I have referred to two versions for this novel. One is reprinted by 東都書舖 with Japanese translation by Jijimusai Mouroku 自辞矛齋蒙陸 (presumed as Yamaguchi teruo 山口輝雄, *Tizoku Nyoikun Den* 通俗如意君伝.) “朕年十四にして始て太宗に侍せしし。太宗の肉具は中常のなれども朕新割を苦しむのみに非ず。年幼少にして快く受納ることを痛楚す。(中略)高宗の肉具は壮大にして亀稜高く、茎溫柔なれば、捨べき肉具にてはなけれども、奥(けう)発して二十回も抽送すれば忽漏精玉ひて朕が快美二通に過ぎず。(中略)僧懷義和尚を得たり。此僧の肉具又高宗の類に非ず。始痿たるを玃(牛へん)中に探入て後、漸く長大極て堅くして熱す。(中略)昌宗、易之兄弟は両美麗の少人。易之が肉具、頗る大なり。昌宗は長七寸に至れり。依て樂に供るに足りと雖、一泄しての後肉具再怒ることなく、或は抽送のにして共にして痿”.pp.120-124. Chinese version goes as follows; “常憶我年十四侍太宗、太宗肉具中常、我年幼小、尚覺痛楚不能堪。高宗肉具壮大、俱興發奧盡、俱由他我不得恣意為樂、幸彼晏駕。得懷義和尚、其肉具初不如高宗、入爐之後、漸大漸長、極堅而熱、通夜不休。今昌宗易之兄弟、兩美麗少年、易之肉具頗大、昌宗長至六七寸、亦足供我快樂、而一泄後再不肯舉、甚至中痿”. p.36

²⁶ 俱興發奧盡; 入爐之後、漸大漸長. P.36

²⁷ For instance, she does not value the penis of the emperor Taizong because of the pain she had at her losing virginity and looks down the organ of the emperor Gaozong because of his premature

in addition to the size.

There are two instances which would show us the uniqueness about depiction on the penis in this novel the most. First instance is her statement about the emperor Gaozong's penis, which goes as follows; The emperor Gaozong's one was "not the one for disposal because it enlarged greatly, the edge of the glans stays up high, and its pole maintains warmth and softness".²⁹ But he was not good at upholding his pleasure. He tended to give ejaculation prematurely after twenty times of insertions "which permitted Zetian Wuhou to feel pleasure only twice".³⁰ In addition to the points of her own pleasure as well as the maintenance or permanence of the coitus, she cares about the position of the glans and the feeling of the pole. As she constantly cares about the degree, or number of times of her pleasure, the height of glans and the touch of the pole might have been related with, or at least considered to be related with female sexual pleasure.

The other interesting example is the statement concerning the penis of the monk Huaiyi 懷義. His is explained as follows; "At the beginning his was soft, but became longer, bigger, harder and hotter inside the vagina".³¹ What matters here is

ejaculation which only gave her chances to feel sexual pleasure twice during the coitus. P.36.

²⁸ In the case of Changzong and Yizhi brothers, it was the problems with restoration of energy as well as maintenance of the coitus. Once ejaculated, theirs would never erect again. Or sometimes theirs wither during the actions of insertion and withdrawal. P.36.

²⁹ 高宗の肉具は壮大にして亀稜高く、茎溫柔なれば、捨べき肉具にてはなけれども。P.120. For this, I refer to Japanese version, as Chinese version seemingly did not mention about the warmth and etc. As Chinese version seemingly do not mention about this, this part could have been invented by Japanese.

³⁰ 奥(けう)発して二十回も抽送すれば忽漏精玉ひて朕が快美二通に過ぎず p.120. This part could have also been invented by Japanese as we do not have twenty insertions and etc. in Chinese version. Yet, these two instances in the above note in 29 and this note in 30 still does not fail to show the empress's detailed descriptions on the male penis in Chinese novels, though rather exaggerated ways to fit for Japanese taste.

³¹ Japanese version goes as follows; 始痿たるを玃(牛へん)中に探入て後、漸く長大極て堅くして熱す p.120. Chinese version goes as follows; 其肉具初不如高宗、入入爐之後、漸大漸長、極堅而熱、通夜不休. P.36.

completely different from what we have seen so far, as it is not about the size, maintenance, permanence, or the height or the touch of some parts of the organ. It is rather a function or the circumstance of the organ during the coitus, than a stable condition of the penis before the insertion. And apparently his penis was valued because of its “alteration inside the vagina”. As we will see later, what is explained here is extremely similar with what Japanese called “*Fu mara* 麩マラ, the penis of *Fu*, a food made of gulten, which is hard when it is dry but becomes soft when it is wet”. Meanwhile Japanese put extreme value on this type of penis as we will see, Chinese apparently did not pay such “alteration” during the coitus much attention, though they knew that this kind would be very valuable. This assumption is because of the fact that this statement about the monk Huaiyi is the only one case I have found so far about such type of penis. At least, such nature of transformation was clearly less valued than the size.

Indeed, such extreme concern on the largeness and the length of the penis seemingly start to form a sort of “belief” in the “gigantic penis” amongst Chinese novels of this genre. For instance, the neighboring young wife in *Chibozi Chuan*, who explains about the heterosexual sex to the heroin, says as follows; “With the small and short one will never see the pleasure of it (=sex), therefore, it should definitely be the one with hugeness and length, rising high and enlarging that fills well.³²”. In short, she says without the big, long penis with great erection, no penis can make female feel good. This statement is made as an opinion, or at least, alleged opinion, from female point of view, but we can find the synonymous judgments from male side everywhere. Indeed, the soul seeking for “the gigantic penis” which enables every women sexually satisfied makes the hero of *Rouputun* 肉蒲團, Wei Yangsheng 未央生, to transplant the erected penis of a dog.³³

³² “惟微而短者、鮮能至其處、則不見其樂、故必巨而長、昂而大、為能充滿乎”。*Chibozi Chuan*, p.64

³³ *Rouputun*, p.106.

Rouputun somehow tells us why Chinese men were still eager to reform their penis after attaining the techniques and knowledge of the sexual art like *Fangzhongshu*. As I have pointed out, the size of the male organ would not matter in theory. The hero of this novel, Wei Yangsheng had learned a certain sexual technique from a monk. I am not sure if it was supposed to be the *Fangzhongshu*, or a sort of *Neitan* 内丹 for the double practice between man and woman, or a sort of Buddhist sexual techniques like Tantric ones. Yet, he had attained certain secrets of sexual art from a monk. Then, he further evaluates his knowledge on the genre, especially in relation with the theory to become the transcendent immortal through the sex, under the communication with a man called Cai Kunlun 賽崑崙. This person mentions that even though one has sexual techniques, one would not make use of his technique with poor penis, which eventually makes it difficult to accomplish the great ambition like becoming the transcendent. This theory makes Wei, the hero, mad to obtain the “gigantic penis”. In short, this explanation tells us that sexual technique may be enough to make female sexually satisfied, but may not enough to bring about the greater purpose. Or it rather shows us the technique would be adequate for ordinary men, but only the technique would not be enough for serious practitioners of the sexual art.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that there is hardly any statement about female vagina. If any, they are about one of the three; about the structure of female genital organ(痴婆子伝), about the condition of pubic hair(如意君伝・醉春風), about the huge vagina(如意君伝・痴婆子伝). Amongst these, the third one should be specially noted, as it shows us that the female with huge or wide vagina is not necessarily regarded as “bad”, despite the fact traditional literature of the sexual art had concerned to “shrink” the size of vagina. Especially in the case of *Ruyiqun Chuan*, the woman with the huge vagina is super noble lady, namely Zetian Wuhou. The empress is not only noble but she is actually depicted saintly. She is a sort of goddess who saves a poor young man with gigantic penis who has kept his virginity because of the

hugeness of his organ which cannot be accepted by any women other her, and gives him humanly pleasure of sex.³⁴

3. Statements on the Penis in Japanese Sex Related Materials.

The history of Japanese materials related with sexual affairs may have started with the 28th *juan* of *Ishinpō* 医心方 by Tanba no Yasuyori in 984. As it was a collection of Chinese literature of the sexual art compiled by the end of the Tang, Japanese ideas and techniques of the genre can be said to have emerged under the strong influence from early Chinese tradition of the art of the bedchamber. Indeed, written documents concerning about sex show us that Japanese had been following the early tradition of the sexual art as a part of medical theories until the early Edo period.³⁵ There were, however, seemingly arrivals of new trend of the sex sometimes around the beginning of Edo era, which apparently triggered the rise of erotic writings, along with the development of Ukiyoe 浮世絵 erotic drawings.³⁶

We have numerous number of materials related with sexual affairs produced since Edo period. Some were in a form of stories, whereas others were attached onto or written within erotic drawings. Some were produced purely for fun, while others were created as guides for sexual activities. Some had rather academic attitude toward the activities, whereas others had rather empirical approach to the subject. Amongst these varieties of articles, here, we will refer to materials which had certain notions of being a guidebook for sexual affairs, as these articles exemplify rather chaotic conditions of Japanese erotic world at that time very

³⁴ For instance, Japanese version goes “足下、高飛遠挙て乾坤の外に出るとも、遂に人道を知べからず。今聖上に非ずんば、誰か容べき者あらんと(p.93)” and “太后云、卿朕にあらずんば塵柄を納る牝あるべからず。朕又卿にあらずんば何を以て樂の最頂を極ん。(p.120)”. Chinese version goes “足下能高飛遠挙、出乾坤之外、且汝尚不知人道、非今聖上、誰可容者(p22-23)” and “后曰、汝非我不能容、我非汝無以樂(p.36)”.

³⁵ See Machi, 1999, Umekawa, 2009.

