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Chapter Four: Printing and Circulating “Precious Scrolls” in Early Twentieth-Century Shanghai and its Vicinity: Toward an Assessment of Multifunctionality of the Genre¹

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the printing and transmission of *baojuan* 寶卷 (precious scrolls) in Shanghai and its neighboring regions in the period between 1910 and 1940. *Baojuan* texts and their recitation have constituted an important part of the religious life of the folk in the Lower Yangtze region throughout the modern period. *Baojuan* are texts with a primarily religious content written in the style of alternating prose and verse, and which were originally intended for oral presentation. *Baojuan* as a literary form first appeared around the fourteenth century and was still flourishing at the beginning of the twentieth century. *Baojuan* had undergone a long process of transformation before they became a widespread form of storytelling art in the Lower Yangtze region around the year 1850.² Although there are several detailed studies of the content and performance of *baojuan* in this region,³ very few scholars have paid attention to the publishing of these texts in large urban areas and its impact on the dissemination of

¹ The original version of this chapter was presented in 2011 at the seminar of the Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica, where the author was a postdoctoral fellow. The author would like to express his gratitude to Drs. Paul R. Katz, Lu Miaw-fen 呂妙芬, Li Kai-kuang, Liu Wen-hsing and other scholars at the Institute of Modern History, as well as the anonymous reader for their critical comments, to Dr. Ma Xiaohe and other staff of Harvard-Yenching Library for the access to their materials and to Dr. Gregory Adam Scott for his numerous suggestions and editing work.

² For an introduction to *baojuan*, see Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū* 增補寶卷の研究 (Tokyo: Dōkyō kankōkai, 1975); Daniel L. Overmyer, *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Li Shiyu 李世瑜, *Baojuan lun ji* 寶卷論集 (Taipei: Lantai chubanshe, 2007); Che Xilun 車錫倫, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu* 中國寶卷研究 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009).

³ The most important of which was fieldwork on modern *baojuan* performances conducted by Che Xilun, see his *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 240–432.

baojuan. The methods of transmission of *baojuan* in Shanghai and its vicinity have not been discussed so far in studies on Chinese religions in the Republican period, although there are several works that deal with religious publishing of that time and its important social role.⁴

This chapter represents an attempt to fill this lacuna by discussing the multifaceted phenomenon of printing and dissemination of *baojuan* texts in Shanghai, and also by exploring the connection between the printing of *baojuan* and the art of their professional performance. At the beginning of the twentieth century a new technology, namely lithography (*shiyin* 石印), began to be used for printing *baojuan*. This shift in printing media also coincided with certain changes in the appearance and possibly even in the use of these texts. At the same time, there was also continuity with earlier stages of the development of *baojuan* texts. I will first analyze the nature of these changes and continuities and also demonstrate the significance of the lithographic mode of production for the history of *baojuan*; my aim is to re-consider the role of lithographic *baojuan* in modern China. In this essay, I mainly make use of information from original editions of *baojuan*, data that often appears in the form of prefaces, postfaces, publishers' notes, and commercial advertisements, which the author studied in collections of *baojuan* editions in China, Taiwan, the United States, and Russia between 2004 and 2010.⁵ I also juxtapose them with relevant historical sources.

4 On religious publishing in early twentieth-century China, excluding Western religions, see Rudolf Löwenthal (羅文達), *The Religious Periodical Press in China* (Peking: The Synodal Commission in China, 1940; reprinted by the Chinese Materials Center in San Francisco, 1978), especially 139–192, 282–292; Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 231–271; Jan Kiely, “Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1865–1949,” in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, 1800–2008*, ed. Christopher Reed and Cynthia Brokaw (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2010), 185–210; Jan Kiely, “Shanghai Public Moralists Nie Qijie and Morality Book Publication Projects in Republican China,” *Twentieth-Century China* 36, no. 1 (January 2011): 4–22.

5 The biggest of which are the rare book collections of the Fu Ssu-nien Library at Academia Sinica (中央研究院歷史語言研究所傅斯年圖書館, Taiwan), the Harvard-Yenching Library (originally in the private collection of Professor Patrick Hanan), Shanghai Library (上海圖書館), Fudan University Library (復旦大學圖書館, Shanghai), and the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 中國社會科學院文學研究所. *Baojuan* from the Fu Ssu-nien Library were partly reprinted in Huang Kuanzhong 黃寬重 et al., eds., *Suwenxue congkan: xiju lei, shuochang lei* 俗文學叢刊: 戲劇類, 說唱類 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 2002), vols. 352–361. For detailed lists of the *baojuan* from the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Harvard-Yenching Library, see Xu Yunzhen 許允貞, “Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo guan cang baojuan fenlei tilu” 中國社會科學院文學研究所館藏寶卷

In sections 6 and 7, which deal with the transmission of *baojuan* editions in the Republican period, I use historical and literary sources which do not necessarily refer to Shanghai, but mostly come from the southern part of China, as well as materials obtained from fieldwork in the areas of Jiangsu province that are close to Shanghai.

2. Lithographic Editions of *Baojuan* and the Question of the Transformation of Their Function

First of all I would like to note that one can identify three major forms in which written *baojuan* appeared: manuscript, woodblock, and lithograph. Manuscripts were probably the earliest form of *baojuan* literature and they are still copied by *baojuan* performers in mainland China today. Starting in the sixteenth century, *baojuan* were often reproduced by means of woodblock printing (*muke* 木刻), and woodblock editions of *baojuan* persisted into the first half of the twentieth century. From the very end of the nineteenth century, however, *baojuan* also started to be reproduced by means of lithography.

The print technology of the mechanized lithographic press was introduced to China by Westerners in the nineteenth century. Lithography uses an image drawn in wax or another hydrophobic substance applied to a stone or metal plate with a completely smooth surface as the medium to transfer ink to the printed sheet. Lithography makes use of a chemical process that allows a precise transfer of the drawn image, and also makes it possible to print more copies of the book at a lower cost than with woodblock printing. Lithographic printing became a popular medium for publishing in modern China, primarily in Shanghai; lithographic publishers flourished in the period from 1875 to 1905 and continued their activities afterwards.⁶ Numerous lithographic editions of *baojuan* were

分類題錄, in Xu, “Cong nüxing dao nüshen: nüxing xiuxing xinnian baojuan yanjiu” 從女性到女神：女性修行信念寶卷研究 (PhD diss., Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2010), 116–213; and Huo Jianyu 霍建瑜, “Hafo Yanjing tushuguan cang Hannan suo zeng baojuan jingyanlu” 哈佛燕京圖書館藏韓南所贈寶卷經眼錄, *Shumu jikan* 書目季刊 44, no. 1 (June 2010): 99–119. Baojuan editions from the Harvard-Yenching Library are digitized and available online: <http://lms01.harvard.edu/F/7NU1GKMSY2Q6Q7JBVQ3D4E6DXJNYPXINGJTD4DMVYDPTHT5LEC-00388?func=find-acc&acc_sequence=082434245>, accessed on May 7, 2011.

⁶ On them, see Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 88–127.

printed in Shanghai and the nearby cities of Ningbo 寧波, Hangzhou 杭州, and Shaoxing 紹興 between 1910 and 1940. In the latter part of this period, typeset editions of *baojuan* were also printed, but they were not as numerous as the lithographic editions. *Baojuan* publishing at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, especially the printing of lithographic editions of *baojuan*, is under-studied in Chinese and foreign works on *baojuan*. The most authoritative specialists in *baojuan* studies, Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂 and Che Xilun 車錫倫, only briefly mention lithographic editions in their studies of the history of this genre.⁷ Xu Yunzhen 許允貞, who specifically studied *baojuan* texts collected at the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, briefly discussed lithographic editions of *baojuan* printed in Shanghai in the overview of the history of *baojuan* manuscript copying and publishing included as part of her dissertation.⁸ Recent specialist studies of the print culture of modern Shanghai do not discuss lithographic *baojuan*.⁹ I think that several questions posed in previous studies that mention the printing of *baojuan* in Shanghai still need more detailed analysis. These studies assert that the nature of *baojuan* texts was radically changed after they started to be printed by means of lithography in Shanghai and other cities: namely, that they evolved from scripts for recitation into reading materials.¹⁰

Xu Yunzhen, who has paid more attention to lithographic *baojuan* than other scholars, clearly identifies the connection between the use of lithographic print technology and the transformation of the main function of *baojuan* texts. She bases her argument on a comparison between the forms of woodblock editions from the end of the nineteenth century and those of lithographic editions from the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as changes in the literary forms and contents of the texts.¹¹ In her work, however, it remains largely unclear when exactly the transformation of *baojuan* from scripts for recitation into reading materials took place. I would therefore argue that the situation with regard to the use of *baojuan* editions in this period was a great deal more complex than it is usually presented. While I accept the general thesis suggested in previous studies that *baojuan* served as reading materials for the broadest category of readers at the beginning of the twentieth century, I would

7 Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 80–81; Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 223–224.

8 Xu Yunzhen, “*Baojuan* banben zhu wenti ji qi lishi—yi Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo suo cang *baojuan* wei anli” 寶卷版本諸問題及其歷史——以中國社會科學院文學研究所所藏寶卷為案例, in Xu, “*Cong nüxing dao nüshen*,” 77–79.

9 See for example, Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*.

10 See Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 80–81; Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 223–224.

11 Xu Yunzhen, “*Baojuan* banben zhu wenti ji qi lishi,” 78–79.

like to question the assertion regarding the complete transformation of the use of *baojuan* editions at that time and look closer at available evidence about the circulation of these texts.

The main questions that I pose in this study are: “In which forms did *baojuan* circulate in Shanghai and its vicinity at that time? Was there just one method of using *baojuan* editions or were there many?” A detailed analysis of historical evidence demonstrates that there was in fact a variety of forms in which *baojuan* circulated in Shanghai, including textual as well as oral transmission. This phenomenon fit well into the diverse culture of the city.¹² The printing of woodblock editions of *baojuan* also continued in Shanghai in the twentieth century, so in this chapter I will analyze the differences between the lithographic and woodblock *baojuan* printed at that time, and discuss the innovations related to the introduction of lithographic techniques in detail. I will also address the question of a more precise dating of the beginning of the use of *baojuan* as reading materials. Because lithographic editions of *baojuan* are more numerous than typeset editions and appeared earlier, in this study I limit my research to the lithographic mode of *baojuan* printing and do not discuss typeset editions. Furthermore, I primarily focus on the printing of *baojuan* by four representative publishers in Shanghai: Wenyi shuju 文益書局 (Profit from Culture Bookstore), Xiyin shuju 惜陰書局 (Cherishing Moments Bookstore), Yihuatang shanshujū 翼化堂善書局 (Morality Bookstore of Broad Transformation), and Hongda shanshujū 宏大善書局 (Great [Enterprise] Morality Bookstore).

3. *Baojuan* Publishers in Shanghai

The situation with regard to *baojuan* publishers in Shanghai was quite complex. I have counted forty-seven publishers and organizations that printed *baojuan* in Shanghai between 1911 and 1940.¹³ They used woodblock, lithographic and typeset modes; however, most of them worked with lithographic print. Some of these publishers are included in the number presented by Christopher Reed in his work on the print culture of Shanghai, where he has noted at least 164 lithographic publishers about whom he had information that were active in the city during the Republican Era.¹⁴ Most publishers who produced *baojuan* can

¹² For recent research on cultural diversity in Shanghai, see Xu Jilin 許紀霖 et al., eds., *Chengshi de jiyi: Shanghai wenhua de duoyuan lishi chuantong* 城市的記憶: 上海文化的多元歷史傳統 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2011).

¹³ See appendix 1, at the end of this chapter.

¹⁴ Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 126–127.

be found in the catalogues of the extant editions of literary and medical works that Reed primarily consulted for his statistics, and in other recent reference books about Shanghai publishing.¹⁵ Not all active publishers, however, were included in these lists.

The publishers who printed *baojuan* in Shanghai in the twentieth century can be classified into two general types: “literary” commercial publishers and publishers of morality books (*shanshuju* 善書局). Publishers that I term “literary” specialized in literary works (mainly novels and *tanci* 彈詞) and combined the printing of *baojuan* with the printing of other types of books.¹⁶ Among the literary publishers there were those who printed a large number of *baojuan*: Xiyin, Wenyi, Wen yuan shuju 文元書局 (Primacy of Culture Bookstore), [He] Guangji shuju [何]廣記書局 (He Guang Bookstore), and Jiangchunji shuzhuang 蔣春記書莊 (Jiangchun Book Village). Xiyin seems to have been a leader in *baojuan* production, with ninety-six titles catalogued.¹⁷ The second most prolific *baojuan* printer, with seventy-one titles, was Wenyi.¹⁸ Unfortunately, there is very little information about these two publishers, and it is difficult to determine even the dates when Wenyi and Xiyin were founded and operated. In the case of Wenyi, according to the “List of Shanghai publishers in 1911” (1911 nian Shanghai shuye minglu 1911 年上海書業名錄) reprinted in a recent reference book on Shanghai publishing, it was founded in 1911.¹⁹ However, there are lithographic *baojuan* editions by the same publisher that are dated earlier than 1911.²⁰ According to the dates in *baojuan* editions published by Wenyi, it was still operational in the 1920s and early 1930s, yet its name is not mentioned in lists of

15 Mainly Zhongguo Zhongyi yanjiuyuan tushuguan 中國中醫研究院圖書館, ed., *Quanguo Zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* 全國中醫圖書聯合目錄 (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991); Wang Qingyuan 王清原, Mou Renlong 牟仁隆, and Han Xiduo 韓錫鐸, eds., *Xiaoshuo shufang lu* 小說書坊錄 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002); Wang Yaohua 汪耀華, ed., *Shanghai shuye minglu: 1906–2010* 上海書業名錄: 1906–2010 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2011).