³⁶ See Umekawa, 2009.

well.³⁷ We can observe traditional ideas on sex, which came from early tradition of Chinese sexual art, newly arrived ideas which indicate ideas and techniques of the later tradition of the Chinese art introduced at the start of Edo period, Western ideas which were transmitted mainly through what was called *Rangaku* 蘭学, the study on Dutch throughout Edo era, and Japanese original conceptions. It should be emphasized for the purpose of this paper that there were definitely traces of

³⁷ The list of articles I have consulted are as follows; *Shūshin Engi/Ningen Rakuji* 修身演義・人間楽事 (Story on Training Body/ Enjoyable Things for Human World), composed sometimes during Genna to Kanei eras (1615-42). I have referred to the version published from Taihei Shooku. Tokyo. 1992; *Bonnai Sho* ぼんない書 (A Book Inside the Chamber), composed sometimes during Kanei era (1624-42). I have referred to the version Hanasaki Kazuo *Sakuya Konohana* 咲くやこの花 (Is This Flower Going to Bloom?). Taihei Shooku. Tokyo. 1999; *Narihira Tawamuregusa* 業平戯草 (Playing Weed by Narihira), also known as *Bōnaikyō Tawamuregusa* 房内経戯草 (Playing Weed of a Sutra Inside the Chamber). This version. 3rd year of Kanmon era (1663). I have referred to a version published by Kinsei Fuzoku Kenkyukai, 1976.; *Kōshoku Kinmō Zuyi* 好色訓蒙図彙 (Picturesque Collection of the Lecture for the Ignorant on Loving Colour), with pictures drawn by Yoshida Hanbei 吉田半兵衛, published in the 3rd year of Jyokyo (1686), *Kōshoku Kaiawase* 好色貝合 (Matching Shells for the Loving Colour) and *Jinrin Itokuzu* 人倫糸屑 (Lint of Human Moral), sequels of the *Kinmō Zuyi*, also by Yoshida Hanbei, 4th year of Jyokyo (1687) For all three texts, I have referred to an edition in Richard Rain ed. *Genroku no Erosu* 元禄のエロス vol.5. Gabundō, 1979. ; *Hanka Reikin Wakai* 繁華麗錦和解 (Japanese Explanation on *Fanhua Lijin*). Compiled by Chenchuzi 震初子, commented by Kiwami Sukebei 極助平, Published in 5th year of An'ei (1776), I have referred to the version published by Taihei Shooku, Tokyo, 1998.; *Bidō Nichiya Jyohō Ki* 艶道日夜女宝記 (The Record of Female Treasure for Day and Night on Coquettish Way) compiled by Tukioka Seppen 月岡雪鼎 sometimes around Horeki to Tenmei era (1751-86). I have referred to the version started with sayings of Kaisei 開正, Senban Sakkō 千番撮交, Chōsei Hōkei 長生宝茎, and Keiho 茎補.; *Hyakumin Isshu Shokushi Bako* 百人一出拭紙箱 (A Box of Wiping Papers to Come out Once by a Hundred of People), compiled sometimes around Anei era (around 1773). I have referred to the version involved in Hayashi Yoshikazu ed. *Enbishū* 艶美集 (Collection of Coquettish Beauty). 1937. ; *Keichū Kibun* 閨中紀文枕文庫 (Pocket Pillow Books for Sentences within the Bedchamber). 4 vols. By Keisai Eisen 溪斎英泉, compiled during the Kansei to Tenpō era (1790-1840). I have referred to a reprinted versions with a explanation book by Hayashi Yoshikazu.; *Shikidō Kinbishō* 色道禁秘抄 (Abandoned and Secret Notes on Way of Colours). By Tokakusai Sensei 兎角齋先生 in the fifth year of Tenpō (1834). I have referred to modern reprint by Amatoria sha, Tokyo, firstly in 1954, this edition in 1973. ; *Danjo Kyōkun Hana no Arika* 男女狂訓華のあり香 (The Smell of Flowers for Crazy Lecture for Man and Woman) compiled in the first year of Genji (1864). I have referred to the version published by Taihei Shooku, Tokyo, 1996.

Chinese early tradition of sexual art, as well as those of later tradition amongst these Japanese materials. These Chinese concepts were indeed one of the underlying frameworks for the total conceptions of Japanese Edo erotic world.

Looking over Japanese sex related materials, it is instantly noticeable that Japanese interests on genital organs went two ways. One is the view going down to details and to internal parts, whereas the other is the attention paid onto the variation. Also, we cannot miss the very strong concern onto female vagina. Indeed, Japanese interests on the variety of female vagina which are fundamentally observed in their settlement of certain criteria for assessment of organs, evolve two different theories; the theory of three jades within the vagina and the theory to judge the condition of vagina through female appearance. In contrast to such zealous attentiveness onto female vagina, there is much less concern for male penis. Only prominent characteristic is the existence of several different criteria for appraisals of male genital organs, as a correspondence to assessment of female ones. Yet, it is such appraisals that reveal the Japanese uniqueness in contrast with Chinese ideas of “ideal penis”.

Let us see two ways of interest quickly. Japanese tendency to see object in details might be well exemplified and known through *Shunga* 春画, the erotic drawings of Edo period (Fig.1).³⁸ When it comes to genital organs including male penis, however, it is not only the details that Japanese concerned, but also the internal parts. For instance, Fig.2 is an image of male penis within the vagina, and the attached title says the top of the penis is about to be swallowed by the womb.³⁹ I personally agree with Timon Screech’s assumption which proposes such detailed description of Japanese *Shunga* was partly because of the current popularity of Dutch Study, which increased “scientific and analytical point of

³⁸ *Makura Bunko*. Vol. 2. 15 a-b. (p.16-17)

³⁹ *Makura Bunko* vol.1 17a (p.18)

view” amongst Japanese.⁴⁰ So far as Japanese sex manuals during the Edo period would concern, there were certainly “scientific and analytical” attitude toward sexual organs.

As for the appraisals of male genital organ, Table 1 is the brief summary of several criteria or assessments on the penis. The male genital organs are usually valued amongst 9 ranks consisted of the above, the middle and the below each of which are subdivided into the above, the middle and the below. The valuation amongst 9 levels obviously came from Chinese political system of Han dynasty,⁴¹ and for some reasons, the number of variation for the penis does not have much latitude and usually stays between 9 and ten, though assessments for female vagina vary from three rankings to 24 levels.⁴²

As shown in Table 5, several characteristics can be observed amongst what Japanese matters or concerns, which can be roughly summarized as follows; Firstly, Japanese did not really hold belief in “gigantic penis” and they had rather negative standpoint toward “too huge penis”. We have to be aware, however, that there should have existed certain trends or tendencies to value “gigantic penis” amongst society, which is contradictory backed up by the strong disapproval against the idea seen in the manuals. It may be noteworthy that this tendency against the “gigantic penis” can be also understood from another fact that some types of organ that

⁴⁰ Screech, Timon. *Shunga---Katate de Yomu Edo no E* 春画一片手で読む江戸の絵 (*Shunga*--Pictures of Edo Period to read with One Hand). Kodansha Mechie. Tokyo. 1998. pp.193-216.

⁴¹ As for the nine divisions which was originated in Chinese political system, see for instance, Tagashira Toshimitsu 田頭世光. “‘Kyūbon’ *Kaishaku no Hensen ni tsuite* 「九品」解釈の変遷について (About Interpretations for “Nine Levels”)”. In. *Tetsugaku* 哲学 (The Journal of Hiroshima Philosophical Society) vol.53, 2001. pp.171-183; Kusano Yasushi 草野靖. “*Gishin no Kyūbon Kanjinhō* 魏晋の九品官人法 (Method for Officials of Nine Levels during the Wei and Xin Dynasties)”. In *Fukuoka Daigaku Jinbun Ronsō* 福岡大学人文論叢 (Collections of Essays on Humanities of Fukuoka University). Vol.27-no.3,1995, pp,1615-1655.

⁴² For instance, in *Tōgen Kadō* 桃源華洞 (The Grot with Flowers of Peach Origin) by Ryū’ō Sanjin 龍王山人, sometimes during the 8th to 9th year of Showa Era, i.e. 1933 to 1934. See Akita Masami 秋田昌美. *Nyoin Kō* 女陰考 (Think Vagina), Outō Shobō. Tokyo. 1999. p19

might be generally approved are contradictory disregarded. For instance, the “thick” penis and the “long” penis were not very much valued by Japanese, in contrast to Chinese concern on the size including the largeness and length. Especially the long penis was dealt as an unwilling object for female, as it is said “to harm women if a man use [the long penis] actively”.⁴³

Secondly, Japanese rather concerned the situation or condition of the penis during the coitus than that before the insertion. It does not indicate that they do not care the state of the organ before the coitus. Indeed, they do very much as you can see in Table 5. This second feature only points out that it is yet the condition during the coitus which differentiates the better from the good, or the best from the better, especially when they evaluate the organs of high rankings. We have already seen the similar point of view in the case of *Ruyiqun Chuan* of China, but the magnitude of importance is quite different. Japanese valued this particular point much more than Chinese did.

Thirdly, there can be seen a very strong depreciation for phimosis, which probably includes false one as well. So far as I reckon, there was no statement concerning phimosis amongst Chinese materials, no matter whether it is the literature of the art or the erotic novels. In the case of Japanese articles, however, phimotic penis almost always placed at the worst position in the judgment. Sometimes, it was disgraced because the phimotic one “would shrink once inserted in the jade gate, whereas it would erect up once pulled out from [the jade gate]”,⁴⁴

⁴³ “思ひの俣おこなへば玉門をつらぬき病を求む”. Comments for a penis clarified as “*Chō* 長 (Long) of “*Ku Dōgu no Chū* 九道具の註 (Comments on Nine Tools)” in *Bidō Nichiya Jyohōki*. p.13a. For another instance, *Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako* also mentions about the penis under the category of “long” in “*Yōkei no Ben* 陽茎の弁 (Opinions on Yang Stalk)” and says “女をしころすべし。おそるべし ([the long penis] would kill women through sex. Awful.)”. *Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako*, p.31b(p.41).