16 *Tanci* refers to “plucking lyrics” or chantefable, a form of storytelling popular in Jiangsu and Zhejiang at that time. Written texts were also circulated: see Mark Bender, *Plum and Bamboo: China’s Suzhou Chantefable Tradition* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 2003).

17 I am basing this primarily on the information from Che Xilun’s catalogue published in 2000, which, as mentioned above, is incomplete. Xiyin’s advertisements in some of its editions say that this publisher produced more than 100 titles, but they do not provide a complete list of titles.

18 See appendix 2 at the end of this chapter.

19 Wang Yaohua, *Shanghai shuye minglu*, 9.

20 For example, one edition of *Baojuan of the Pearl Pagoda* (*Zhenzhuta baojuan* 珍珠塔寶卷, Che no. 1540) is dated to 1909. See Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan zongmu*, 368. A “Che” number following a *baojuan* title refers to its index number in this catalogue.

Shanghai publishers compiled after 1917.²¹ I was not able to determine the date of foundation for Xiyin based on the sources that I have. In available historical sources, Xiyin is first mentioned in “Survey of Shanghai bookstores of 1935” (1935 nian Shanghai shi shudian diaocha 1935 年上海市書店調查).²² Its name does not appear in the list of 1930, and thus it is tempting to conclude that Xiyin was founded sometime between 1930 and 1935. However, I cannot assert this with any certainty, as the lists and surveys that I have are clearly incomplete.²³

This feature of surveys becomes evident when we look at the cases of other publishers. For example, Hongda Morality Bookstore, which also printed lithographic *baojuan*, is first mentioned in the 1942 survey of the Shanghai publishing industry.²⁴ The lists dated to 1930, 1935, and 1939 do not mention Hongda, but it was certainly active during that era. Hongda published many religious works starting from 1921 at the latest and was active in the 1930s; there are several *baojuan* editions by Hongda that date to this period. The approximate date of Xiyin’s activities—the 1930s—is further evidenced by the dates in several lithographic editions of this publisher—*Baojuan of Huang Huiru* (Huang Huiru *baojuan* 黃慧如寶卷, Che no. 395), dated to 1933, and *Guanyin and Twelve Fully Enlightened [Ones]* (*Guanyin shier yuanjue* 觀音十二圓覺, Che no. 323), dated to 1938.²⁵ Most of Xiyin’s editions of *baojuan* are undated, but we can assume that they were also printed around the same time. As will be mentioned below, Xiyin remained active into the 1940s. There were also literary publishers who printed just one or two *baojuan*, often as part of collections of texts of popular literature.²⁶

As for the other categories of books printed by these literary publishers, relevant information often appears in the form of notes in *baojuan* editions. For example, a note by the head of Wenyi in the *Complete Version of Baojuan of Miaoying* (*Miaoying baojuan quanji* 妙英寶卷全集, Che no. 699, printed in 1914) says that “this publisher prints all kinds of *baojuan* and morality books, texts in de-

21 Wang Yaohua, *Shanghai shuye minglu*, 17.

22 Wang Yaohua, *Shanghai shuye minglu*, 44.

23 A publisher with the name Xiyin (in two variants: Xiyin xian 惜陰軒 and Xiyin shuju 惜陰書局) appears in an advertisement published in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* on Oct. 30, 1889. However, the ad says that this publisher operated in Hunan province and does not mention *baojuan*: Shanghai *Shenbao* guan 上海申報館 ed., *Shenbao* 申報, vol. 35 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1982–1987; originally printed Oct. 30, 1889), 4. It is not clear if this publisher was in any way related to the Shanghai publisher that printed *baojuan*.

24 Wang Yaohua, *Shanghai shuye minglu*, 81.

25 Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan zongmu*, 95, 70.

26 These publishers are also listed in appendix 1.

mand for the study halls [textbooks], collections of calligraphic inscriptions by famous masters, all kinds of letter-writing manuals, books on medicine and divination, as well as all kinds of novels and 'leisure books,' books of songs, pictures, and capital drama [Beijing drama] scripts."²⁷ This list demonstrates the diversity of the production of this commercial publisher. According to publishers' surveys from 1935 and 1939, Xiyin mainly printed novels and illustrated books.²⁸ The association of this publisher with novels in particular is asserted in the note in its *baojuan* editions' covers, mentioned in section 5 below. Another publisher, Jiangchunji shuzhuang, printed mainly novels, classics, *tanci*, morality books, and traditional textbooks, as demonstrated by the catalogue of its books appended to the lithographic edition of *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang* (*Liu Xiang nü baojuan* 劉香女寶卷, Che no. 642, undated, in Harvard-Yenching Library).²⁹ Five out of forty-eight titles in this catalogue are *baojuan*. The printing of *baojuan* by these publishers is closely connected to the demand for these texts on the part of the reading public that consumed it along with the fiction and other popular texts.

The second type of publisher that printed *baojuan* in Shanghai was the specialized publisher of morality books. As outlined above, morality books (*shanshu* 善書) do appear in the book lists of literary publishers; however, there were also publishers who specialized in printing these works. Printing of *baojuan* by these publishers in the twentieth century is rooted in the past, when during the last century of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) a widespread association of *baojuan* with morality books was established. Morality books are a form of didactic literature that was considerably different from *baojuan* in terms of content and usage in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, however, many *baojuan* were considered to also be morality books, as they advocated traditional moral values. Sawada Mizuho has argued that the association of *baojuan* with morality books was established during the Jiaqing 嘉慶 (1796–1820)

27 「本局批叢各種寶卷、善書、學堂應需讀本、名家法帖、各種尺牘、醫卜星相，以及各種小說閒書、唱本、圖畫、京戲。」 Edition from the collection of the Fu Ssu-nien Library, reprinted in Huang Kuanzhong et al., ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 354: 488. All Chinese citations in this chapter have had punctuation added by the author.

28 Wang Yaohua, *Shanghai shuye minglu*, 44, 69. The article in *Shenbao* of Dec. 1, 1947, says that Xiyin printed many comic books that were favored by school-aged children: *Shenbao*, vol. 395 (Dec. 1, 1947): 4. This is proof that Xiyin continued to flourish in the 1940s. We should also pay attention to the fact that Xiyin specialized in categories of books (such as illustrated novels and comic books) that constituted popular reading materials for children as well as for adults, a fact that contributes to our understanding of the place of *baojuan* in the literature market. See section 5, below.

29 This edition is not listed in Che Xilun's catalogue.

and Daoguang 道光 (1820–1850) reign periods.³⁰ He based this on the fact that several *baojuan* mostly containing moral injunctions were published by moralists at that time, one notable example being *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection* (*Zhenxiu baojuan* 真修寶卷, Che no. 1550), discussed below in section 6. According to Yao Chi-on, specialist publishers of morality books appeared in the southern part of China beginning around the Xianfeng 咸豐 reign period (1850–1862).³¹

Several Shanghai publishers of morality books printed *baojuan* in the period between 1910 and 1940, the principal ones being Yihuatang, Hongda, and Dafeng shanshu kanxingsuo 大豐善書刊行所 (Morality Book Publisher of Great Abundance).³² Yihuatang and Hongda together printed the largest amount of *baojuan* titles. The catalogue of editions by Yihuatang dated 1933 lists ninety-seven *baojuan*, while the catalogue of Hongda's editions dated 1933 lists nineteen *baojuan*.³³ Some publishers of morality books used the lithographic press, the most notable example being Hongda, but others still used traditional woodblock printing. Yihuatang, for example, continued to print woodblock *baojuan* in the first half of the twentieth century. Yihuatang was a quite well-known publisher of morality books, located on Yuyuan Road 豫園路, behind the City God Temple

30 Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 37. For a different view, see Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, *Zhongguo shanshu yanjiu (zengbu ban)* 中國善書研究(增補版), trans. Liu Yuebing 劉嶽兵, et al., vol. 2 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2010; original edition, *Chūgoku zenshō no kenkyū* 中國善書の研究; revised edition, Tokyo: Kōbun dō, 1999), 708–714.

31 On morality books, see Cynthia Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Sakai Tadao, *Zhongguo shanshu yanjiu*; Yau Chi-on [You Zi'an] 游子安, *Quanhua jinzhen: Qingdai shanshu yanjiu* 勸化金箴：清代善書研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1999); Yau Chi-on, *Shan yu ren tong: Ming-Qing yilai de cishan yu jiaohua* 善與人同：明清以來的慈善與教化 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005). On *shanshuju*, see Yau Chi-on, *Quanhua jinzhen*, 152–153, as well as the chapters by Katz, Wang, and Yau in the present volume.

32 On the publishers of morality books in Shanghai, see Yau Chi-on, *Quanhua jinzhen*, 153–154; Yau Chi-on, *Shan yu ren tong*, 71–87; and the chapter by Wang Chien-chuan 王見川 in this volume. Zhu Lianbao 朱聯保 in his memoirs on Shanghai publishing industry also mentions Hongda as a publisher specializing in religious works. See his *Jinxiandai Shanghai chubanye yinxiang ji* 近現代上海出版業印象記 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1993), 255.

33 *Yangshan banyuekan* 揚善半月刊, no. 1 (Jan. 7, 1933): 13–14, reprinted in *Yangshan banyuekan: xianxue zhuanmen zazhi* 揚善半月刊：仙學專門雜誌 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2005). The Hongda catalogue was reprinted in Wang Chien-chuan 王見川 et al., eds., *Minjian sicang Zhongguo minjian xinyang minjian wenhua ziliao huibian, di yi ji* 民間私藏：中國民間信仰民間文化資料彙編. 第一輯, vol. 19 (Taipei: Boyang wenhua, 2011), 1–31. This list is incomplete; based on the catalogues of *baojuan* and data from library collections, I can assert that Hongda printed twenty-two *baojuan* titles in total. See appendix 2, below.

城隍廟, in the center of old Shanghai. It was established around 1857 by the philanthropist Zhang Weicheng 張韋承 (Zhang Xuetang 張雪堂, 1837–1909) and was active for nearly eighty years, printing religious books of different traditions, including Daoist and Buddhist scriptures, morality books and *baojuan*, as well as periodicals.³⁴ The *baojuan* listed in the catalogue of editions by Yihuatang mentioned above are mostly woodblock editions.³⁵ However, Yihuatang switched to lithographic printing at a certain point in its history. In the later period, Yihuatang printed several lithographic *baojuan*, for example *Ashoka King Baojuan* (*Ayuwang baojuan*, 阿育王寶卷) with *Bolanggong Baojuan* (柏郎公寶卷, Che no. 46) appended, dated to 1924.³⁶

We can thus see that a considerable number of these two types of publishers were engaged in printing *baojuan* in Shanghai. Shanghai publishers of both types used lithographic technologies; even traditional publishers of religious works who operated primarily with woodblocks started to use lithography, a phenomenon that has to do with the advantages of new print technologies as well as changes in the use of *baojuan* texts. While *baojuan* texts circulated as commercialized materials for reading, the aesthetic quality of the editions became important, and lithography had significant advantages in this aspect.

4. Commercial Printing of Lithographic *baojuan*

In this section I will discuss the modes of production and distribution of *baojuan* editions in Shanghai at the beginning of the twentieth century. The commercialization of the printing of *baojuan* was a significant innovation that took place around the turn of the century. It was largely this aspect that distinguished the lithographic and woodblock publishing of *baojuan*.

Traditionally, *baojuan* printing followed the mode of printing Buddhist scriptures and morality books: printed with funds collected from worshippers, and distributed free of charge. A sponsor could order the printing of a given number of copies, and this information often appears in the colophons of

34 On the history of Yihuatang, see Zhang Zhuming 張竹銘, “Yihuatang shanshuju zhi chuangshe ji ben kan faxing zhi yuanyin” 翼化堂善書局之創設及本刊發行之原因, *Yangshan banyuekan*, no. 13 (Jan. 1, 1934): 18–19; Wu Yakui 吳亞魁, “Hua shuo Yihuatang shanshuju” 話說翼化堂善書局, *Shanghai daojiao* 上海道教, no. 1 (1995): 26–27; Yau Chi-on, *Quanhua jinzhen*, 153–155; Liu, *Daoist Modern*, 234–241, and also chapter six in this volume.

35 Apparently not all are extant now, as many of them are not listed in the catalogue of *baojuan* by Che Xilun.

36 Harvard-Yenching Library, 57260139.

baojuan.³⁷ Thus, publishers could have potentially profited from printing *baojuan*, but I have not found any indication that publishers in the Qing dynasty printed *baojuan* and offered them for retail sale for their own financial consideration. The situation with regard to the printing of most lithographic *baojuan* was different. *Baojuan* were printed by publishers who also sold the books themselves. The price lists of *baojuan* printed by a given publisher that indicate the price of each book often appear at the end of book editions; see for example the list of *baojuan* printed by Wenyi publisher dated to 1915 (Figure 1). Based on these listed prices, one can see that editions were quite cheap. The usual price of a *baojuan* edition by Wenyi in the year 1915 was around two *jiao*, or twenty Chinese cents.³⁸ This price is comparable with the prices of other commercial lithographic publishers in Shanghai during that period. Reed gives prices for lithographic editions of short works, comprised of two to twenty volumes from Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房 in 1917, which start as low as fifteen cents and do not usually reach as high as one Chinese dollar.³⁹ As previous studies have argued, these prices were quite affordable for a reader of a middle or even low economic status, so *baojuan* were indeed affordable as popular reading materials.

Editions of Wenyi and Xiyin usually also feature a note regarding copyright (*banquan suoyou* 版權所有) and a prohibition against reproduction in their frontispieces. The intentions behind such notes appear to be completely opposite to those motivating the invitations to reproduce *baojuan* that appear in woodblock editions of the Qing dynasty. These notes testify to the fact that the publishers who printed *baojuan* embraced the concept of copyright, widespread in the Chinese print culture of the early twentieth century.⁴⁰ Here, I do not enter into a discussion of the question whether these copyright restrictions were actually observed. The mere fact of their appearance, however, does deserve notice. Publishers started to treat *baojuan* as a form of intellectual property, a phenomenon that is closely tied to the commercial value of these materials.

Shanghai publishers were also interested in the rapid distribution of *baojuan* editions. For example, the frontispieces of lithographic *baojuan* by Wenyi have notes that this publisher had branch-stores (*fenfasuo* 分發所) in other cities: branches that were called Juyuantang Bookstore 聚元堂書局 in both Hangzhou and Shaoxing, and Juzhen Bookstore 聚珍書局 in Nanjing; the books were also

37 On this type of *baojuan* printing, see Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 70–75.

38 Some cost one or three *jiao*.

39 On the prices of lithographic editions and a comparison with the overall prices in Shanghai, see Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 102.

40 Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 176–178.

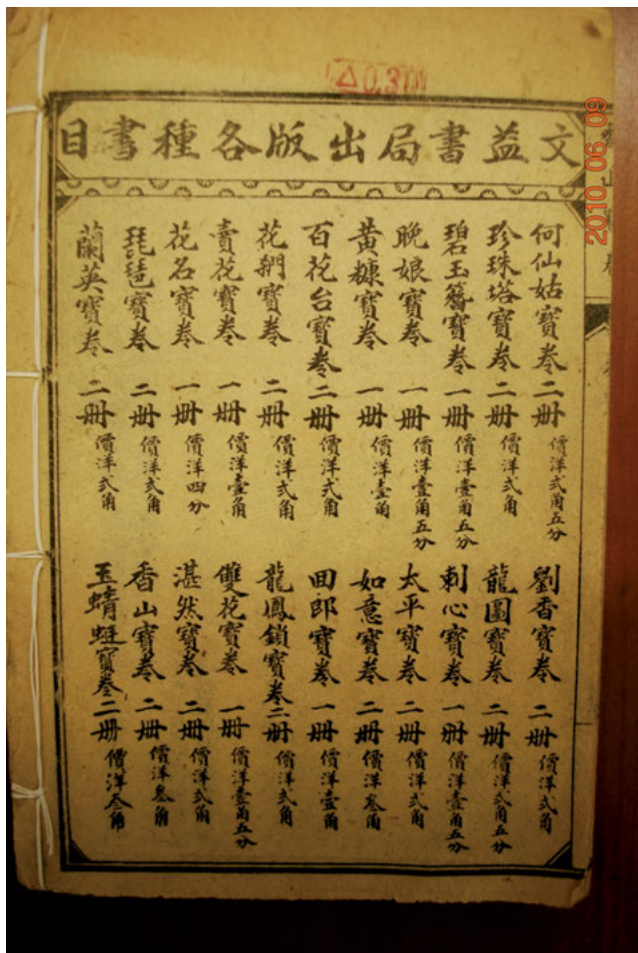


Figure 1: Commercial catalogue of *baojuan* printed by Wenyi. From the cover of the lithographic edition of *Baojuan of Xiangshan* printed in 1915, courtesy of Harvard-Yenching Library rare book collection (original collection of Prof. Patrick Hanan).

sold in large bookstores in every province (*ge sheng da shufang* 各省大書坊).⁴¹ It is thus not surprising that lithographic *baojuan* by Shanghai publishers were widespread, and could be purchased as far away as Beijing.⁴² Lithographic as

⁴¹ See, for example, the frontispiece of *The Complete Edition of Miaoying Baojuan*, reprinted in *Suwenxue congtan*, vol. 354, 488.

⁴² On the distribution networks of both woodblock and lithographic publishers at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, see Cynthia Brokaw, "Commercial

well as woodblock *baojuan* were sold in Beijing even as late as the 1950s. Patrick Hanan had seventy-four *baojuan* editions, fifty-nine of which were lithographic editions, in his collection that was later donated to the Harvard-Yenching Library, and was originally purchased in 1957 and 1958 in Beijing bookstores. The message by the head of Wenyi, printed in the frontispiece of *The Complete Edition of Miaoying Baojuan* mentioned in section 3 above, also notes another means of distribution. It says that the customers could purchase books by mail: “for those in other regions [who would like] to purchase by mail, we shall send books to their addresses.”⁴³

The situation with regard to the second type of publishers—publishers of morality books—was quite different. Hongda and Yihuatang also retailed their books, but this may have been not for the purpose of profit, rather to support their publishing enterprise. In the prefatory note to the catalogue of titles printed by Yihuatang mentioned above in section 3, its managers explained that they charged only a minimal price for the editions, just a subsidy (*jintie* 津貼) to cover the expenses for printing blocks, paper, and workers’ labor.⁴⁴ This information appears in the catalogue of books printed by Hongda, a catalogue that includes *baojuan*.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the same prefatory note to the Yihuatang catalogue states that customers could purchase its editions by mail and pay for their books by postal money transfer: by distributing editions by mail Yihuatang’s managers hoped to assist philanthropists in other provinces in their endeavor to propagate morality by the means of morality books.⁴⁶ Presumably, these moralists would purchase books and then distribute them in their locality free of charge. Therefore, one might characterize Hongda and Yihuatang as semi-pious, semi-commercial publishers.⁴⁷

While many publishers in Shanghai at the beginning of the twentieth century printed *baojuan* on a commercial basis, the semi-philanthropic semi-commercial publishing of these texts by philanthropic establishments that had started in the early modern period continued in this era as well. This situation was closely related to the role of *baojuan* in the literary market: while most people of that

Woodblock Publishing in the Qing (1644–1911) and the Transition to Modern Print Technology” in *From Woodblocks to the Internet*, ed. Brokaw and Reed, 53–56; Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 111.

43 「外埠函購，原班回件。」 *Suwenxue congkan*, vol. 354, 488.

44 “Yihuatang shanshuju” 翼化堂善書局, *Yangshan banyuekan* 揚善半月刊 1 (Jan. 7, 1933): 7.

45 Wang Chien-chuan et al., *Minjian sicang Zhongguo minjian xinyang minjian wenhua ziliao huibian, di yi ji*, vol. 19, 2.

46 “Yihuatang shanshuju,” 7–8.

47 For further information on the business model of this type of morality bookstore, see Paul R. Katz’s chapter in the present volume.

time generally treated *baojuan* texts as a part of pious moralizing literature, at the same time consumers also valued the entertaining aspect of several categories of these texts. Both types of publishers retailed *baojuan*, which aided in the dissemination of traditional and newly composed texts throughout China. The commercialization of *baojuan* printing was also accompanied by the enrichment of the content of *baojuan* published by the two types of publishers. There were several significant innovations in this aspect.

5. The Range and Content of *Baojuan* Printed in Shanghai

The repertoire of *baojuan* titles printed in Shanghai at the beginning of the twentieth century is very important for our understanding of the place of these texts in the literary market and its role in the culture of that time. Many lithographic editions of the twentieth century reproduced texts that had already existed in woodblock editions.⁴⁸ One should not overstate this fact, however, since many texts published as lithographs had not existed as woodblocks previously. According to my own incomplete statistics based primarily on the 2000 edition of the *baojuan* catalogue by Che Xilun, among ninety-six lithographic editions of *baojuan* printed by Xiyin, only twenty-nine texts had also existed as earlier woodblock editions. For Wenyi this figure is twenty-eight out of seventy-one titles, and for Hongda sixteen out of twenty-two.⁴⁹ In cases of texts that had previously existed as woodblock editions, the reprinted editions were usually executed with new calligraphy and illustrations.⁵⁰ The appearance and format of the two types of editions were substantially different, but many traditional texts were preserved in these new forms by Shanghai publishers.

⁴⁸ Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 223.

⁴⁹ See appendix 2, below. I mainly base this on information from Che Xilun's catalogue of 2000, but I also supplement it with other information I have gathered. For example, the information about *baojuan* printed by Hongda is based on this publisher's catalogue: Wang Chien-chuan, et al., eds., *Minjian sicang Zhongguo minjian xinyang minjian wenhua ziliao huibian, di yi ji*, vol. 19, 1–31. Some of the editions listed there are not registered in Che Xilun's catalogue. *Baojuan of the Miraculous Response of Bodhisattva Guanyin* (*Guanyin linggan baojuan* 觀音靈感寶卷), printed by Hongda (Harvard-Yenching Library, 57264015), is not mentioned either in the publisher's catalogue or in the Che Xilun's catalogue.

⁵⁰ For examples see Rostislav Berezkin, "The Lithographic Printing and the Development of *Baojuan* Genre in Shanghai in the 1900–1920s: On the Question of the Interaction of Print Technology and Popular Literature in China (Preliminary Observations)," *Zhongzheng daxue zhongwen xueshu niankan* 中正大學中文學術年刊 2011, no. 1 (cumulative no. 13): 340–342.

As for *baojuan* texts published as lithographs that had not previously existed as woodblocks, a note explains the process of their production in the postface of *Baojuan of Qilinbao* (*Qilinbao baojuan* 麒麟豹寶卷, Che no. 864).⁵¹ There, editor Chen Runshen 陳潤身 says that he collected “the folk manuscripts” of this *baojuan*, presumably those used by professional performers, revised the text on the basis of these different versions, edited it, and then published it in a form written in calligraphic script and embellished with illustrations.⁵² Chen, who was from Wujiang 吳江 in southeastern Jiangsu province, is evidently a noteworthy person, because he is credited as editor in many editions printed by Xiyin.⁵³ Unfortunately, none of these editions is dated, but if we take into account a rough estimate of dates for Xiyin’s activities, the editing likely took place around the 1930s.⁵⁴ One editor associated with Wenyi was Li Jiezhai 李節齋.⁵⁵ He played a variety of roles in the publishing of *baojuan*; in some editions by Wenyi, such as *Baojuan of the Lute* (*Pipa baojuan* 琵琶寶卷, Che no. 788), his name appears as an editor, in others by the same publisher, such as *Complete Version of Baojuan of Miaoying*, mentioned above, as the calligrapher who inscribed the title.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any biographic information about these persons who edited *baojuan*. Judging by Chen Runshen’s postface, both the form of the text and their content underwent changes as part of the editing process. Many *baojuan* texts printed by Xiyin and Wenyi publishers have the words “illustrated” (*xiuxiang* 繡像, *huitu* 繪圖, *zengxiang* 增像) and “newly compiled (edited)” (*xinbian* 新編, *xinchu* 新出) in their titles.

51 An undated edition by Xiyin. *Qilinbao* refers to the name of a legendary creature, a Unicorn-Leopard.

52 *Huitu Qilinbao baojuan* 繪圖麒麟豹寶卷 (Shanghai: Xiyin, n.d. [Fudan University library, 725041]), vol. 1, 12b. Also quoted by Sawada Mizuho in his *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 80.

53 As a native of Wujiang, Chen Runshen may have been quite familiar not only with the written texts, but also with performances of *baojuan*. The Wujiang area has an old tradition of these performances that is still alive today, see Yu Qian 俞前 and Zhang Fanglan 張舫瀾, “Tongli xuanjuan gaishu” 同里宣卷概述, in *Zhongguo Tongli xuanjuan ji* 中國同里宣卷集, vol. 1 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2010), 1–6.

54 A book printed by Xiyin and compiled (perhaps edited?) by Chen Runshen, *The Complete Collection of Four Admonishing Songs of Zheng Yuanhe Who Fell into Trouble* (*Zheng Yuanhe luonan si jiaoge quanji* 鄭元和落難四教歌全集), is dated to 1933. It also is one proof that different *baojuan* editions edited by the same person were printed in the early 1930s.

55 There also was another editor associated with Wenyi, Xie Shaoqing 謝少卿 from Nanchang 南昌.

56 *Baojuan of the Lute* is an undated lithographic edition in Fu Ssu-nien Library; reprinted in *Suwenxue congan*, vol. 351, 58. It retells the story of the famous drama *Pipa ji* 琵琶記 (The Lute) by Gao Ming 高明 (fl. 1345).