⁴⁴ *Kōshoku Tabimakura* 好色旅枕 (Travel Pillow of Loving Colours). “玉門の内へ入るれば縮み上がり、出せば勃へ出るなり。” For this, I have referred to *Shunroan Shujin* 蕪露庵主人, *Edo no Shikidō Shinansho no Keifu* 江戸の色道指南書の系譜 (Lineage of Guiding Manuals for Way of

in which case what really matters is seemingly the conditions of the organ during the penis rather than if it is phimotic or not. However, in most cases, this type of penis was disparaged because of the “tastelessness”⁴⁵ during the coitus. In one material, the phimosis is looked down by saying “it would be still better than *Harigata* 張り方, an artificial fake penis for the female use at the masturbation”.⁴⁶ Under these circumstances, the reason of low grading for phimotic penis is yet its condition during the coitus. At least, this distaste against this type of organ suggests that there was a “belief” that phimotic penis would not work well during the intercourse and would not give female pleasure.

Finally, there are several criteria that are apparently nothing to do with the function or work during the intercourse. These criteria, such as the colour of the organ, seemingly only matter in terms of “appearance”, but often have importance in the valuation. For instance, the “iron” penis which indicates the one with dark colour is placed fifth amongst ten rankings in *Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako* 百人一出拭紙箱, whereas the “white” one is put under the “iron” one at the sixth, by saying “although it looks good, it does not have a taste”.⁴⁷ Even though the colour in this case was discussed in relation with “taste”, appraisals for the penis apparently concern the “looks” or “appearance” of the organ quite deeply. For instance, *Kōshoku Tabimakura* 好色旅枕 (Travelling Pillow of Loving Colours) begins to state for the middle rank penis as follows; “the figure of the middle rank penis is as such. The shape is similar to that of the above rank penis, this one is longer by five *fun*...”.⁴⁸ The “figure” or the “shape” mentioned in this instance refer to the attached pictures and therefore concern for the “figure” or the “shape” would

Colours during the Edo Period). Yōbunkan Chuppan. Osaka. 1998, p.75

⁴⁵ “互いに味はなし (Tasteless for each other)”. *Bidō Nichiya Jyohōki*. p.13a

⁴⁶ *Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako*. p.32a(p.41).

⁴⁷ “見たる所は美しけれど味わひ良からず.” *Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako*. p.32a(p.41).

⁴⁸ “中まらの形、かくの如し。形は上まらに似たるやうなれども、五分長すぎ・・・”. *Edo no Shikidō Shinansho no Keifu*, 1998, p.74

supposedly be for the sake of readers to judge by glance in reality.

Yet, the color, shape, figure and etc. obviously play much greater roles in comparison with the case in Chinese attention onto the same genital organ. These concern being seen in assessments for the penis, Japanese might have cared about the beauty of the organ in addition to its “function” and “work” during the activities. It would be probable especially when we remind ourselves the following two things. Firstly, such assessments are very often attached with drawings of the organs, theoretically for the convenience of readers. Secondly, as I have briefly pointed out, the literature of the erotic affairs during the Edo period was developed along with the progress of erotic pictures. The “ideal penis” for Japanese required people to count on beauty as well.

In addition, the following two points should be mentioned as specific features observed in Japanese concerns on the male genital organs. Firstly, there were several sayings which insisted the size of the organ does not matter for the goodness or badness of the coitus, just like the surface insistence observed in the ideas of Chinese sexual art. These slogans are almost always related with special techniques, often called as “*jyutsu* 術(The Art)” or “*hijyutsu* 秘術(Secret Art)” in Japanese sex manuals.⁴⁹ To us, this Secret Art certainly indicates Chinese sexual art preserved and transmitted in several medical texts like *Ishinpō* or those introduced through several different mediums. Indeed, some sex manuals apparently designate traditional sexual art by this term Secret Art. However, the concept of the existence of the Secret Art on sex seemingly have been considered to be rather fantasy to many Edo people, including both the composers and audiences. In other words, they knew that there were some people talking about the

⁴⁹ For instance, the earliest example I have referred so far, namely *Bōnnai Sho* often shows the terms “じゅつほう Jiyutsuhou” meaning Art and Techniques, “ひじゅつ Hijiyutsu” meaning the Secret Art and etc. *Sakuya Konohana*, 1999, p.32, 38, 39. For other instances, *Narihira Tawamuregusa*. Lower volume. p.1a. *Bidō Nichiya Jyohōki*. p.13a. Also see *Edo no Shikidō Shinansho no Keifu*, 1998, p.53

existence of Secret Art on sex, and many of them had vague ideas that foreign people, like Dutch and Chinese, had special techniques of sexual affairs. But they did not know particular person who really practiced the art, or what kind of techniques there were as secret art. So, the existence of Secret Art which would make the size of the penis not matter at all was a mere rumor for most of Edo Japanese.

Second point to be noted is the idea of affinity or compatibility between male and female genital organs. The basic ideas of ranking the genital organ is claimed to help people to have better sexual affairs by mating a suitable partner with appropriate organ to fit. This is particularly evident in the statements for the “*Jyōkai* 上開(Above Open, the Best Vagina)” and “*Gekai* 下開(Below Open, the Worst Vagina)” in *Kōshoku Kinmō Zui* 好色訓蒙図彙(Picturesque Collection of the Lecture for the Ignorant on Loving Colour). This text says about the Best Vagina which would “fit both for the big and small penis, just like water fills both within a square and a round receptables”.⁵⁰ It indicates what Japanese regarded as “best vagina” is the one which suites with variety of penis regardless of the size. On the other hand, the Best Penis would not necessarily fit every vagina. According to this article, the best penis is about the five *cun* long, the top quality one should be four *cun* long. However, the Worst Vagina which would not achieve the sexual pleasure even with the gigantic penis with seven to eight *sun* or *cun* long with the best techniques of the Secret Art.⁵¹ It indicates the following two things. The Best Penis would apparently the one which could fit with different types of vagina. Nonetheless, the

⁵⁰ “上開の相・・・この故に、歴の大小ともいづれにもよく、相応する事、水は方円の器に従うが如し”。*Edo no Shikidō Shinansho no Keifu*, 1998, p.50

⁵¹ “上品の歴は長五寸に過ず、或いは四寸を上とす。然るに、下開はとつとひきく侍る故に、例えば七八寸の道具、上村吉弥、業平の再誕が秘術を尽くして行うといえども、奥の感通に当たらざる故に、精巡らずして、おるすに物申すが如し。ただこの間に上品有り。是は天地黑白の代わり也。言語に及ばず、修行功つもり、機縁熟せば、当たって悟りを開くべし。” *Shikidō Shinansho no Keifu*, 1998, p.53-4

Worst Vagina is only one sort which could not be satisfied by Best Penis. Under these circumstances, the goodness or the badness of the organs can be rather mendable through the coupling of the vagina and the penis.

Probably because of such rather open understandings on “the idealness” of the penis, Japanese people did not urge themselves to improve their own organ. They had enough byroads for them not to mend their natural penis. They need a woman with Best Vagina rather than ideal penis.

4. Chinese Idea of “Ideal Penis”

Finally, we will investigate Chinese ideas of “ideal penis” in comparison with Japanese ideas through the following three points; 1) the most required feature for the penis, 2) approach for heterosexual activities, and 3) who takes the responsibility for sexual pleasure.

In comparison with Japanese ideas of “ideal penis”, Chinese obviously had stronger appreciation toward the “giganticness” of the phallus. There were of course certain admiration for the bigger penis in Japan, as Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平, the famous Heian poet with active sexual affairs with various women, who allegedly had “gigantic penis” often appears in Edo sex manuals with strong respect.⁵² Yet, as we have already seen, “giganticness” is not the quality required

⁵² This would be best exemplified by the existence of a text named after him, *Narihira Tawamuregusa*. This old text named after Ariwara no Narihira, however, reveals that this person did not have particularly “gigantic” penis, by saying that “なりひらのちうじやうハ、ようがんびれいのおとこなり。玉くきハ四寸。(業平の中将は溶岩美麗の男なり。玉茎は四寸)。” *Narihira Tawamuregusa*. Lower volume. p.16a. Also, its possible prototype, *Bonnai Sho* also does not really mention the hugeness of Narihira, while it rather emphasizing that he had mastered “secret art” of sex. *Sakuya Konohana*, 1999, p.32. However, the his fame in being excellent at sexual affairs altered into his legend of “having a gigantic penis” and *Kōshoku Kinmō Zuyi*, for instance, shows the idea of him with “gigantic penis”, by saying “例えば七八寸の道具、上村吉弥、業平の再誕が秘術を尽くして行うといえども。” *Edo no Shikidō Shinansho no Keifu*, 1998, p.53. *Danjyo Kyōkun Hanano Arika* also mentions about the hugeness of Narihira’s penis, by saying that the length around his penis was 7 *cun* long. *Danjyo Kyōkun Hana no Arika*. p.87.

most by Japanese for their “ideal penis”. In fact, “too bigness” is not very preferable.