We can better understand the balance of innovation and tradition in the work of the literary *baojuan* publishers Wenyi and Xiyin if we compare the lists of titles printed by them to those of the morality book publishers Yihuatang and Hongda.⁵⁷ I will compare the range of titles printed by representatives of the two general types of *baojuan* publishers who published a roughly similar number of *baojuan*: Xiyin and Wenyi on the one hand, and Yihuatang on the other. One should note that Yihuatang is an example of an old morality books publisher that continued printing from the late Qing period, and therefore represents a more traditional case with regard to *baojuan* publishing compared to other twentieth-century publishers. In this study I refer to the types of *baojuan* printed by Shanghai publishers based on the generally accepted classifications of *baojuan* texts that have been worked out in general studies on their content.⁵⁸ *Baojuan* texts have been classified into non-narrative or scripture-type texts, usually those preaching Buddhist or sectarian ideas; and narrative texts, containing stories of popular deities or ordinary people. Narrative texts appeared quite early in the history of the genre, but greatly increased in number in the nineteenth century. Later narrative texts often adopted the subject matter of novels, dramas, and other storytelling genres. Therefore, one can further classify narrative *baojuan* texts into “traditional narrative,” those that existed from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and “new narrative,” which appeared in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wenyi and Xiyin together published more narrative *baojuan* than Yihuatang. Xiyin published ninety-two narrative *baojuan* out of ninety-seven, sixty-six of which are titles that had not previously appeared as woodblock editions; for Wenyi the corresponding number is sixty-eight out of seventy-one, with forty-two texts not based on an earlier woodblock edition. For Yihuatang the number of narrative texts is fifty out of a total of sixty-six texts listed in this publisher’s catalogue that can be identified with presently extant texts.⁵⁹ Among the narrative *baojuan* printed by Xiyin and Wenyi, many texts are newly composed, their content being secular stories adapted from other genres of popular literature, most notably *tanci*.⁶⁰ The editors associated with these literary publishers, such as Chen Runshen and Li Jiezhai mentioned above, seem to have been responsible for the adaptation of other texts as *baojuan*; they did not necessarily use folk manuscripts of *baojuan*, but used those

⁵⁷ See appendix 2.

⁵⁸ For the most detailed classification of *baojuan* texts, see Overmyer, *Precious Volumes*, 4–5; Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 5–16.

⁵⁹ See appendix 2.

⁶⁰ Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 223, 574; Sawada, *Zôho hôkan no kenkyû*, 245–246, 206.

of other literary forms as well.⁶¹ Editors of such works adopted complex narrative lines of traditional storytelling and related fiction for *baojuan*. Narrative *baojuan* therefore appeared similar in form and content to novels and written *tanci* narratives, and it is clear that they were oriented toward the fiction market.⁶² Yihuatang, in contrast, published a considerable number of scripture-type, non-narrative texts.⁶³ These do not narrate stories, but solely provide moral instruction and seem to have been printed for people who were searching for advice on spiritual cultivation rather than looking for entertaining reading. On the other hand, there was a significant amount of overlap between *baojuan* printed by literary publishers and those printed by publishers of morality books. Firstly, Yihuatang printed quite a few narrative *baojuan* that can be characterized as traditional narrative texts according to the classification system I have adopted here. These texts

61 Examples of these adaptations are *Baojuan of He Wenxiu* (*He Wenxiu baojuan* 何文秀寶卷, Che no. 345), *Baojuan of the Records on Dark Gold* (*Wujin ji baojuan* 烏金記寶卷, Che no. 1197), *Baojuan of the Ring with Plum Flowers* (*Meihua jie baojuan* 梅花戒寶卷, Che no. 718), *Baojuan on Fighting for the Plaques of Birth and Death* (*Qiang sheng si pai baojuan* 搶生死牌寶卷, Che no. 847), *Baojuan of the Japanese Robe* (*Wo pao baojuan* 倭袍寶卷, Che no. 1201), *Baojuan of [Diao] Nanlou* (*Nan lou baojuan* 南樓寶卷, Che no. 763), *Baojuan of Records of Karmic Retribution* (*Guo bao lu baojuan* 果報錄寶卷, Che no. 289), *Baojuan of the Crying Rooster* (*Ji ming baojuan* 雞鳴寶卷, Che no. 543). For the first text, see Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 574. For the second to fourth, see Furuya Akihiro 古屋昭弘 et al., eds., *Ukin hōkan: Eiin honji chūshaku* 烏金寶卷: 影印, 翻字, 注釈 (Tōkyō: Chūgoku koseki bunka kenkyūsho, 2003); Furuya Akihiro et al., eds., *Baikakai hōkan: eiin, honji, chūshaku* 梅花戒寶卷: 影印, 翻字, 注釈 (Tōkyō: Chūgoku koseki bunka kenkyūsho, 2004); Tsuji Rin 辻リン, ed., *Shō sei shi fuda hōkan: eiin, honji, chūshaku* 搶生死牌寶卷: 影印, 翻字, 注釈 (Tōkyō: Chūgoku koseki bunka kenkyūsho, 2005). On the last three, see Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 245–246, 206.

62 There were mainly two types of *tanci* written-to-be read narratives: “Wu dialect *tanci*” (*Wu yin tanci* 吳音彈詞), which were much closer to the oral tradition and which preserved certain elements of the language of this tradition; and “Mandarin *tanci* narratives” (*tanci xiaoshuo* 彈詞小說), written in standard Mandarin by women writers; see Bender, *Plum and Bamboo*, 4, 153. Both could be read and recited aloud. On both types, see also Nancy Jane Hodes, “Strumming and Singing the ‘Three Smiles Romance’: a Study of the *Tanci* Text” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1990); Siao-chen Hu, “Literary *Tanci*: a Woman’s Tradition of Narrative in Verse” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1994); Hu Xiaozhen (Siao-chen Hu) 胡曉真, *Cai nü che ye wei mian: jindai Zhongguo nüxing xushi wenxue de xingqi* 才女徹夜未眠: 近代中國女性敘事文學的興起 (Taipei: Maitian chuban, 2003); Ellen Widmer, *The Beauty and the Book: Women and Fiction in Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 69–101. Lithographic *baojuan* stand closer to the Wu dialect *tanci*, as they also betray the influence of the Wu language.

63 For example, *Baojuan of Master Pan Escaping from Disaster and Rescuing from Hardships* (*Pan gong mian zai jiu nan baojuan* 潘公免災救難寶卷, Che no. 804), *Baojuan of the Five Constancies* (*Wuchang baojuan* 五常寶卷, Che no. 804), and *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection*. These texts were also reprinted by Hongda.

were printed by both types of publishers and are comprised of two categories, namely *baojuan* relating the stories of deities, and those containing stories of women's self-cultivation.⁶⁴ These represent the majority among the twenty-eight titles that were printed by both Xiyin and Yihuatang, and twenty-five titles that were printed by both Wenyi and Yihuatang.⁶⁵ Notably, these editions are reprints of earlier texts with a specific religious meaning, indicating that both types of publishers continued the tradition of printing older texts with strongly pronounced religious characteristics. At the same time Yihuatang also printed narrative *baojuan* that were adaptations of famous literary subjects and which appeared around the nineteenth century, such as *Baojuan of the Lute*, *Baojuan of He Wenxiu*, and *Baojuan of the Pearl Pagoda*, which were also popular with literary publishers. Additionally, literary publishers also printed several *baojuan* that ought to be categorized as “non-narrative,” such as *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection* reprinted by Xiyin, and *Baojuan of Fuyuan* (*Fuyuan baojuan* 福緣寶卷, Che no. 279) printed by Wenyi.⁶⁶ In addition, as we have already seen, some publishers, as Wenyi and Jiangchun, printed morality books along with literary works. Literary publishers thus continued to reproduce many traditional texts, and genre specialization between the two types of publishers of *baojuan* in the twentieth century was not a clear-cut matter.

Literary publishers in Shanghai who printed *baojuan* also treated them as forms of didactic literature. This is evident from the publishers' notes that appear in *baojuan* editions. It is significant that the Wenyi's manager listed *baojuan* together with the morality books in his note mentioned above in section 3. Another important piece of evidence is the note by the head of Xiyin (惜陰主人識), which

⁶⁴ On these categories, see Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 5–9.

⁶⁵ See appendix 2. The examples are *Baojuan of Xiangshan* (香山寶卷, Che no. 1290; the official title of this text is *Abridged Version of the Sūtra of the Deeds of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin* [Guanshiyin pusa benxing jing 觀世音菩薩本行經簡集]), *Baojuan of Miaoying*, *Baojuan of Woman Huang* (*Huang shi [nü] baojuan* 黃氏[女]寶卷, Che no. 914; the full title of which is *Baojuan of Woman Huang's Self-Perfection during Three Rebirths* [San shi xiuxing Huang shi baojuan 三世修行黃氏寶卷]), *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang*, *Baojuan of Mulian* 目連寶卷 (Che no. 694 and 689), *Baojuan of Prince Siddhartha* (*Xida taizi baojuan* 悉達太子寶卷, Che no. 1314), *Baojuan of the Fifth Patriarch Huangmei* (*Wu zu Huangmei baojuan* 五祖黃梅寶卷, Che no. 1170), *Baojuan of Xiuying* (秀英寶卷, Che no. 1282). For a complete English translation of the first text, see Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Personal Salvation and Filial Piety: Two Baojuan Narratives of Guanyin and Her Acolytes* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); for the third text, see Beata Grant and Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Escape from Blood Pond Hell: the Tales of Mulian and Woman Huang* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 11–14.

⁶⁶ The “Fuyuan” in the title of this work is a personal name.



Figure 2: The cover of the lithographic edition of *Illustrated Baojuan of the Phoenix Hairpin [Made of] Eight Treasures* by Xiyin, undated, printed as part of the series “Recitation of Folk Stories, Exhorting Goodness.” Courtesy of Harvard-Yenching Library rare book collection (originally collection of Prof. Patrick Hanan).

usually appears on the cover of its editions, as illustrated in figure 2. The note explains their motive in printing of *baojuan*, stating that:

Public morals are not [as good as] in antiquity; peoples' hearts are sinister and crafty. [However], if you consistently exhort them toward goodness, there will be some improvement. In the past, this publisher promoted martial novels in this country, trying to encourage justice in peoples' hearts, to advise the wise and the foolish on the customs of this world. Who could envisage that the readers misunderstood [these intentions], and on the contrary, these novels were enough to mislead the youth? Therefore, the publisher [now] regrets his previous mistakes, and has decided to get rid of militarization and change to moralization. [The aim] is to lead people to truth and to caution them about heresy, to advise peoples' hearts and replenish public morals.

「世風不古，人心險詐，如能循循善誘，未嘗不可改進也。本局在昔向以武俠小說風行海內，持公道人心，驚世俗賢愚。豈知閱者誤會，反足貽誤青年。本局慨念前非，決心去武化，改求善化。引人以正，戒人以邪，略驚人心以補世風耳。」⁶⁷

This note is significant in several respects. First of all, it juxtaposes *baojuan* with martial-arts novels (*wuxia xiaoshuo* 武俠小說), a popular type of fiction in the book market of that time.⁶⁸ Secondly, this publisher's note gives us a glimpse into the history of Xiyin, otherwise unknown. It seems that originally Xiyin specialized in martial-arts novels, but then changed to publishing *baojuan*, a process that is described as a movement from "militarization" to "moralization." The publisher states that his original intention with printing martial novels was also to moralize, and by promoting *baojuan* he claimed to be continuing the task of moralization with the readers and audience of *baojuan*. The message of this preface is quite traditional, as the prefaces to martial-arts novels of the end of the nineteenth century also contain similar references to the didactic purpose of publishing.⁶⁹ However, we should note that *baojuan* were especially suited to moralization, possibly more so than martial novels, which had a close relation to outlaw characters and rebellious elements.⁷⁰ Following this logic, the change in the publisher's preference is portrayed as being very appropriate.

The aim of moralization is also strongly pronounced in the title of the Xiyin series "Recitation of folk stories, exhorting goodness" (*Xuanjiang quanshan min-*

⁶⁷ *Ba bao shuang luan chai baojuan* 八寶雙鸞釵寶卷 (Shanghai: Xiyin, n.d.), cover.

⁶⁸ On the development of the martial arts novel at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, see Fan Boqun 范伯群, ed., *Zhongguo jinxindai tongshu wenxue shi* 中國近現代通俗文學史, vol. 1 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 439–614; Pieter Keulemans, "Sounds of the Novel: Storytelling, Print-Culture, and Martial-arts Fiction in Nineteenth-Century Beijing" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2004).

⁶⁹ See for example, the prefaces for *The Cases of Judge Peng* (*Peng gong'an* 彭公案) and *The Storyteller's Tale of Jigong* (*Pingyan Jigong zhuan* 評演濟公傳), cited in Keulemans, "Sounds of the Novel," 82, 84.

⁷⁰ On such traditional associations, see for example Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 9, 399, 443.

jian gushi 宣講勸善民間故事). This title is inscribed on the covers of *baojuan* above the picture of the Bodhisattva Guan[shi]yin 觀[世]音 (Skt. Avalokiteśvara), depicted in figure 2.⁷¹ Guanyin is shown sitting on a mountainous island, evidently Putuoshan 普陀山, which was considered to be her abode in China, with her acolytes gathered around her: Good-in-Talent (Shancai 善才, Skt. Sudhana), Dragon Girl (Longnü 龍女, Skt. Nāganyā), and the White Parrot. This type of image, known as Guanyin of the South Sea (Nanhai Guanyin 南海觀音) was very popular in China; and it was certainly quite appropriate for putting on the cover of *baojuan* editions: Guanyin appears as a character in several *baojuan*, and significantly, a few of them narrate popular stories about her origin.⁷² There are also *baojuan* devoted to the stories of all of the acolytes depicted in this image.⁷³ This cover picture appears on lithographic editions of all *baojuan* printed by Xiyin, including both traditional narrative texts and the more recent adaptations of literary subjects, and thus emphasizes the connection of all *baojuan* with religious piety, regardless of the degree to which the particular text is involved in the propagation of religious ideology. Through this didactic connection and the use of cover imagery, *baojuan* retained their traditional religious flavor while they were being printed with the new technology in Shanghai, and while new stories were being included in the repertoire of *baojuan*.