On the other hand, for Chinese, they care about the size most, which would have been resulted in their belief in “the larger the better”, or the excellence in “the gigantic penis”. Of course, too big organ could have been a subject of jealous for men, which might have lead to the episode of Bi Aozao who had never been able to experience “human pleasure” via sexual activity until his encounter with the empress Zewutian, because of hugeness of his organ.⁵³ This episode may reveal sort of envious feelings of common men against the holder of “gigantic penis”, at the same time, however, a kind of relieved emotions of them not to have the oversized penis which cannot be used for most ladies. Therefore, we can assume that there had not necessarily been atmosphere to admire “the gigantic penis” freely. Yet, “the gigantic penis” beyond our imagination like Bi Aozao’s one, surely earned reverence and esteem, in addition to being an “ideal state of the male genital organ”. Oversizeness of the penis is seemingly treated as a kind of stigma, the sign of holiness, numinousness or at least extraordinariness. It is a symbol to single out its holder as a person who can match with noble or exceptional lady, like the empress. In this sense, Chinese high regard toward “the gigantic penis” could not only be as “the ideal” for their organs, but also as the status of “exceptionalness” or “specialness”.

On our second point of the approach for the sexual activities, Chinese idea of sexual affairs was seemingly very phallogentric. Their scarce attentions on the state of vagina show us that they do not really care the goodness or badness of the female organ, at least not in details as Japanese do. Chinese do care the female vagina as a part of human body, of course. This is evident from the existence of various names for spots internal and external of the organ, as seen in *Ishinipō*.⁵⁴

⁵³ *Ruyiqun Chuan*, Japanese version, p.93, 120, Chinese version, pp22-3, p.36. See above note 34.

⁵⁴ Probably the following study is the best presentation on the vaginal terms appeared in *Ishinipō*.

But they never discuss that the achievability of male and female orgasm would differ in accordance with the situation, state or faculties of vagina, nor about appearance, color, or smell of the organ. Some may say, in rather feministic way, that Chinese would never have dreamed of female organ having such high probability to influence on pleasure level during the sexual activities. They might have disregarded female ability on sexual affairs under the strong male centric federal society.

I would, however, rather understand such strong unevenness between the concern on male organ and that on female's one in accordance with underlying ideas of the extant Art of the Bedchamber prepared for male audiences. So far as I reckon, extant manuals for the Chinese sexual art regard male practitioners as a conductor of the intercourse, whereas female partner as the prime mover. It is almost always female needs or requirements which should be given priority, but it is almost always man who is charged with expediting the proceedings of the intercourse. In other words, a woman is a guest whereas a man is a host of the sexual affairs, in which it is male who carries all the fortune and misfortune, and merit and demerit during the coitus, especially when it comes to a matter of pleasure.⁵⁵ Even when a man would not have enjoyed the sexual affair as much as he would have expected, it is him who should be blamed. In the case of Japanese, in contrast, it is very different. If the coitus would not be good as one had expected, one can blame, for instance, the female partner not having three jades within the

Umayabara Shigeo 馬屋原成男 ed. *Ishinpō Kan Nijyūhachi Bōnai Kunaichō Shoryōbu zōhon* 醫心方卷廿八房內宮內庁書陵部藏本(Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine Volume Twenty Eight Inside Chamber, Edition Stored at Book Centre in Imperial Household Agency) . Commented by Ishihara Akira 石原明. Tokyo. Shibundō. 1967. p. 267, pp. 264-266. See also Umekawa, 2004, pp.189-212.

⁵⁵ It is, as well known, not the case when it comes to a matter of the quantity or quality of *qi* obtainable through sexual activities. There are strong distinction between good and bad female for sexual partner in accordance with certain criteria, who are, however, concerned strictly in connection of *qi*, but not with beauty or sexual pleasure. See for instance, Umekawa, 2003a, 2004, pp.148-162.

organ, or not having the Best Vagina which would fit almost every type of the penis. Or even a lady can criticize her male partner for his phimotic penis or as having too fat penis for her. For Japanese, it is more like the matter of matching, or couplet of pair of organs rather than male solo organ or guidance during the coitus, which matters for sexual pleasure.

The same tendencies can be seen when we look at some technical points. As having been pointed out, the permanence or the maintenance of the erection or the coitus, which includes the endurance from ejaculations or the recovery after the ejaculations, is highly concerned in Chinese sex manuals. Therefore, we can find several methods to prolong the coitus by avoiding the ejaculation or those for the possible swift recovery.⁵⁶ Since the underlying primal intention of the sexual art is to bring female partner to her sexual climax so that a male practitioner would have gain the best and large amount of *qi*, their emphasis on the long or repeated coitus should be related, or at least believed to be related with female state of orgasm. In this sense, techniques for avoiding ejaculation, prolonging the period of erection and so forth are means for female orgasm.

Having great influences from Chinese sex manuals of the early and later traditions, Japanese sex manual also introduces several synonymous methods for

⁵⁶ For instance, the pressure onto the lower belly as well as the perineum is often mentioned as a technique to avoid ejaculation. Also, some “aphrodisiacs” which claim the efficacy to have sex with several different women a night may suggest the swift recovery from the ejaculation, although it would only indicate a permanence of the erection. See for instance Mawangdui *Shiwen*, p.149. This text mentions about “縮州” which seemingly indicate a sort of ejaculation control technique through certain pressure on the lower part of male body. See for instance, Harper, Donald. 1997. p.402; Ma Jixing 馬繼興, *Mawangdui Guyishu Kaoshi* 馬王堆古醫書考釋 (Interpretations for Ancient Medical Manuscripts from Mawangdui). Hunan: Hunan kexue jishu chubanshe. 1992. p.527, p.937; Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬 and Hu Xianghua 胡翔驊 ed. *Mawangdui Hanmu Yishu Jiaoshi* 馬王堆漢墓醫書校釋 (Commentaries on Medical Manuscripts from Mawangdui Han Tombs). Chengdu: Chengdu Chubanshe. 1992. p.117. Also, *Beiji Qianjin Yaofan*. 27th juan. “fangzhong buyi”. p.489.

the permanence of the affairs.⁵⁷ However, Japanese do not rely on the penis to increase female level of sexual pleasure, exclusively. For instance, *Bidō Nichiya Jyohōki* 艷道日夜女宝記 (The Record of Female Treasure for Day and Night on Coquettish Way) introduces “*Inmyaku no Hō* 陰みやくの法 (A method for *Yin* vein)”, which is indeed a technique to fumble female vagina as seen in figure 3.⁵⁸ We can often find statements about *anmo* 按摩 at the stage of foreplay in Chinese sex manuals,⁵⁹ which may include techniques like this method for *yin* vein. Yet, there is no mention on how to *anmo* in Chinese manuals, so far as I know. Such lack of detailed statements in Chinese manuals and such existence of comprehensive guidance in Japanese articles for finger techniques during the sexual affair could be another evidence for Chinese phallicentric attitude toward heterosexual intercourse. When it comes to a problem of leading female to her sexual satisfaction, Chinese could not but value the ability and the power of the penis, whereas Japanese tended to seek for the alternatives.

Above two points can be all together condensed into a matter who takes the responsibility for sexual pleasure. As well known, the extant literature of the sexual art usually promises “benefits” for men, like better health and the attainment of transcendent-hood, but hardly for women.⁶⁰ This is why modern scholars often

⁵⁷ See for instance, mentions about “じゅつをもってせいをかへす事 (Jiyutsu wo Motte Sei wo Kaesu Koto)” which indicates *Huangjing Bunao* 還精補腦, and 九淺一深 (Nine times shallow and once deep) techniques in *Narihira Tawamuregusa*. Lower volume. pp. 1a-2b, 15b-16a. Also, *Bonnai Sho* mentions about ten sort of “efficacies” obtainable through restriction of ejaculation, which is very similar to what is known as *Shidong* 十動 in Mawangdui and *Ishinpō* texts for ejaculation control. *Sakuya Konohana*, 1999, pp.63-65.

⁵⁸ *Bidō Nichiya Jyohōki*, “*Inmyaku no Hō* 陰みやくの法 (The Methods for the *Yin* vein)”. p.10a.

⁵⁹ For instance, one of the earliest extant for massage during the foreplay can be found in the following Mawangdui text, *Heyinyang* 合陰陽, Mawangdui hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 ed. *Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (Manuscripts from Mawangdui Han Tombs). Beijing: Wenwu chubun. 1985. Vol.4.. p.156.

⁶⁰ A few exceptions can be seen in the techniques for eight sexual positioning known as *bayi* 八益 in *Ishinpō*. *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. p. 642. See also Umekawa, 2004, pp163-173.

criticize the art of the bedchamber from a standpoint of feminism.⁶¹ But such male centric patriarchal scheme could be inversed when we consider the very same techniques in a view of pleasure principle. When it comes to a matter of sexual pleasure, man is the donor who provides sexual satisfaction for woman. It does not mean that men would not have any pleasure through sexual affairs. They certainly do to some extent. The point is, however, it is usually by women that sexual fulfillment is better enjoyed. Also, female sexual pleasure is not what they try to achieve by themselves but what is supplied by men. This conception can be also proved, in rather extreme way, by *Ruyiqun Chuan* as well, in which Bi Aozao was favored or appreciated most because he was the one who could give the greatest and fullest satisfaction for the empress Zewutian. In a sense, a man holds the fullest responsibility for female sexual pleasure.

It is not the case for Japanese at all. As their repeated concern on establishing the assessments for male and female genital organs have shown, sexual satisfaction for them is an outcome of good match of the pair of vagina and the penis. Moreover, achieving sexual climax would not be as important or desperate as that of female was for Chinese. Japanese seemingly have much more relaxed attitude toward orgasm. To have or not to have sexual fulfillment should be something not more than fortune for them, which they would have if they have luck. As one article states such assessments are just for the some assistance for those who like sexual affairs⁶² assuming a woman (or a man) has or has not a valuable organ and seeing if one has the eyes for matters concerning about sexual affairs could have been parts of the ideas of *Iki* 粋 for Edo people. Trying on different women (or men), or whether one can have sexual satisfaction should be nothing less than gambling

⁶¹ For instance, Furth, Charlotte. 1994. "Rethinking Van Gulik: Sexuality and Reproduction in Traditional Chinese Medicine". In Christina K. Gilmartin et al. ed. *Engendering China—Women, Culture, and the State*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press. pp124-146

⁶² “好士の一助に近からんか”. *Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako*. p.32.

to enjoy for them. Therefore, for Japanese, the responsibility for sexual pleasure was shared by man and woman, and never been shouldered exclusively by man.

Under these circumstances, it can be said that “good sexual intercourse which provides female sexual fulfillment” could not have been a matrix for Japanese to judge “manliness”, but it was indeed the most important aspect for Chinese ideas of male “masculinity”. Therefore, male genital organ which Chinese considered the most important function related with female orgasm, except for their individual techniques in the intercourse,⁶³ naturally represents how mannish the person is. As all the responsibility for whether or not female can be sexually satisfied is burdened on the shoulder of, indeed the penis of male, and because Chinese had been too manly ever to blame the goodness or badness of female organ, their “ideal penis” should be good enough to match even with the large and wide vagina. Then, the larger the penis is, the more able the holder of the penis would be in terms of sexual masculinity. Thus, Chinese adoration for “gigantic penis” was because it is the “ideal penis” for them, which symbolizes the outstanding manliness to be able to burden all the responsibility for the sexual satisfaction for every woman.

Table 1. Summary of *Shiwen*(Ten Questions) from *Mawangdui*

	Contents of Question		Contents of Question
1	About the emergence and growth of every beings	6	About the importance of care for the penis
2	About the diet to recover the penis	7	About the methods to improve and reform the penis
3	About the technique to control the ejaculation	8	About the impotence because of the tiredness
4	About the breathing methods and the sexual art	9	About the food and drink to strengthen the vigor
5	About the impotence because of the aging	10	About the eating method and the sexual art

⁶³ It should be noted that the existence of the art of the bedchamber had been much familiar to Chinese people than we would assume now. The sexual art should have been popular or well known at least to certain extent in which some ideas of the sexual art had deeply penetrated within Chinese conceptions. For instance, general funny story comparing American idea of “enjoyable sex” and Chinese idea of “enjoyable sex” would suggest, ejaculation during the coitus is not something undesirable for most non-Chinese people, which is, however, still something not very preferable even for modern Chinese men.

Table 2 : “Aphrodisiacs” Seen in Twenty Eighth *juan* “Fangnei 房内” in *Ishinpō* 医心方

no	Name of “Aphrodisiacs”	Usage	Efficacies
1		Internal use (Internal use)	to strengthen a man, to avoid tiredness due to the activities in the chamber room, to avoid the decline of the potency of <i>qi</i> (氣) and appearance
2		Internal use with alcohol (酒)	To cure the following situation of the penis; shrunk and not to erect, not being large, not being long, not getting hot, not getting hard, lack of permanence, lack of <i>jing</i> (精), being thin and cold
3		Internal use	To cure the impotence and not being strong
4		Internal use	To cure the impotence and not being strong
5		Internal use	To enable a man to have sexual intercourse ten times successively a night
6	<i>Tuji San</i> 秃鷄散 (Powders of bald rooster) / <i>Tuji wan</i> 秃鷄丸 (Pill of bald rooster)	Internal use with alcohol	to cure five tiredness and seven injuries(五勞七傷 ⁶⁴), and impotence
7	<i>Lujiao san</i> 鹿角散 (Powders of deer horn)	Internal use	To cure five tiredness and seven injuries, impotence, to become shrunk during the sexual intercourse, urination problem
8	<i>Kaixin shuyu shenqi wan</i> 開心薯蕷腎氣丸 (Pill of yam for Opening heart and for <i>qi</i> of kidney)	Internal use, manufactured with honey(蜜)	to heal five tiredness and seven injuries, lack of appetite, poor circulation at the tip of body, loss of sexual desire as if one were an elderly man
9	<i>Roucong rong wan</i> 肉苁蓉丸 (Pill of <i>cistanche deserticola</i>)	Internal use, manufactured with honey	to cure five tiredness and seven injuries of long term, impotence, urination disorder and problems. To improve the power of <i>qi</i> .
10	<i>Yuanzhi wan</i> 遠志丸 (Pill of <i>Polygala tenuifolia Willd.</i>)	Internal use	To cure five tiredness and seven injuries, and impotence
11	<i>Yiduo san</i> 益多散 (Powder of benefit increasing)	Internal use with alcohol or used as an ointment (膏藥)	to improve and strengthen the power of <i>qi</i> , to straighten the back, turn grey hairs into black, make the face lustrous, to enable a man rejuvenate
12		Internal use with alcohol	To make [the activities] within the chamber room normal and doubled, improve <i>jing</i> , and make the penis erected with the size and heat
13		Internal use with alcohol	To cure male impotence and female blockage of vagina (陰瞶 ⁶⁵)
14		Internal use	To cure incapability of erection at the sexual intercourse

⁶⁴ In general, *wulao* 五勞 indicates five sort of tiredness, while *qishang* 七傷 does situations and symptoms on body and mind caused by seven sort of emotions in Chinese medicine. However, these indication might have been something different in the context of the art of the bedchamber. See Umayabara 1976. p.176.

⁶⁵ “*yingjian* 陰瞶” was rendered as “*intoji* いんとぢ” in Umayabara’s edition and understood to indicate a situation in which the entrance of vagina is blocked. See Umayabara, 1976, p221 .

		with alcohol	
15		Internal use	To cure impotence
16		Internal use	To cure impotence
17		Internal use, also used as application(塗布) onto the penis	To make the penis long, large and strong, make excrement and urine fragrant, to prevent evil <i>qi</i> (邪氣) and calamities
18		Used as application or compress(濕布)。	To reduce the excessive power of <i>jing</i> and make the penis withered
19		Moxibustion on <i>sanyinjiao</i> (三陰交) ⁶⁶	To reduce the excessive power of <i>jing</i> and make the penis withered, and weaken the way of <i>yang</i> (陽道)
20			Do not lay near the penis
21			To weaken the <i>yin</i> (陰)
22		Internal use	To make the penis long and large
23		Used as an application and then should be rubbed	To make the penis large
24		Application on the penis (wash out after applying the medicine)	To make the penis long
25		To insert into vagina	To make the jade gate (玉門, i.e. the entrance of vagina) smaller
26		Wash the female genitalia with warm water	To make the entrance of vagina smaller (so that it would become tight as if it were the virgin's)
27		To insert into vagina (or used as application)	To make the large and cold vagina smaller and tighter
28		Wash the female genitalia with warm water	To make the large and cold vagina smaller and tighter
29		To insert into vagina (or used as application)	To make the vagina smaller, tighter and warmer
30		Burning hair and blue cloth	To stop the blood for young girls at losing her virginity
31		To plaster	To stop the blood for young girls at losing her virginity
32		To plaster	To stop the blood for young girls at losing her virginity
33		To drink	For the pain of the bride with small vagina
34		To drink	For the pain of the bride with small vagina
35		To drink	For the pain and wound of a woman who had had the

⁶⁶ A moxibustion and acupuncture point on foot.

			first sexual intercourse
36		To drink	For the pain and wounds created because of excessive sex
37		To drink	For the headache and wounds of woman because of the heaviness of her husbands body
38		To drink	For the unbearable pain because of the sexual intercourse
39		To drink	To stop the blood because of the sexual intercourse

Table 3: “Aphrodisiacs” in the Late Sex Manuals⁶⁷

	Name of “Aphrodisiac”	Usage	Category of Efficacy		Name of “Aphrodisiac”	Usage	Category of Efficacy
1	<i>Xiyi Bagua Anshen Yanshou Dan</i> 希夷八卦安神延寿丹 (Xiyi’s eight hexagrams’ Elixir to Prolong Life and Ease the <i>shen</i>)	Internal use	Stabilizer of internal organs/ Rejuvenation/ Prolonging Life	19	<i>Reyi Qianku San</i> 惹意牽袴散 (Powder of Catching the Will and Pulling the Trouser)	Internal use (for woman)	Philtres / Sexual arouser
2	<i>Zhoutian Shengjing Zaizuo Guben Huanzhen Gao</i> 周天生精再作固本還真膏 (Salve to Circulate the Heaven, Producing <i>Jing</i> , Creating and Firming the Foundation again and Returning the Truth)	To stick to the navel	Procreation / Fortifier/ Viagra/ Gynaecology	20	<i>Meini Dao Tjin</i> 美女倒提金方 (Remedy for Beautiful Lady Falling Down and Pulling the Gold Up)	To insert into vagina	Sexual pleasure
3	<i>Xinyang Dan</i> 興陽丹 (Elixir of Rising	To plaster on the penis	Permanence of activity/	21	<i>Linggui Zhanshi Dan</i>	To insert into the entrance	Improvement of the penis /

⁶⁷ Later “aphrodisiacs” can be divided into four categories as follows; 1.those which are transmitted under the name of Chan Xiyi 陳希夷(?~989), those under the name of Sanfeng 三峰, those linked with imperial court, and those linked with immortals and sages. This table consisted of drugs transmitted under all these four categories in order, each of which division is shown with bold line. Also, this table is based on drugs appeared in later sex manuals collected in Duan Chenggong 段成功, Liu Yezhu 劉業柱 et al, ed., *Fangzhong Yangsheng Miji* 房中養生秘笈(A Secret Basket for Nourishing Life within the Chamber). Three Volumes. Beijing. Zhongyi Guji Chubanshe, 2001. In addition, I have also referred to Li Ling 李零 ed. 1993. *Zhongguo fangshu Gaiguan-Fangzhong* 中国方術概觀—房中(Outline of Chinese Magical Techniques-The Art of the Bedchamber). Beijing: Renmin zhongguo chuban.