One should also note that non-narrative, scripture-type *baojuan* and narrative *baojuan* had a great deal in common. Though this dichotomy may be useful as a hermeneutic device for understanding the history of this genre, these two types of *baojuan* often served the same goal of moralization and were performed by professional storytellers at the same religious assemblies. These performances still occur in several parts of Jiangsu province: Zhangjiagang 張家港, formerly part of Changshu 常熟 county under the jurisdiction of Suzhou 蘇州, the Shanghu 尚湖 and Baimao 白茆 districts of the modern Changshu city area, the Shengpu 勝浦 and Luzhi 菰直 districts of modern Suzhou city, Kunshan 昆山 and Wu-

71 Full name: Guanshiyin 觀世音, Skt. Avalokiteśvara.

72 On Guanyin of the South Sea see Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 438–448. On *baojuan* about Guanyin see Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 293–352, 449–486; Fang Zouyi 方鄒怡, *Ming-Qing baojuan zhong de Guanyin gushi yanjiu* 明清寶卷中的觀音故事研究 (Master's thesis, Hualian shifan xueyuan Minjian wenxue yanjiusuo, 2002).

73 On the acolytes, see Idema, *Personal Salvation and Filial Piety*, 30–41; Wilt L. Idema, “The Filial Parrot in Qing Dynasty Dress: A Short Discussion of the *Yingge baojuan* 鸚哥寶卷 [Precious Scroll of the Parrot],” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 30 (2002): 77–96; Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, “Shiyusuo cang ‘Yingge baojuan’ yanjiu—jianlun tongyi tici zai ge lei suwenxue de yunyong” 史語所藏《鸚哥寶卷》研究——兼論同一題材在各類俗文學的運用, *Chenggong daxue Zhongwenxi xuebao* 成功大學中文系學報, no. 23 (Dec., 2008): 1–26.

jiang 吳江 cities, Wuxi 無錫 and Changzhou 常州 cities, and Jingjiang 靖江 city, now under jurisdiction of Taizhou 泰州. *Baojuan* performances in Zhangjiagang, Shanghu, and Jingjiang are known as “telling scriptures” (*jiangjing* 講經); in other places the term “scroll recitation” (*xuanjuan* 宣卷) is used. They take place during religious assemblies organized by believers, called *hui* 會, and in all these places professional performers of *baojuan* also exist, called “masters of telling scriptures” (*jiangjing xiansheng* 講經先生) in Zhangjiagang and Shanghu, “masters of scroll recitation” (*xuanjuan xiansheng* 宣卷先生) in Baimao, Suzhou and Kunshan, and *Fotou* 佛頭 (literally “Buddha heads”) in Wuxi and Jingjiang. *Baojuan* performers usually take on the role of religious specialists in the assemblies, and besides the recitation of texts, they also perform a variety of rituals.⁷⁴ In most of these places the professional performers divide *baojuan* texts into “sacred” and “secular” according to their content. In Zhangjiagang there is a division between sacred scrolls (*shen juan* 神卷 or *sheng juan* 聖卷, or “Buddhist scrolls,” *Fo juan* 佛卷) and secular scrolls (*fan juan* 凡卷); in Changshu the division is between “main scrolls” (*zheng juan* 正卷) and “entertaining scrolls” (*baixiang juan* 白相卷); in Jingjiang, between sacred scrolls (*sheng juan* 聖卷, or “main scrolls,” *zheng juan* 正卷) and worldly scrolls (*cao juan* 草卷).⁷⁵ Even though the performers of *baojuan* have established this division between these two categories, they are both used in the same performances.⁷⁶

The religious and entertaining aspects of modern *baojuan* recitation are difficult if not impossible to separate. We can surmise that the situation with regard to the professional performance of *baojuan* in Shanghai in the period between 1910 and 1940 was similar.⁷⁷ All texts labeled as *baojuan* printed in this period shared a common religious nature. At the start of the twentieth century the range of *baojuan* texts was enriched as Shanghai publishers printed many *baojuan* with new contents. However, in this aspect of *baojuan* transmission we can observe a strong continuity with the past state of affairs. Shanghai publishers

74 On the variety of religious assemblies and rituals in these places, see Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 285–296, 386–389; Qiu Huiying 丘慧瑩, “Jiangsu Changshu Baimao diqu xuanjuan huodong diaocha baogao” 江蘇常熟白茆地區宣卷活動調查報告, *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝, no. 169 (Sept., 2010): 195–214; Rostislav Berezkin, “Scripture-Telling (*jiangjing*) in the Zhangjiagang Area and the History of Chinese storytelling,” *Asia Major* 24, part 1 (June 2011): 7–15.

75 Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 302, 387, 403; Qiu Huiying, “Jiangsu Changshu Baimao,” 215–216.

76 Significantly, several Shanghai editions of “secular” *baojuan* also reached those performers. See section 7, below.

77 See section 7.

preserved the traditional repertoire of texts, and as evident from the publishers' remarks, new texts with an additional entertaining aspect were united with the more traditional ones into the category of didactic—which is to say religious—literature. From the point of view of the repertoire of editions, the difference between commercial literary publishers and semi-commercial semi-pious publishers of morality books does not appear to have been very significant. The major difference between them was thus not the range of texts printed, but rather the purpose and organization of the printing itself.

6. For the Eye, the Ear, or Both?

On the Function of Lithographic *Baojuan*

The publisher's note on the Xiyin covers raises a further question: whether lithographic *baojuan* were designed to be read or recited. There is an apparent controversy over the question of how these editions were actually used. On the one hand, the note mentions readers, whom the publisher sought to moralize by means of *baojuan* texts. On the other hand, the term recitation in the title of Xiyin's *baojuan* series points to their use as scripts in the performing arts. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, scholars argue that around the turn of the twentieth century *baojuan* evolved from scripts for recitation into reading materials. However, the situation with regard to the functioning of *baojuan*, especially their lithographic editions, was quite complex. Available evidence points toward a dual function for *baojuan* editions, as both reading materials and scripts for recitation.

The particular features of lithographic *baojuan* noted above, such as detailed pictures on frontispieces and the beautiful calligraphy used for the text, a smaller character font and a generally smaller size of editions, all point to the fact that these editions were more suitable for individual reading rather than recitation by a professional performer.⁷⁸ In the previous section we have seen that publishers paid quite a bit of attention to illustrations in lithographic *baojuan*. Significantly, the lithographic technique was very suitable for the reproduction of pictures, and Reed argues that in the period from 1875 to 1905 lithography was so popular in China because it suited the visual aspects of book culture.⁷⁹ These features of lithographic *baojuan* made them appear different

⁷⁸ On the unique features of lithographic *baojuan*, see Berezkin, “The Lithographic Printing and the Development of *Baojuan* Genre,” 340–343.

⁷⁹ Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 86–87.

from the woodblock *baojuan* that had been printed in earlier and contemporary periods, editions that were primarily associated with recitation. These aesthetic factors do not, however, prove that lithographic *baojuan* were used exclusively as reading materials. As we shall shortly see, the form and content of these texts did not impede the use of lithographic *baojuan* for recitation by professional performers. Several features of narrative *baojuan*, including those originally based on secular subjects, such as moralizing content, incidents of supernatural interference as part of the narrative, and the inclusion of ritual elements, support their association with religious beliefs and practices, and additionally also make lithographic editions of *baojuan* suitable for ritualized performance.⁸⁰ These observations cast doubt on the assertion that *baojuan* scripts were completely transformed into reading materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Firstly, the interplay of written and oral transmission is already evident with regard to traditional woodblock editions of *baojuan* dating back to the second half of the nineteenth century. These editions could also commonly be used for individual reading, especially after they started to be printed by the publishers of morality books around the middle of the nineteenth century. The key piece of evidence in support of this comes from a woodblock edition of *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection*, printed by the morality book publisher Peibentang 培本堂 (The Hall of Cultivating the Fundamental) in Changzhou 常州 in 1876.⁸¹ It provides information on the dual use of this book as reading material and as script for recitation. The undated note on the frontispiece of this edition states: “If a gentleman cannot, following the teaching, make the precepts known everywhere, [then] he should distribute this scroll among village households, and make every family keep a copy. Then everybody will know the admonitions and precepts.”⁸² The effect of this would presumably be that literate persons would first read the book and then explain its contents to their illiterate relatives. On the other hand, there is another passage in this *baojuan* that references the oral mode of its transmission:

When we traveled the country and roamed in the four directions, we saw that at the time when pilgrims got together in Buddhist and Daoist temples or on the pilgrimage boats,

⁸⁰ For details, see Berezkin, “The Lithographic Printing and the Development of *Baojuan* Genre,” 348–352.

⁸¹ *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection* (alternative name: *Baojuan of Piercing the Heart* [Zhen xin baojuan 鍼心寶卷]) was also printed in woodblock by Yihuatang and in lithography by Xiyin and Hongda in Shanghai in the early twentieth century (see appendix 2).

⁸² 「君子一應條教。不能誥戒周知。將此卷遍給鄉閭。使家置一編。共知勸戒。」 Reprinted in Pu Wenqi 濮文起, ed., *Minjian baojuan* 民間寶卷, vol. 13 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005), 360.

there was often exhortation in form of recitation of [precious] scrolls, equated to the Buddhist *gāthās* and sermons.⁸³ This [recitation] is the best of all good deeds. However, the names and forms [of those scrolls] are not uniform, and many words and phrases are too profound. This leads to the situation where most illiterate people and women in the audience do not understand these texts. Only with this *baojuan*, as soon as you open your mouth [and recite it], it only [relates] obvious situations, true feelings, and true principles; it is not sloppy at all. When the recitation starts, its every phrase uses simple and coarse words, and everything is in the colloquial language. This will make the whole audience understand [its meaning]. If virtuous men and pious women of this world have intentions to earn the fields of merit,⁸⁴ they should grasp those simple and coarse words, and then they naturally will not be inclined to commit evil deeds. How could one not encourage this?

我等散遊海內，周流四方，看見庵堂廟宇中與凡燒香船上當香客聚會的時候，必將勸人為善的卷宣歎，以為佛偈說法。此乃最好的好事。但其名色不一。話句亦多深刻。使不識字人與婦女們聽者多不明白。只有這一編寶卷開口都是眼前的事體，實情實理，毫不荒唐。說起來句句都是粗言俗語，隨口的話。庶使聽者個個明白。世之善男信女有意掙福田，請將此粗俗之言聽信，則一概惡事自然不肯去做矣。可不勉哉。⁸⁵

This passage references the traditional recitation of *baojuan* in the Lower Yangtze region in the nineteenth century. Significantly, the person who promoted this *baojuan* and made it known in the world (*chuanshi* 傳世), Liu Yinghua 劉映華, was a native of Jiangsu province, as the note on the *baojuan*'s frontispiece states.⁸⁶ The passage quoted above is reflective of *baojuan* performances in that region. We know that in the nineteenth century, just as they are today, *baojuan* in Jiangsu were recited on the occasion of temple festivals and during pilgrimages.⁸⁷ Since in that region pilgrims usually travel by boat, *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection* makes mention of pilgrimage boats. This passage gives us one indication that the primary use of this book was still as a script for recitation before an audience, the majority of which was illiterate. The mention of women in the audience should be particularly noted.⁸⁸ The dissemination of *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection* as material for individual reading or recitation

⁸³ The Chinese translation of *gāthā* is *ji* 偈. Originally a form of poetry in Buddhist scriptures, songs labeled with this term also are recited in Jiangsu and Zhejiang today.

⁸⁴ Skt. *punya-kṣetra*; *daśiṇiṇya*. This term originally referred to suitable recipient of pious behavior in Buddhism, usually the Three Treasures: the Buddha, the saṃgha and dharma, but also implies the merit obtained by such behavior. See its entry in C. Muller and G. Foulk, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* <<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>>.

⁸⁵ Reprinted in Pu Wenqi, ed. *Minjian baojuan*, vol. 13, 361–362.

⁸⁶ According to the preface of this *baojuan* written by Liu Yinghua in 1832, he received this text from a mysterious Daoist, but we can suppose that he himself was the author of this text.

⁸⁷ Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 216–222.

⁸⁸ See section 7 below.

among families does not preclude its use in oral performances at religious assemblies; these are merely presented as two different ways of using this edition.

The interplay of the oral and written aspects of *baojuan* transmission is also evident with regard to later lithographic editions of *baojuan*. A piece of evidence comes from the postface of the lithographic *Baojuan of Piercing the Heart* printed by Hongda in 1919.⁸⁹ This postface, entitled “Eight Methods for the Spread of *Baojuan*” (*Baojuan liutong ba fa* 寶卷流通八法), mentions several means of transmitting *baojuan* editions, among which the method of recitation is still very important:

Old men in the villages and ladies of inner chambers, when they have spare time, often enjoy telling stories and performances of *tanci*. If you spread this book for the sake of encouraging its recitation, either performing [the script] yourself, or transmitting it to other people [to have them read it], it will rectify the hearts of listeners, cause them to repent their sins and lead them to goodness as it enters their ears. When compared with all kinds of absurd storytelling, this recitation is superior [in morality] by ten thousand times.