	<i>yang</i>)		Holding seminal emission/ Sexual Pleasure		冥鬼展勢丹 (Elixir of Spirit and Demons Spreading the Force)	of urethra / (to insert into the mouth)	Sexual pleasure
4	Jinjiang Budaofang 金鎗不倒方 (Remedy for not Falling Golden Spear Down)	To insert into the entrance of urethra	Improvement of the penis / Permanence of activity / Sexual pleasure	22	He Huan San 合歡散 (Powder of Uniting the Pleasure)	To insert into vagina	Sexual pleasure
5	Han Sunfei NuanluDan 漢孫妃煖爐丹 (Queen Sun of the Han's Elixir to Warming Fireplace)	To insert into vagina	Shrinking the size of vagina / Sexual pleasure	24	Meini Diansheng Jiao 美女顫聲嬌 (Beautiful Lady Quivering the Voice and Fawning)	To insert into vagina	Sexual pleasure
6	Lu An Gongzhu Relu Fang 樂安公主熱爐方 (Princess Gong An's Remedy to Heating Fireplace of)	To insert into vagina	Shrinking the size of vagina / Sexual pleasure	25	Xingyang Baoshen Dan 興陽保腎丹 (Elixir for Rising Yang and Maintaining the Kidney)	Internal use	Fortifier/ Permanence of activity
7	Relu Shuangmei Dan 熱爐雙妙丹 (Elixir of Heating the Fireplace and Parallel Marvels)	To insert into vagina	Sexual arouser/ Improver of sensitivity / Mutual sexual pleasure	26	Yang Fei Yeye Jiao 楊妃夜夜嬌 (Queen Yang's Fawning Night by Night)	To plaster on th penis	Permanence of activity / Sexual pleasure
8	Shuangmei Dan 雙美丹 (Elixir of Parallel Rapture)	To insert into vagina	Sexual arouser for both a man and a woman/Mutual sexual pleasure	27	Kuai Nu Dan 快女丹 (Elixir of Pleasuring Lady)	To plaster on th penis (possible internal use for woman?)	Sexual pleasure for women/ Philtres
9	Tie Qi Gao 貼臍膏 (Sticking Plaster on Navel)	To stick onto the navel and stabilize with silk belt	A large quantity of sexual affairs / Holding seminal Emission	28	Zhang Xiang Si 長相思 (.Mutually Thinking of for a Long)/ Zhang Xiang Si Fang 長相思方 (Remedy for Mutually Thinking of for a Long)	To plaster on the penis / (Internal use)	Sexual arouser for woman/ philtres / A large quantity of sexual affairs/ Sexual pleasure
10	Jinsuo Yulian Huan	To plaster on the	Improvement of the	29	Yijing Gujing Dan	To plaster on the	Firming <i>jing</i>

	金鎖玉連環 (Ring of Jade ranging of Golden Chain)	penis	penis		怡情固精丹 (Elixir of Easing Emotions and Firming Jing)	penis	
11	<i>Zhai Yin Fang</i> 窄陰方 (Remedy to Narrowing Yin)	To insert into vagina	Shrinking the size of vagina	30	<i>Zhuangyang Yishen Dan</i> 壯陽益腎丹 (Elixir of Fortifying Yang and Benefiting the Kidney)	Internal use	Improvement of the penis / Holding Seminal Emission/ Sexual pleasure for women
12	<i>Zhang Xiang Si</i> 長相思 (Mutually Thinking of for a Long)	To plaster on the penis	Philtres	31	<i>Hanmiao Xiyu Gao</i> 旱苗喜雨膏 (Sticking Plaster for Dried Seedling being Pleased by Rain)	To plaster on the penis	Increasing the quantity of female secretion/ Sexual pleasure
13	<i>Yu Lu San</i> 浴爐散 (Powders to Bating Fireplace)/ <i>Luo Lu San</i> 洛爐散 (Powder of Fireplace in Luo)	To wash the vagina	Viagra/ Sexual Pleasure	32	<i>Feiyan Xichun San</i> 飛燕喜春散 (Powder of Flying Sparrow being Pleased by the Spring)	To plaster on the penis	Sexual arouser / Sexual pleasure
14	<i>Sishi Shuangmei San</i> 四時雙美散 (Powders for Parallel Rapture in Four Seasons)	To insert into vagina / (Internal use)	Sexual arouser /Viagra	33	<i>Xishi Shouchong Dan</i> 西施受寵丹 (Xishi's Elixir of Receiving Affection)	Internal use	A large quantity of sexual affairs/ Improvement of the penis / Sexual pleasure for women
15	<i>You Fa</i> 又方 (Another Remedy) ⁶⁸	Internal use	Improvement of the penis/ Viagra	34	<i>Zhenren Baiming Dan</i> 真人保命丹 (True Man's Elixir to Maintaining Life)	Internal use	A large quantity of sexual affairs/ Prolonging Life
16	<i>Tie Gou Wan</i>	Internal	Improvement	35	<i>Sunü Yu</i>	To plaster	Lightening

⁶⁸ This is put following to the “*Sishi Mei San* 四時美散(Powders for Rapture in Four Seasons)” in *Fangshu Xuanjizhong Cuizuan Yao* 房術玄機中萃纂要(Collected and Gathered Pivots out of Marvellous Ways of the Art of Chamber), compiled by Chen Xiyi while it is following to “*Li Xiao Wan* 立效丸(Pill of Standing Efficacy)” in *Xingxi Huanxiang Zhuren* 杏溪浣香主人(Landlord of the Fragrance of Washing in the Mountain Stream of Apricot), (Possibly sometimes during Jiajing 嘉靖 period, 1522~1566), *Zigui Mishu* 紫閣秘書(Secret Book of Purple Bedroom).

	鐵鈎丸 (Pill of Iron Crochet-hook)	use	nt of the penis / A large quantity of sexual affairs		Wangmu 素女遇王母 (Plain Girl Meeting with the Queen Mother)	on the penis	the body/ Sexual Pleasure
17	Li Xiao Wan 立效丸 (Pill of Standing Efficacy)	Internal use	Viagra/Improvement of the penis/Holding seminal emission	36	Meini Yixiao San 美女一笑散 (Powder for Beautiful Lady Smile at Once)	To insert into vagina	Sexual pleasure
18	Qianjin Mijing Fang 千金秘精方 (Priceless Remedy for Keeping <i>Jing</i>)	To hold within the mouth/ to plaster either on the vagina or the penis	Holding seminal emission/ Mutual sexual pleasure	37	Jinwu Dechun Dan 金屋得春丹 (Elixir of Getting the Spring in Golden House)	To wash the vagina	Shrinking the size of vagina / Sexual pleasure
38	Kuanpi Tang Xi Gui Fa 寬皮湯洗龜法 (A Method to Wash the Tortoise with Loosening the Skin Soup)	To wash the penis	Sexual pleasure	50	Xingzhan Liyang Dan 興戰立陽丹 (Elixir of Rising to Fight and Standing <i>Yang</i>)	Internal use	Permanence of activity/Holding seminal emission/Sexual pleasure
39	Xing Yang Wugong Dai 興陽蜈蚣袋 (A Pouch of Centipede for Rising <i>Yang</i>)	To hand down from the penis	Improvement of the penis/ Prolonging Life/ Procreation	51	Sishi Rumen Huan 四時入門歡 (Satisfaction of Entering the Gate in Four Seasons)	Internal use	「Sexual pleasure」
40	Wu Zetian Huaxin Dong Fangshu 武則天花心動房術 (The Queen Wu Zetian's Art to Move the Centre of the Follower) / Kundao Tuyu Dan 昆刀塗玉丹 (Elixir of Plastering Jade with the Sword of the Mt. Kunlun)	To plaster on the penis	Mutual sexual pleasure/ Avoiding the coldness of a man and a woman	52	Guzhen Gaotie Di Fa 固真膏貼臍法 (A Method of Plastering and Sticking onto the Navel for Firming the Truth)	To stick onto the navel and stabilize with silk belt	Fortifier of <i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i> / Mutual sexual pleasure
41	Jinzhong Shengchun Dan 錦帳生春丹 (Elixir of	To insert into the vagina	Stretching and filling the vagina	53	Xiangsi Suo 想思鎖 (Chain for Hoping and Thinking)	To insert into the entrance of urethra	Improvement of the penis

	Engendering the Spring in a Gorgeous Veil)						
42	Guben Zhuangyang Dan 固本壯陽丹 (Elixir of Firming the Foundation and Fortifying Yang)	Internal use	Improvement of the penis/[Fortifier]	54	Yuan Yang 鴛鴦扣 (A Knot of A Pair of Mandarin Duck)	To stuff in the ear	Permanence of activity/Holding seminal emission
43	Yanshou Gujing Wan 延壽固精丸 (Pill of Firming Jing and Prolonging Life)	Internal use	A large quantity of sexual affairs/ Maintaining the erection/Improvement of the penis	55	Ziyang Kuaihuo Dan 滋陽快活丹 (Elixir of Pleasure and Liveliness by Increasing Yang)	To insert into the vagina	Sexual pleasure
44	Chunfang Yaoxing Ge 春方藥性歌 (Song of the Nature of the Medicine for Spring Remedy)	[This song explains the nature of various items that help for the efficacy stated on the right column]	Viagra	56	Guben Dan 固本丹 (Elixir to Firming the Foundation)	Internal use	A large quantity of sexual affairs/Holding seminal emission
45	Zhuyang Dan Ge 助陽丹歌 (Song of Elixir of Helping Yang)	To smell	[to help yang]	57	Yidu Shinian Xiang 一度十年想 (Hoping for Ten Years by One Occasion)	Internal use • To insert into the vagina	Permanence of activity/Sexual pleasure/Philtres
46	Ziyin Zhuangyang Dan 滋陰壯陽丹 (Elixir of Increasing Yin and Fortifying Yang)	Internal use	Improvement of the penis/[Fortifier]	58	Shihuang tongnü dan 始皇童女丹 (Elixir of a Young Girl of Qin Shihuang)	To insert into vagina	Shrinking the size of vagina
47	Yidu Zhongshen Xiang 一度終身想 (Hoping till the Body will End by One Occasion)	Internal use	Philtres	59	Yushui Xiangtou san 魚水相投散 (Powder of Fish and Water Mutually Going over to Each Other)	To insert into vagina	Sexual arouser/ Mutual sexual pleasure/ A large quantity of sexual affairs
48	Yinian Dan 一捻丹 (Elixir of One	To plaster on the penis	Greatly causing shen 神	60	Qianggui Yinü dan 強龜益女丹	To plaster onto the penis	A large quantity of sexual

	Twist)				(Elixir to Strengthen the Tortoise and Benefit Woman)		affair/ Benefiting woman
49	<i>Shenxian Zhimiao Jue</i> 神仙至妙訣 (Shenxian's Point of Achieving Marvel)	Internal use	Holding seminal emission/ Firming <i>jing</i> / Sexual pleasure				
61	<i>Laorenjia Gujing Zhongzi Dan</i> 老人家固精種子丹(Elderly Man's House's Elixir of Firming <i>Jing</i> and Seeding Offspring)	Internal use	Procreation / Firming <i>jing</i>	78	<i>Jing Si Yingchui</i> 茎似硬槌 (Stalk like Hard Hammer)	To plaster on the penis	Improvement of the penis/Sexual pleasure
62	<i>Jin Dan De Zi</i> 金丹得子 (Golden Elixir to Obtain Offspring)	Internal use/To stick/ To wash the penis (for male use) /Internal use (for female use)	Improvement of the penis/ Sexual pleasure/ Procreation	79	<i>Yangfei Meiyi Dan</i> 楊妃美意丹 Queen Yang's Elixir for Rapture Hope)	To insert the vagina	Sexual arouser / Mutual sexual pleasure /Gynaecology / Improvement of the penis
63	<i>Jiaren Zi Jieyi</i> 佳人自解衣 (Lovable lady Taking Clothes Off By Herself)	Internal use	Sensualisation	80	<i>Zhuangyang Dan</i> 壯陽丹 (Elixir for Fortifying <i>Yang</i>)	Internal use	Improvement of the penis/Sexual pleasure
64	<i>Jing Ru Shichu</i> 莖如石杵(Stalk like Stone Mallet)	To tie onto the penis	Sexual pleasure	81	<i>Nuan Gong Wan</i> 暖宮丸 (Pill of Warming the Palace)	To insert the vagina	Sensualisation /Sexual pleasure
65	<i>Dabu Busun Wan</i> 大補不損丸 (Pill of Greatly Supplement without Harm)	Internal use	Holding seminal emission/ Fortifying <i>yang</i>	82	<i>Huangjing Yangqi Wan</i> 還精養氣丸 (Pill of Returning <i>Jing</i> and Nourishing <i>Qi</i>)	Internal use	Fortifying <i>yang</i>
66	<i>You Fang Wuxiang Ruyi Wan</i> 又方五香如意丸(Another	To insert the vagina and the	Sexual pleasure	83	<i>Yinyang Jiaomei Dan</i> 陰陽交美丹 (Elixir of <i>Yin</i>	To insert the vagina	Sexual pleasure

	Remedy of Five Fragrances Pill for Making as One Wanted)	mouth			and <i>Yang</i> Exchanging the Rapture)		
67	Jing Ru Tiebang 茎如鐵棒 (Stalk like IronBar)	To plaster on the penis and insert into the vagina	Improveme nt of the penis/Holdi ng seminal emission/Se xual pleasure	84	Baozhen Dingyisi Wan 保真定意思丸 (Pill of Maintaining the Truth and Settling the Hope and Thought)	To plaster on the penis	Holding seminal emission
68	Tongxiao San 通宵散 (Powder for Passing through Early Evening)	To plaster on the penis	Holding seminal emission	85	Cheye Wan 徹夜丸 (Pill for All Through the Night)	Internal use	Permanence of activity/ A large quantity of sexual affairs (?: Enabling to continue sexual intercourse all through the night) /Sexual pleasure
69	Liu dan Meixin Dan 六胆美心丹 (Elixir of Six Gallbladders for Beautiful Heart)	Internal use	Holding seminal emission	86	Yinxin Dan 淫心丹 (Elixir for Lust Heart)	To insert the vagina	Sensualisati on /Sexual pleasure
70	Nuanqu Jiao 暖趣 (Fawning Warmly and Flavourfully)	To insert the vagina	Sensualisati on /Sexual pleasure	87	Yiyang Dan 益陽丹 (Elixir to Benefit <i>Yang</i>)	Internal use	Fortifying <i>yang</i>
71	Chun Xia 春蝦 (Spring Shrimp)	Internal use		88	Xinyang Dan 興陽丹 (Elixir of Rising <i>Yang</i>)	Internal use	Viagra
72	Jiaren Dao Tijin 佳人倒貼 金(Sticking Gold for Lovable Lady Falling Down)	Internal use	Sensualisati on	89	Ermei Changqing San 二美長情散 (Powder for Two Beauties' Long Emotion)	To insert the vagina	Sexual pleasure
73	Jinqiang Budao Dan 金 槍不倒丹(Elixir for not Falling Golden Spear Down)	Internal use	Holding seminal emission	90	Shenxian Zhangjing Dan 神仙長茎丹 (Devine Immortal's Elixir for Lengthening Stalk)	Internal use	Improveme nt of the penis
74	Shuangmei Youqing Fang	To plaster on the	Mutual sexual	91	Baizhan GujingGao		No harm for <i>qi</i>

	双美有情方 (Remedy for Parallel Rapture and Having Emotion)	penis	pleasure /Sexual arouser		百戰固精膏 (Sticking Plaster for Firming <i>Jing</i> through Hundreds of Fights)		
75	Bushen Zhuyang Dan 補腎助陽丹 (Elixir to Supply the Kidney and Helping <i>Yang</i>)	Internal use	[Fortifying <i>yang</i>]	92	Sai'er Tongqiao Bushi Wan 塞耳通竅不泄丸 (Pill for Not Emitting and Passing through Hole by Stuffing Ear)	To stuff in the ear	Holding seminal emission
76	Manchuang Jiao 滿床嬌 (Fawning of Filling the Bed)	To insert the vagina	Sexual pleasure	93	Wandi Butui Fang 萬敵不類方 (Remedy of Not Withdrawing from Ten Thousands of Enemies)	Internal use	[Holding seminal emission ?]
77	Qindong Lishi Chun 情動立時春 (Spring of Emotion Moving and Standing on Time)	To plaster on the penis	Holding seminal emission (? : Ejaculate at getting out from the fireplace)				
94	Lü Zhu Jin Shi Sui Yanshou Buyi Tang 綠珠進石崇延壽補益湯 (Soup of Prolonging Life and Supplying Benefit Recommended by Lü Zhu to Shi Sui)	Internal use	Supplying Benefit	104	Lu An Gongzhu Ru Hua Yeye Xiang 樂安宮主如花夜夜香 (Princess Lu An's Nightly Fragrance Like Flower)	Internal use	Shrinking the size of vagina (? : having sex as if with virgin girl)
95	An Lushan CheyeZiqing San 安祿山徹恣情散 (An Lushan's Powder of Indulging Emotions All Through the Night)	To plaster on the penis	Holding seminal emission	105	Bi Aocao Jin Wu Zetianhou Zi Mei Fang 薛燕曹進武則天皇后自美方 (Remedy Recommended by Bi Aocao to The Empress Wu Zetian to Naturally Become)	Internal use	Sexual pleasure

96	<p><i>Sui Yangdi Xing Qunnü Biangong Chun</i> 隋煬帝幸群女遍宮春 (Spring of Yangdi of the Sui Dynasty Patronizing Swarms of Women by Touring the Palace)</p>	To plaster on the penis	Sexual pleasure	106	<p><i>Han Wudi Yuzhi Biangong Si</i> 漢武帝御制遍宮思 (Thought to Touring the Palace Created by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty by Himself)</p>	Internal use/ To plaster on the penis and cover it with silk for seven days	Improvement of the penis/ Maintaining the erection
97	<p><i>Qingong Zhuhou Yupen Shuangmei Fang</i> 秦宮朱后浴盆双妙丹方 (Queen Zhu of the Palace of Qin's Remedy for Elixir of Bathing Tub for Parallel Marvels)</p>	Wash the bodies of male and female	Viagra/ Shrinking the size of vagina	107	<p><i>Da Fei Runhu Fang</i> 妲妃潤戶方 (Da Fei's Remedy of Moistening the Gate)</p>	To wash The vagina	Sexual pleasure
98	<p><i>Taiping Gongzhu Mansheng Jiao</i> 太平公主万声嬌 (Princess Taiping's Fawning with Enormous Voice)</p>	To plaster on the penis	Fortifying yang /Permanence of activity / Sexual pleasure	108	<p><i>Lin Lingsu Jin Song Weizong Nü Dan</i> 林灵素進宋徽宗女丹 (Elixir for Woman Recommended by Lin Lingsu to Emperor Weizong of the Song Dynasty)</p>	To insert into the vagina	Sexual pleasure
99	<p><i>Yao Xian Mimiao Fang Ge</i> 耀仙秘妙方歌 (Song of Immortal Yao's Remedy for Secret Marvel)</p>	To insert into the vagina	Sexual pleasure	109	<p><i>Song Weizong Xing LiShi Ming Lijiu Zhi Longgu Zhenshu Fang</i> 宋徽宗幸李師命利劑局龍骨珍數方 (Remedy of Rare Number of Dragon Bone Created by the Office of Profitable Drug at the Order by the Emperor Weizong of the Song Dynasty When He</p>	Internal use / To plaster on the penis	(?: Inserting into the fireplace as one want.)