鄉村父老、閨闈婦姑平居閒暇往往喜人講說故事，演唱彈詞。若將此書廣為勸誦——或自己演說，或轉送他人，使聽者入耳警心悔過遷善。較之各種無稽說詞自高萬倍。⁹⁰

This passage is important in several respects. First, the editor mentions “amateur” performances of *baojuan*, based on lithographic editions, since it encourages literate persons to recite it for a less sophisticated audience that includes illiterate women. Second, the distribution of the text implies that at least a portion of this potential audience, which included women, was literate and able to read them. Third, this passage indicates that publishers who printed this *baojuan* produced it having a partly female audience in mind. Women appear as one of the target audiences of recitation, and were likely also among the readers of *baojuan* texts.

This final element has to do with the long-term association of *baojuan* performances and female audiences, a link that has existed since at least the end of the sixteenth century. The earliest detailed evidence of this kind comes from the novel *Lyric Tale of Plum Flowers in the Golden Vase* (*Jinpingmei cihua* 金瓶梅詞話, later abbreviated as *Plum Flowers*, ca. 1594) by Lanling Xiaoxiao sheng 蘭陵笑笑生 (The Scoffer of Lanling).⁹¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century,

⁸⁹ This is an alternative name of *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection*, mentioned in section 3 above.

⁹⁰ *Zhen xin baojuan* 鍼心寶卷 (*Baojuan of Piercing the Heart*) (Shanghai: Hongda, 1919; [Fudan University Library, 725053]), 12b.

⁹¹ For an English translation, see David Tod Roy, *The Plum in the Golden Vase, or, Chin P'ing Mei* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993-), vols. 1–4. On the *baojuan* performances in

performances of *baojuan* by professional storytellers in the Lower Yangtze region attracted primarily female audiences as well, as contemporary scholars Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980), Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898–1958), Li Shiyu 李世瑜 (1922–2010), the author Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967), and others observed.⁹² Present-day performances of *baojuan* in several parts of southern Jiangsu, as described in section 5 above, are also attended mostly by peasant women.⁹³ In “Eight Methods for the Spread of *Baojuan*,” there is also an interesting juxtaposition of *baojuan* and *tanci* performances from the point of moral value. The situation of women’s entertainment described in this text ought to be close to historical reality: we know that *tanci* also enjoyed a long-standing popularity among women as both oral texts and as written novel-type editions.⁹⁴ The negative attitude of moralists of the upper social classes towards *tanci* is un-

this novel, see Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 285–299; Katherine Carlitz, *The Rhetoric of Chin P’ing Mei* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 59–66; Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 131–132. There is also similar evidence from other sources: see Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, 81–82, 83–86.

92 Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, “Suzhou jindai de yuege” 蘇州近代的樂歌, *Geyao* 歌謠 3, no. 1 (1937): 7; Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo suwenxue shi* 中國俗文學史, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1954 [Changsha: Commercial Press, 1938]), 311; Li Shiyu 李世瑜, “Jiang-Zhe zhu sheng de xuanjuan” 江浙諸省的宣卷 (1959), in his *Baojuan lun ji*, 24–25; Zhou Zuoren 周作人, “Gua dou ji” 瓜豆集, in *Zhou Zuoren quanji* 周作人全集, vol. 4 (Taipei: Landeng wenhua shiye, 1992), 25. See also the overview of other evidence in David Johnson, “Mu-lien in *Pao-chüan*: The Performative Context and Religious Meaning of the *Yu-ming Pao-ch’uan*,” in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley: Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1995), 59–60, 64–69; and Tsuji Rin 辻リッ, “Hōkan no rufu to Min-Seijosei bunka” 宝卷の流布と明清女性文化, in *Chūgoku koseki ryūtsūgaku no kakuritsu: ryūtsūsuru koseki, ryūtsūsuru bunka* 中国古籍流通学の確立: 流通する古籍, 流通する文化, ed. Chūgoku Koseki Bunka Kenkyūjo 中国古籍文化研究所 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 2007), 258–282.

93 The association of *baojuan* with women also has to do with the subject matter of these texts: as was mentioned in the previous section, many *baojuan* narrated stories relating to the religious practice of female protagonists. See Daniel L. Overmyer, “Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature: Ming and Ch’ing *Pao-chüan*,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 243–253; Beata Grant, “Patterns of Female Religious Experience in Qing Dynasty Popular Literature,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 23 (1995): 29–58; Zheng Ruqing 鄭如卿, “Qingdai baojuan zhong de funü xiuxing gushi yanjiu” 清代寶卷中的婦女修行故事研究 (Master’s thesis, National Hualien Normal Institute, Institute of Folk Literature, 2005); Chen Guixiang 陳桂香, “Funü xiuxing gushi baojuan yanjiu” 婦女修行故事寶卷研究 (Master’s thesis, National Chungcheng University, Institute of Chinese Literature, 2006); Xu Yunzhen, “Cong nüxing dao nüshen.”

94 On the printing and readers of *tanci* in the nineteenth century, see, for example, Widmer, *The Beauty and the Book*, 86–88.

derstandable, as *tanci* usually deal with love stories. There is no wonder then that those moralists encouraged substituting *baojuan* for *tanci*.

The dual role of *baojuan* as both reading materials and scripts for recitation is not unusual if we consider it in the broader context of Chinese religious literature, such as morality books, which were long associated with *baojuan* as described above. There were certain types of morality books designed for individual reading and others designed for recitation. The growth of the recitation of morality books around the middle of the nineteenth century is associated with the influence of professional *baojuan* performances and the recitation of the “Sacred Edict” (*shengyu* 聖諭) promoted by the imperial government.⁹⁵ According to Yao Chi-on, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, publishers in large urban areas printed several types of morality books for recitation, and notably several of them were printed in lithography by Shanghai publishers, which make them very similar in format to lithographic *baojuan* editions.⁹⁶ Recitations of morality books as a type of scripted performance existed in several places in China before 1949 and still continued until recently in Hong Kong, the Penghu Islands, Taiwan, and Hanchuan 漢川 county of Hubei province. In these traditions written—meaning printed—versions are often used for both recitation and individual reading, which make them a similar case to that of lithographic *baojuan*.⁹⁷ Thus, in the nineteenth century woodblock *baojuan* were already being used as reading materials, although their role as scripts for professional recitation also continued. In the case of *baojuan*

95 Yau Chi-on 游子安, “Cong xuanjiang shengyu dao shuo shanshu: jindai quanshan fangshi zhi chuancheng” 從宣講聖諭到說善書：近代勸善方式之傳承, *Wenhua yichan* 文化遺產 2008, no. 2 (cumulative no. 3): 49–58; Liu Shouhua 劉守華, “Cong baojuan dao shanshu: Hubei Hanchuan shanshu de tezhi yu meili” 從寶卷到善書 – 湖北漢川善書的特質與魅力, *Wenhua yichan* 文化遺產 2007, no. 1: 80–85; Li Lidan 李麗丹, “Yuan tong xing yi shuo chabie: Hanchuan shanshu yu baojuan zhi bijiao” 源同形異說差別：漢川善書與寶卷之比較, *Hubei Minzu xueyuan xuebao* (zhexue shehui kexue bao) 湖北民族學院學報（哲學社會科學報）6, no. 24 (2006): 45–48.

96 Yau Chi-on, “Cong xuanjiang shengyu dao shuo shanshu,” 54–55.

97 Yau Chi-on, “Fu hua yu nei: Qing dai yilai Guandi shanshu ji qi xinyang de chuanbo” 數化字內：清代以來關帝善書及其信仰的傳播, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報, no. 50 (Jan., 2010): 230–235; Wang Zhiyu 王志宇, *Taiwan de enzhu gong xinyang: ruzong shenjiao yu feiluan quanhu* 台灣的恩主公信仰：儒宗神教與飛鸞勸化 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997), 103–108; Chen Zhaonan 陳兆南, “Luantang xuanjiang de chuantong yu bianqian” 鸞堂宣講的傳統與變遷, in *Yishi, miaohui yu shequ: Daojiao, minjian xinyang yu minjian wenhua* 儀式、廟會與社區：道教、民間信仰與民間文化, ed. Li Fengmao 李豐楙 and Zhu Ronggui 朱榮貴 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 1996), 99–124; Chen Zhaonan 陳兆南, “Xuanjiang ji qi changben yanjiu” 宣講及其唱本研究 (PhD diss., Zhongguo wenhua daxue Zhongguo wenxue yanjiusuo, 1992).

editions of the early twentieth century, there is also an interesting interplay of different modes of consumption and recitation, and the interaction of several script-based performance traditions is also observable.

7. The Consumption of *Baojuan* Texts and the Popular Culture of the Republican Period

To summarize the historical evidence outlined above regarding the ways of transmission of *baojuan* in Shanghai and its vicinity, I would classify *baojuan* reading practices of the early Republican period into three types: individual reading, amateur performances, and professional performances.⁹⁸ Significantly, available evidence points to the primary association of *baojuan* with female readers and audiences during that period. The first type of usage was silent reading for oneself. The fact that some women read *baojuan* texts for themselves was connected to the spread of female literacy in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, especially in urban centers. Literate women were a common phenomenon in well-to-do families in the late imperial period, and their number certainly increased at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially as state schools for girls were established.⁹⁹ Significantly, in many *baojuan* composed in the late imperial period that have female protagonists, heroines were literate enough to read Buddhist sutras. One could suppose that they also often read *baojuan*. It is difficult to establish a direct connection between the growth of female literacy in the Republican period and the development of *baojuan* publishing in Shanghai. We do not have much evidence that girls who went to state or private schools were reading *baojuan*. *Baojuan* were certainly not part of the school curriculum, and, if they were read by schoolgirls, they would have

⁹⁸ One should note that these reading practices were interrelated, and in certain cases it is difficult to draw a boundary between them.

⁹⁹ On different views of women's literacy in the Ming and Qing periods, see Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 24; Wilt L. Idema, "Review of Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*," *T'oung Pao* 66: 4–5 (1980): 314–324. On the literate women of the late imperial period, see also Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995); Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997) and *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Widmer, *The Beauty and the Book*. On the state schools for girls, see Paul J. Bailey, *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century* (London, New York: Routledge, 2007).

constituted extracurricular reading. In at least the two cases discussed below, however, there were girls who attended school and who also read *baojuan* for themselves or recited them aloud.

Zhou Zuoren's essay *The Woman Liu Xiang* (劉香女), written in 1934, which deals with *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang* mentioned in section 3 above, describes two cases of girls in the Shaoxing 紹興 area who were influenced by *baojuan* and the values these texts preached: one in the prefectural city (*fucheng* 府城) of which Zhou Zuoren was a native, and another in the Eastern district (城東鎮) of Shaoxing. The first account comes from Zhou Zuoren's childhood memories from around the turn of the twentieth century, and the other from a newspaper from the early 1930s. In both cases two young girls were reading *baojuan* texts for themselves. In case of Zhou Zuoren's neighbor during his childhood years, *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang* was "the girl's favorite book." In the case that took place in the mid-1930s the girl went to elementary school, but then abandoned her studies and stayed at home, where she read novels and *baojuan*. She was especially fond of *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang*, which she had read a hundred times. In the case of the first girl in Zhou Zuoren's essay, her initial knowledge of *baojuan* came through oral performances of scroll recitation. She often listened to scroll recitations organized by her mother, who acted as a head of a religious assembly (*huishou* 會首) at which *baojuan* were recited.¹⁰⁰ *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang* influenced the two young girls in the way that they resisted the prospect of marriage and engaged in the religious practices of keeping a vegetarian diet and engaging in the recitation of Buddhist scriptures, and in the second case this ardent devotion to *baojuan* ideas eventually led to suicide.¹⁰¹ Zhou Zuoren notes that similar cases of obsession with *baojuan* were quite widespread at the beginning of the twentieth century. He writes:

Besides [those two] I also have seen several ashen-faced women, and although the dimensions of their tragedies were different, they all were equally dull and depressed; they embraced the world-outlook of Lesser Vehicle Buddhism, regarded *baojuan* as the Confucian classics and histories, and took Buddhist nunneries as their refuge.

「此外也見過些灰色的女人，其悲劇的顯晦大小雖不一樣，但是一樣的暗淡陰沉，都抱著一種小乘的佛教人生觀，以寶卷為經史，以尼庵為歸宿。」¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Zhou Zuoren, "Gua dou ji," 25.

¹⁰¹ On the ideas propagated in *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang*, see Overmyer, "Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature," 245–253.

¹⁰² Zhou Zuoren, "Gua dou ji," 25.

Here, Zhou Zuoren treats *baojuan* as the propagandist products of traditional religious culture, and also falsely connects them with so-called Lesser Vehicle Buddhism. While he evidently does not approve of the ideology they express, he still admits a certain value to these books. In his words, *baojuan* had the ability to provide support and conciliation for unhappy women. Especially noteworthy is Zhou Zuoren's comparison of *baojuan* to the Confucian classics and histories, which were the most important books of traditional education in China. In other words, while men were studying classics and histories, women who were interested in learning often turned to *baojuan*, where they would find solutions to the problems they encountered in their family and social lives. One should note that although *baojuan* made use of many Buddhist ideas, they also relied heavily on the traditional moral values usually associated with the outlook of Confucian scholars. Zheng Ruqing 鄭如卿 in her study of Qing-dynasty *baojuan* with female protagonists has convincingly demonstrated that their injunctions for women were basically identical to those in the most famous morality books written for women, which were usually composed in the discourse of Confucian scholars-moralists.¹⁰³

Another similar piece of evidence comes from a book by Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962), *Writing about Myself at the Age of Forty* (*Sishi zi shu* 四十自述):

The mother-in-law of the second elder brother was quite literate, and she brought to the house morality books such as *Transmission of the Jade Regulations*, *Scripture of the King Miaozhuang*, and often told us [children] the story of how Mulian traveled to the underworld, how the princess Miaoshan (Guanyin), [a daughter] of the King Miaozhuang, left her family for self-cultivation, and other stories. I read all the books which she brought ... and my mind was full of the terrifying images of hell.

「二哥的丈母頗認得字，帶來了《玉歷鈔傳》，《妙莊王經》一類的善書，常給我們講說目連救母游地府，妙莊王的公主（觀音）出家修行等等故事。我把她帶來的書都看了，... 所以腦子裏裝滿了地獄的殘酷景象。」¹⁰⁴

Later on, he describes what those images of hell were. Hu Shi spent some time in Shanghai during his childhood, so he may be referring to editions printed in Shanghai in this piece. The first book mentioned in this passage is a popular morality book describing the underworld.¹⁰⁵ I have not been able to find any information on the second one, but since it relates the story of the princess Miaoshan and her father Miaozhuang, it was likely based on *Baojuan of Xiangshan*.

103 Zheng Ruqing, “Qing dai *baojuan* zhong de funü,” 128–164.

104 Hu Shi 胡適, *Sishi zi shu* 四十自述 (Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1992), 39–41.

105 Yau Chi-on, *Quanhua jinzheng*, 16–18.

The story of Mulian rescuing his mother from hell was also very popular in *baojuan* literature, and several versions of *baojuan* about Mulian were printed in Shanghai at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore possible to suppose that Hu Shi was referring to *baojuan* texts but interpreting them as a type of morality book here, although he did not specify them by name. We can assume that the *baojuan* editions as well as the morality books, mentioned here by Hu Shi, were reading materials consumed by female and junior readers in well-to-do families. Quite a few *baojuan*, such as those about Miaoshan, Mulian, and other figures, dealt with themes relating to the underworld.¹⁰⁷ Stories about hell were also closely connected with religious ideas of retribution. It is thus not surprising that Hu Shi associated these books with hellish themes. Later in this passage he discusses the development of his atheism, and expresses a negative attitude towards morality books and *baojuan* as tools of religious propaganda.

These references by Zhou Zuoren and Hu Shi provide us with some knowledge about the complex ways in which *baojuan* were apprehended by female and children's audiences. In the case of Zhou Zuoren's neighbor, the girl presumably listened to *baojuan* performances first while accompanying her mother to religious assemblies. Afterward she started to read *baojuan* editions herself. It might be the case that children learned about *baojuan* at the religious assemblies organized by their female family members, but then they became interested in reading *baojuan* editions themselves. In the account by Hu Shi, the literate elderly woman read *baojuan* for herself first, then she told the stories that she had learned from books to the children who were still unable to read. Finally the author himself read those books, and gained knowledge of their content. Here we can see that reading practices related to *baojuan* were closely interrelated and that there was a close interplay between the written and oral aspects of *baojuan* transmission in that period.

Evidence that women were reading *baojuan* is also provided by the female writer Qijun 琦君 (Pan Xizhen 潘希珍, 1917–2006), who had spent her childhood in the Quxi 瞿溪 area of Yongjia 永嘉 county in Zhejiang province. In her auto-

106 *Baojuan of Mulian* was reproduced in lithography by several Shanghai publishers: it was reprinted by Xiyin (undated), Wenyi (1921), Hongda (1922), Jiangchun (undated), Wenyuan (1921), and the Zhenyuan Small Book Society 振園小書社 (1924). For a complete English translation, see Grant and Idema, trans., *Escape from Blood Pond Hell*, 35–145.

107 See also Beata Grant, "The Spiritual Saga of Woman Huang: From Pollution to Purification," in *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual: "Mu-lien Rescues His Mother" in Chinese Popular Culture*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 225–236; Grant and Idema, trans., *Escape from Blood Pond Hell*, 17–34.

biographical story “Mom’s hands” (*Mama de shou* 媽媽的手) Qijun recalled how her literate mother read *baojuan* texts, in this case *Baojuan of Flower Names* (*Hua ming baojuan* 花名寶卷, Che no. 351).¹⁰⁸ She writes:

After mom finished cleaning and fed the pigs, she usually poured hot water in a wooden basin and soaked her hands, soaked them for a very-very long time, and at that time the smile of satisfaction was on her face, this was the greatest pleasure for her... Then she would sit on the squeaky bamboo chair, light the oil lamp, screw up her short-sighted eyes, and read her *Baojuan of Flower Names*. This was the most relaxing moment in her whole day.

洗刷完畢，餵完了豬，這才用木盆子打一盆滾燙的水，把雙手浸在裏面，浸好久好久，臉上掛著滿足的笑，這就是她最大的享受 然後坐在吱吱咯咯的竹椅裏，就著菜油燈，眯起近視眼，看她的《花名寶卷》。這是她一天裏最悠閒的時刻。¹⁰⁹

As Qijun specifically makes note of the thin paper and small character font of this *baojuan* text, one can suppose that she was writing about a lithographic edition. Furthermore, from this passage we can see that reading *baojuan* provided entertainment even for a busy, hard-working housewife. *Baojuan* were therefore used as not only religious instructional materials, but also as a source of entertainment and leisure.

The second type of *baojuan* reading was amateur recitation. We have already encountered it in “Eight Methods for the Spread of *Baojuan*” and in the preface to the 1876 edition of *Baojuan of the True Self-Perfection* quoted above, but there is also additional evidence in support of it. According to the Czech scholar Vena Hrdličková, her female colleague at the Chinese embassy in Prague, Yang Luoyun 楊洛雲, read *Baojuan of Mulian* at the request of her grandmother after she went to school and learned how to read, which was in the 1930s in northern China.¹¹⁰ In this way the girl was able to also practice her reading skills, demonstrating the potential educational role of *baojuan*. As has already been mentioned, *Baojuan of Mulian* was reproduced in lithography by several Shanghai publishers. We know that Shanghai lithographic editions circulated quite broadly, and that they reached northern China as described in section 4. It is thus quite possible that Yang Luoyun used one of these lithographic editions of *Baojuan of Mulian*. The status of lithographic *baojuan* as scripts for the ama-

108 “Mom” was in fact her aunt Ye Menglan 葉夢蘭, as her birth mother had died while she was very young.

109 Qi Jun 琦君, *San geng you meng shu dang zhen* 三更夢書當枕 (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1975), 42–43.

110 Vena Hrdličková, “Tun-chuangské pien-weny o ‘oddaném synovi Mu-lienovi,’” *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philologica* 2 (1958): 273.

teur performances may be quite characteristic of the Chinese popular literature on the whole, as there are theories that editions of storytelling-type literature in the late imperial period were designed primarily for being read aloud by amateurs rather than as silent reading for oneself. These theories were developed by Anne E. McLaren with regard to *cihua* 詞話 (chantefable) texts that survived from the fifteenth century, and by Margaret B. Wan for *guci* 鼓詞 texts of the nineteenth century.¹¹¹

These amateur performances of *baojuan* appear similar to the *baojuan* performances called “scroll recitation” (*nianjuan* 念卷) that have survived in several remote areas of northern China, namely Gansu 甘肅 and Shanxi 山西 provinces. There, professional performers of *baojuan*, if they ever in fact existed, have long since become very rare, and literate peasants have commonly recited texts in their leisure time, acting as amateur performers of *baojuan*. This feature constitutes an important point of difference between these northern traditions of *baojuan* performances and the southern traditions in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces mentioned in section 5. In western Gansu, in the region to the west of the Yellow River known as Hexi 河西, the recitation of texts usually takes place within the family and is conducted by a literate man. The performer does not ask for any payment except for the religious merit accrued by the act. Often peasants will ask a literate person of a different age and social standing to recite *baojuan*.¹¹²

The third means of transmitting *baojuan* was through professional performance. *Baojuan* performances were quite popular in the city of Shanghai as well as in its suburbs in the period between 1910 and 1940. Traditions of professional *baojuan* performance were introduced to the Shanghai city area from the neighboring areas of Suzhou and Ningbo at the end of the nineteenth century and remained popular there through the first half of the twentieth century.¹¹³ Chen Zhi-

111 Anne E. McLaren, *Chinese Popular Culture and Ming Chantefables* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 50–76; Margaret B. Wan, “Audiences and Reading Practices for Qing Dynasty Drum Ballad Texts,” in *The Interplay of the Oral and the Written in Chinese Popular Literature*, ed. Vibeke Børdahl and Margaret B. Wan (Copenhagen: NIAS, 2011), 61–82.

112 Xie Shengbao 謝生保, “Hexi baojuan yu Dunhuang bianwen de bijiao” 河西寶卷與敦煌變文的比較, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 4 (cumulative no. 13, 1987): 81; Fang Buhe 方不和, “Hexi baojuan de diaocha” 河西寶卷的調查, in his *Hexi baojuan zhenben jiaozhu yanjiu* 河西寶卷真本校註研究 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1999 [1992]), 314–315. On a similar situation with *baojuan* recitation in Jiexiu 介休 county of Shanxi see Li Yu 李豫, et al., *Shanxi Jiexiu baojuan shuochang wenxue diaocha baogao* 山西介休寶卷說唱文學調查報告 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenjian chubanshe, 2010), 113–115.

113 Two traditions have therefore been termed “Suzhou scroll recitation” (蘇州宣卷) and “Siming scroll recitation” (四明宣卷). On scroll recitation in Shanghai at the end of the nineteenth

liang 陳志良, who introduced *baojuan* performances in Shanghai to readers in a newspaper article published in 1936, notes that there were three types of people who specialized in *baojuan* performances.¹¹⁴ The first type was beggars, who could recite *baojuan* with the accompaniment of a “wooden fish” drum (*muyu* 木魚). They were individual performers who roamed the streets and sold their performances for alms. The second type was professional performers of *baojuan*. They were organized in teams, performed by invitation, and were better paid.¹¹⁵ The third type was religious specialists who recited Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, performed rituals aimed at the sponsors’ personal welfare, and also recited *baojuan*. The third type had the largest income compared to the other two types.¹¹⁶ The third type of performer described by Chen Zhiliang, namely religious professionals, were certainly similar to the modern performers in rural areas of Jiangsu that were mentioned in section 5. From this description, it is also evident that the traditional style of performance as a kind of folk ritual remained the mainstream one.¹¹⁷

In my view, professional performances and the printing of *baojuan* texts in Shanghai were certainly related. One of the notable features of *baojuan* performances has been their reliance on scripts. In most places in Jiangsu today, scroll recitation remains a scripted performance.¹¹⁸ During these performances, the storyteller places the text on a table and consults it during the performance.

century, see Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 213–215. Several local schools of performers existed in the Shanghai suburbs, today all part of the urban district of Shanghai. Those in Chenhang 陳行 (Pudong 浦東) and Shangta 商榻 (Qingpu 青浦, Puxi 浦西) continued operation until recently, see Wei Jie 魏捷, “Shi tan xuanjuan” 試談宣卷, *Shanghai wenhua shi zhi tongxun* 上海文化史志通訊, no. 25 (1993): 61; Chen Quanming 陳全明, “Pudong Chenhang ‘xuanjuan’ zhi xingcheng yu xiankuang” 浦東陳行‘宣卷’之形成與現況, *Shanghai wenhua shi zhi tongxun* 上海文化史志通訊, no. 19 (1992): 58–61.

114 This was one of the earliest discussions of *baojuan* published in the Chinese press.

115 Some of these performers developed more entertaining styles than the traditional recitation of *baojuan* in conjunction with the rituals, see *Zhongguo quyi yinyue jicheng: Shanghai juan* 中國曲藝音樂集成: 上海卷, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo ISBN zhongxin, 1994), 1286, 1322.

116 Chen Zhiliang 陳志良, “Xuanjuan: Shanghai minjian wenyi man tan zhi yi” 宣卷: 上海民間文藝漫談之一, *Da wan bao (di wu ban): Tongsu wenxue zhouban* 大晚報 (第五版): 通俗文學周刊, no. 25 (Sept. 25, 1936), unpaginated.

117 Chen Zhiliang, “Xuanjuan: Shanghai minjian wenyi mantan zhi yi.”

118 Except for Jingjiang, where *baojuan* texts have primarily been transmitted orally. The disappearance of many scripts in the Suzhou area also has to do with the fact that they were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. See Shi Lin 史琳, *Suzhou Shengpu xuanjuan* 蘇州勝浦宣卷 (Suzhou: Guwuxian chubanshe, 2010), 37; Satō Yoshifumi 佐藤仁史 et al., eds., *Chūgoku nōson no geinō: Taiko ryūiki shakaishi kōjutsu kirokushū* 中国農村の藝能: 太湖流域社会史口述記録集 2 (Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin, 2011), 37.