					Patronize Li Shi)		
100	Gao Ya Neimilu Zisong Jiaqi Qiupei Fang 高衙內秘錄自送佳期求配方 (Remedy Recorded Internally and Secretly by Gao Ya to Seeking for the Partner at Lovable Period Presented by Oneself)	To plaster over the female body	Sexual arouser or Sensualization for woman	110	Wu Sansi Jin Weihou Kuainü Wan 武三思進韋后快女丸 (Pill to Please Woman Recommended by Wu Sansi to Queen Wei)	To insert into the vagina	Sexual pleasure for woman
101	Yuan Shundi Yuzhi Jinqiang Budao Fang 元順帝御制金鏡不倒方 (Remedy of Not Falling the Golden Spear Down Created by Emperor Shun of the Yuan Dynasty Himself)	Internal use	Holding seminal emission	111	Nanjun Gaunzhu Qianjin Buyi Fang 南郡官主千金不易方 (Remedies of The Head of the Officials of South Borough Not to Exchange for Thousands of Gold)	Internal use	Improvement of the penis/ Sexual pleasure
102	Li Guogong Guansi Fang 史國公弘嗣方 (Li Guogong's Remedy of Broadening Successor)	To insert into the vagina	Procreation	112	Yang Fei Xiao Yupen 楊妃小浴盆 (Yang Fei's Small Bathing Tub)	To wash the penis and vagina	Sexual pleasure
103	Qin Shihuang Shi Binfei Caoshou Fan 秦始皇識嬪妃操守方 (The First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty's Remedy to Know Wives and Concubines' Chastity)	Plaster over the female body	Female chastity				

Table 4: List of Categories of Efficacies in the Late Sex Manuals

1	Prolonging life	13	To help yang	25	Increasing the quantity of female secretion
2	Lightening the body	14	Greatly causing shen	26	Philtre
3	Stabilizer of organ	15	Gynaecology	27	Sexual arouser

4	Supplying Benefit	16	Benefiting woman	28	Sexual arouser for woman
5	Avoiding the coldness of man and woman	17	Permanence of activity	29	Sexual arousal for man and woman
6	No harm for <i>qi</i>	18	Holding seminal emission	30	Improver of sensitivity
7	Rejuvenation	19	A large quantity of sexual affairs	31	Sensualisation
8	Procreation	20	Maintaining Erection	32	Sexual pleasure
9	Fortifier	21	Improvement of the penis	33	Sexual pleasure for woman
10	Fortifying <i>yang</i>	22	Viagra	34	Mutual sexual pleasure
11	Fortifier of <i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i>	23	Shrinking the size of vagina		
12	Firming <i>jing</i>	24	Stretching and filling the vagina		





Table 5. Japanese Assessments on the Penis





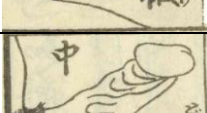
— 1・*Kōshoku Tabimakura* 好色旅枕 (8th year of Genroku 元禄八=1695)

上品=甘草まら(Upper Level =Licorice Penis)	先いかって張り強く四寸の胴返し、雁高く、筋いららか、色黒、81度のうちは萎えない(The one of which tip is stirred to stretch strongly, the shape is <i>Dōgaeshi</i> with four <i>sun</i> for the height, length and width, with glans placed highly, with sharp nerves and with black coloured, which will not wither within 81 times.
中まら(Middle Level Penis)	上まらに似た形、五分長すぎ、72度のうちは萎えない(The one of which shape is similar to the upper level penis, though this one is five <i>sun</i> longer, which will not wither within 72 times.
下まら(Lower Level Penis)	元末なれ合い、皮被り、色白く、くにやつく、入れば縮みあがり出せば勃へ出づる(The one of which root and tip are in conspiracy, which is phimotic, white coloured, and limp, and will shrink when it is inserted while erect when it is pulled out).

-2 *Bidō Nichiya Jyohō Ki* 艶道日夜女宝記(During Meiwa Era=around 1770)

—About the Nine Tools 九道具の事

1		長(Chō)	長くして竿の如し、思ひのままに行へば玉門を貫き病を求む(Long as if it were a pole. With this, one would play as one wants, which would drill the jade gate only to seek for disease.)
2		麩(Fu)	柔らかにして開中の当たりよし、どんな玉門に合わせても良き也(As it is soft, its touch within the vagina is excellent. This one can match for any vagina.)
3		小(Komara)	短く小さき故、女、堪能少なければ、毒にも薬にもならず(As it is short and small, women would hardly be satisfied, and therefore it would not be poisonous nor medicinal.)
4		下反(Shita-zori)	開中の構えと食い違ふたる故、出入りの具合悪しく、下まら也(As it does not fit with the structure within the vagina, its insertion and extraction go badly. Thus, this is lower level penis.)

5		上反(Uwa-zori)	玉門に入りて構えに応じ、開の上面を擦る故、具合良し (As it fits with the structure within the vagina to rub the upper part inside the vagina, it works well.)
6		太(Futo)	開中に入れ、半ばになりてははなはだ締めまり良し。あら開は叶はず (Being put inside the vagina, it fills the vagina very much from the middle point. It cannot be fit for new vagina, i.e. organ of virgin.)
7		雁(Kari)	かり高なり。是も開中の上面を鋭くしごきて良し (Its glans stays high. This one also scrub sharply the upper part inside the vagina and therefore it works well.)
8		被(Suboke)	玉門に入りて、出入りに術を尽くすと雖も、互いに味はひ無し (Being put inside the vagina, even though one did his best with Art, it would not bring any taste for both the man and woman.)
9		大(Dōgaeshi)	まれの道具にして名品なれば、玉門を選び、並の女は受け難し (As this one is a rare tool and a masterpiece, it is selective for jade gate and general women are difficult to receive this one.)

-3. Hyakunin Isshu Shokushi Bako 百人一出拭紙箱 (During Anei Era=around 1773)

1	麩(Fu)	麩を煮たるとく、総の大小によらず一杯に増ゆるやうに、つびの広狭にかかわらず、よく合ひて、しっくりとする故、是を最上とするなり (As if it were a simmered Fu, which increases itself fully no matter if it was big or small, this one sits well with any vagina no matter if the vagina is wide or narrow. This is why this one is the best.)
2	雁(Kari)	かり高さまら也。開中に入りて、上下左右を擦る気味よし。疣まらも此一類也。(This is the penis with glans placed high. Its taste when it rubs up, down, left and right inside the vagina is good. The penis with knot is one of the sorts.)
3	反(Sori)	上の方へ反りて、交合の具合よろしく、開中を自由に廻る也。(This one winds upwards, works well during the intercourse, and rotates freely within the vagina.)
4	笠(Kasa)	かり高の下品なり。かりくび大きすぎて、小開(こびつ)には難儀なる故、よからずとす。(It is the lower level penis of the ones with glans placed high. As its glans is so big that it would cause difficulties for small vagina, it is downgraded.)
5	鉄(Tetsu)	くろまらやかなまらとも言へり。其風味よし。(This one is also known as Black Penis or Metal Penis. Its taste is good.)
6	白(Shiro)	見たる所は美しけれども、味わひ良からず。(Its appearance is beautiful, but its taste is not good.)
7	木(Ki)	木まらとて、筒の如く固し。女の感情少なし。(This one is Wooden Penis which is like pipe and hard. It would hardly cause female feelings.)
8	太(Futo)	いたって太く、廣開に合わせてよし。常ていのぼぼには弾ぢくるとて、女のほうよからず。(Being very big, it is good if it is matched with Wide Vagina. It would burst open normal vagina, women with normal organ would not enjoy this one.)
9	長(Chō)	女をし殺すべし。恐るべし恐るべし。(It would kill woman. Be scared, be scared.)

10	包(Subo)	是すばけとて、小児の指似の如く、皮を被りたり。しかれども張形よりはましならん。色事に餓え給ふ女中は、さのみ選り嫌いも無く、是にて堪能有ることなり。(This is known as <i>Suboke</i> , which is just like a finger of a child and it wear skin. However, it would be better than artificial penis. maids who have thirst in sexual affairs do not have special preference and therefore they would be satisfied with this one.)
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-4. Danjyo Kyōkun Hana no Arika 男女狂訓華のあり香

上品(Upper Level)	雁先廻り Around the Tip of Glans	四寸八分
	雁際 Border of the Glans	四寸五分
	中途 Middle Part	四寸二分
	根元 Root	四寸
	長さ Length	四寸八分
中品(Middle Level)	雁先 Tip of Glans	四寸
	雁際 Border of Glans	三寸九分
	中途 Middle Part	三寸八分
	根元 Root	四寸
	長さ Length	四寸
下品・・・下へ反る (Lower Level —Winding downward)	雁先 Tip of Glans	三寸七分
	雁際 Border of Glans	三寸七分
	中途 Middle Part	三寸八分
	根元 Root	四寸
	長さ Length	三寸八分

Figure 1 from *Makura Bunko*



Fig 2 from *Makura Bunko*



Fig 3. from *Bidō Nichiya Jyohōki*