In this manner folk professionals imitate the performance style of scripture chanting by Buddhist and Daoist priests. This feature makes scroll recitation very different from other genres of storytelling in China, in which scripts are not used during performances. Performers of *baojuan* in Shanghai also used scripts, and as Chen Zhiliang notes, these were mainly manuscripts copied by the performers themselves.¹¹⁹ This is quite typical of *baojuan* performers, if we consider the modern cases of Zhangjiagang, Changshu, Kunshan, Suzhou, and Wuxi, where performers mostly use manuscripts.¹²⁰ Professional performers of *baojuan*, however, also used woodblock and lithographic editions. I do not have very much information about the repertoire of *baojuan* performers in Shanghai during the Republican period; nevertheless, it is known that some of them consulted printed texts. For example, Zhang Houtang 張後堂, the founder of the school of scroll recitation in Chénháng 陳行 in Pudong 浦東, Shanghai, first got acquainted with *baojuan* editions, and then became interested in their performances. Sometime during the Xuántóng 宣統 reign (1909–1911) he purchased several editions in a bookstore in the nearby town of Zhoupu 周浦, such as *Baojuan of the Flower Names*, *Baojuan of Extending Longevity* (*Yan shou baojuan* 延壽寶卷, Che no. 1404), *Baojuan of Huilang* (*Huilang baojuan* 回郎寶卷, Che no. 336), and *Baojuan of Chenxiang* (*Chenxiang baojuan* 沉香寶卷, Che no. 093).¹²¹ These texts were woodblock or lithographic editions of *baojuan*, and we know that all of them were reproduced by several publishers in Shanghai.¹²²

There is also evidence in support of a connection between professional performances and printed editions of *baojuan* that comes from fieldwork conducted by local scholars in several areas of Jiangsu. Particularly noteworthy is the fact

119 Chen Zhiliang 陳志良, “*Baojuan tiyao*” 寶卷提要, *Da wan bao (di wu ban): Tongsu wenxue zhoukan* 大晚報 (第五版): 通俗文學周刊, no. 35 (Nov. 25, 1936), unpaginated.

120 Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, 224–231; Yu lian huan: Jinxi xuanjuan 玉連環: 錦溪宣卷, in *Kunshan minzu minjian wenhua jingcui, wenyi juan* 崑山民族民間文化精粹: 文藝卷 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2007), 20–22; Qiu Huiying, “Jiangsu Changshu Baimao,” 214–215; Berezkin, “Scripture-telling (*jiangjing*) in the Zhangjiagang Area,” 30–34; Shi Lin, *Suzhou Shengpu xuanjuan*, 37–42; Satō Yoshifumi et al., eds., *Chūgoku nōson no geinō*, 37–39.

121 Chen Quanming, “Pudong Chénháng ‘xuanjuan,’” 58. Note that the last title was misspelled in this fieldwork report. *Baojuan of the Flower Names*, *Baojuan of Pregnancy* (*Huai tai baojuan* 懷胎寶卷), and other pieces probably related to scroll recitation, were collected in Pudong by Hu Zude 胡祖德 (1860–1939) and published in 1923 in his collection of Pudong folklore *Hu yan wai bian* 滬諺外編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989 [1923]), 97–99, 139. Significantly, *Baojuan of the Flower Names* in the Hu Zude’s collection was an edition by Baoxiantang 寶賢堂 (Hall of Precious Virtues) in Changzhou.

122 See appendix 2.

that *baojuan* performers used lithographic editions, which demonstrates that these texts were not exclusively used for individual reading. For example, lithographic editions were found in the possession of scripture-telling masters in Zhangjiagang. The titles published in two collections of *baojuan* texts from Zhangjiagang include eleven lithographs used by the scripture-telling masters.¹²³ In addition, it is known that these masters also made manuscript copies of woodblock and lithographic editions. There is, for example, a note to this effect in the colophon of *Baojuan of Xu Miaoying* (*Xu Miaoying baojuan* 徐妙英寶卷), a version of *Baojuan of Miaoying* still performed today in Zhangjiagang.¹²⁴ We know that this text was often printed by Shanghai publishers as outlined in appendix 2. One of the most popular texts still performed in Jinxi 錦溪 town, formerly called Chenmu 陳墓, in Kunshan county, *Baojuan of the Jade Earrings* (*Yu lianhuan baojuan*, 玉連環寶卷, Che no. 1476), which gave its name to a book on scroll-recitation masters in Jinxi, in its reprinted and edited form shows an affinity with the lithograph edition of the text with the same title printed by Xiyin in Shanghai around the 1930s.¹²⁵ One may surmise that the performer's manuscript was originally copied from this edition.

We can thus see that although editions of *baojuan* were in demand for individual reading and reading aloud by non-professionals, they were also used for recitation at religious assemblies. At this point we encounter an interesting interplay between the traditions of printing and oral performance of *baojuan*. Publishers sometimes printed texts based on folk manuscripts as described in section 5, but later those editions also reached folk performers of *baojuan* and were included in their repertoire. This phenomenon demonstrates that the printing of *baojuan* and the professional performances of these texts in Shanghai and its neighboring regions did not develop independently, and that there was in fact an interchange of ideas, practices, and texts, between them.

123 *Zhongguo Heyang baojuan ji* 中國河陽寶卷集, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2007), 1492–1505; *Zhongguo Shashang baojuan ji* 中國沙上寶卷集, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2011), 1265–1276. The examples are *Baojuan of the Crying Rooster* and *Baojuan of Gu Dingchen and a Pair of Jade Pendants* (*Huitu Gu Dingchen shuang yujue baojuan* 顧鼎臣雙玉玦寶卷, Che no. 309) printed by Wenyi in Shanghai in 1915 and 1916 respectively, *Baojuan of He Xiang* (*He Xiang baojuan* 何仙姑寶卷, Che no. 347) printed by Hongda in 1922, *Guanyin and Twelve Completely Enlightened Ones* printed by Xiyin in 1938.

124 *Zhongguo Heyang baojuan ji*, vol. 1, IV.

125 *Yu lian huan: Jinxi xuanjuan*, 115–122.

8. Conclusion

The printing of *baojuan* was a part of the growing print industry in early twentieth century Shanghai. Publishers who specialized in the printing of *baojuan* used the new lithographic print technology to produce well-decorated *baojuan* editions. There were two general categories of publishers who printed *baojuan*: literary publishers, who in addition to *baojuan* mainly printed literary texts, and morality book publishers. *Baojuan* editions provide very specific information on both types of these publishers, including their dates, agendas, and output. Several changes took place in the printing of *baojuan* by Shanghai publishers compared to the earlier printing of these texts in the same region. First, the printing of *baojuan* by literary publishers was commercialized, and morality book publishers operated on a semi-commercial, semi-philanthropic basis. Second, the aesthetic features of lithographic *baojuan* became more important than those of the traditional woodblock editions. Third, the range of texts printed in Shanghai was considerably enriched. Literary publishers, who specialized in narrative *baojuan*, printed a large portion of the new texts that were based on earlier folk versions (often with secular subjects). Morality book publishers continued to reprint didactic non-narrative texts; however, there were categories of texts printed by both types of publishers, therefore one should note that any differentiation between them in regard to the content of printed *baojuan* was not very rigid.

In spite of the changes noted above, there was no drastic transformation of the form and content of *baojuan* texts at the beginning of the twentieth century. Woodblock editions continued to be printed and to be circulated. Many traditional features of *baojuan* texts were retained as they were printed with the use of lithographic technology. Most lithographic *baojuan* maintained the traditional religious aspect of the genre. Even in the case of literary publishers there existed a strong association of *baojuan* with morality books. One can also observe the constant interplay of the written and oral aspects of the transmission of *baojuan* texts in the Republican period. The dual function of *baojuan* texts as scripts for professional storytelling and as reading materials most probably continued from the “woodblock” period of *baojuan* transmission. Based on this evidence, one can see that the assertion that lithographic *baojuan* were used as materials for individual reading rather than as scripts for recitation, with the implication that there was a major change in the function of *baojuan* editions at the beginning of the twentieth century, is just too simplistic. There were several ways in which *baojuan* editions, both woodblock and lithographic, were used. These include reading for oneself, amateur performance, and professional performance.

There were several types of professionals who recited *baojuan* in Shanghai in the early twentieth century; some of their performances were secular and others had a clear function as a religious ritual. It is an important fact that the traditional use of *baojuan* for recitation at religious assemblies continued in the twentieth century, and this oral tradition also was related to *baojuan* printing. Overall, the *baojuan* genre was quite multifunctional in the early twentieth century.

Baojuan occupied a very specific position in the burgeoning market of popular literature in the early twentieth century. The printing of these texts required the existence of a specific readership and audience of religious believers, while the intellectuals who advocated the modernization of culture and education regarded *baojuan* as the products of a backward ideology. Their condescending attitude is well-pronounced in their brief mentions of *baojuan* texts that have been discussed in this chapter. *Baojuan* texts, however, multiplied and transmitted in the form of printed editions, played an important role in the popular culture of Shanghai and its vicinity in the early twentieth century. They also contributed to the education of less well-educated readers and audiences, such as women and children, and served as a means of both religious instruction and entertainment of these audiences.

Table 1: List of publishers and organizations that printed *baojuan* in Shanghai (1910–1940)¹²⁶

Publisher	Address	Manager
Chunyin shuzhuang 椿蔭書莊	武定路祥興里1號	殷德鴻（1942）
Dafeng shanshu kanxing suo 大豐善書刊行所	河南路拋球場北首（1919）	
Daguan shuju 大觀書局	新疆路北公益里德霖里1號 （1935） 北西藏路76號（1939）	喬露青（1939）
Daode shuju 道德書局	霞飛路248號（1939）	鄔崇音（1939）
Dashan shuju 大善書局		
Dazhi shuju 大志書局		

¹²⁶ This list is based on the information of Che Xilun's catalogue of *baojuan* (2000), and supplemented with information on several editions, not listed there, but seen by the author in the libraries in the USA, mainland China, and Taiwan. This list includes all publishers who produced *baojuan* (even one title), including *baojuan* printed in collections of popular literary texts. The additional information on publishers comes from Wang Yaohua, ed., *Shanghai shuye minglu: 1906–2010* (lists of publishers of the years 1917–1942).

Publisher	Address	Manager
Duanji shuju 端記書局		
Duiji shuju 兌記書局		
Fojing liutongchu 佛經流通處		
[He]guangji shuju [何]廣記書局	蒙古路晉康里4號（1935） 四馬路麥家圈榮吉里 （1939）	何廣楠（1935, 1939）
Hongda shanshuju 宏大善書局	河南路中吉祥里口（河南路 533–5號）（1922， 1933）	金友生（1933） 陳瑞祥（1942）
Huaiyin shanfang 槐蔭山房	蒙古路公益里13號（1935）	耿隆祥（1935），劉延福 （1942）
Jiangchunji shuzhuang 蔣春記書莊	鐵馬路（1911前） 海寧路裕興里20號（1911， 1917，1935）	蔣春芳（1917），蔣祥生 （1935）
Juyuantang 聚元堂		
Kaiming gongsi (shuju) 開明公司（書局）	福州路278號（1930， 1935）	章錫琛（1930, 1935） 索非（1942）
Liangyishe 兩宜社		
Lianshi shuju 煉石書局		
Liudeji shuju 劉德記書局	海甯路裕興里1010弄223號 （1935）	劉祿德（1935）
Mingjueshe Mingdetan 明覺社明德壇		
Minyi yingji yinshua gongsi 民益焚記印刷公司		
Mingshan shuju 明善書局	法租界愷子邇路248號 （1935）	孫勉之（1935） 顧大孝（1942）
Putong shuju 普通書局		
Renji shuju (shuzhuang) 仁記書局(書莊)		
Shanghai shuju 上海書局	白爾路太平橋東首（1939）	許介人（1939）
Shenquanji shushe 沈全記書社		
Shuncheng shuju 順成書局		

Publisher	Address	Manager
Taihua shuju 泰華書局		
Taixingtang 太性堂		
Wenduanlou shuju 文端樓書局	棋盤街（1911，1917， 1930） 河南路87號（1935，1939）	華沁齋（1917） 周藹如（1930，1935，1939）
Wenming shuju 文明書局	南京路498號（1930） 河南路166弄12號（1939）	周掬忱（1930） 陸費達（1939）
Wenyi shuju 文益書局	大東碼頭德安里 海甯路天保里（1917）	郭文英（1917）
Wenyuan shuju 文元書局 [Wenyuan shuzhuang 文元書莊]	四馬路（1911，1917） 麥家圈榮吉里念二號 （1935，1939）	張孔宜（1917），張同升，張會 升，張孔宜（1935，1939，1942）
Xiecheng shuju 協成書局	閘北蒙古路北公益里16號 （1935） 北西藏路616號（1939）	周繼順（1935，1939）
Xingmin shuju 醒民書局		
Xinhua shuju 新華書局	山東路160號（1935）	朱錫泉（1935）
Xiuge shushe 秀歌書社		
Xiyin shuju 惜陰書局	順征路36號（1935） 發行所四馬路山東路130 號；出版部海寧路天保里 （1939）	王知三（1935，1939，1942）
Xuanhuatang 宣化堂		
Xucangji shudian 徐滄記書店		
Yaowenhai shuju 姚文海書局	鐵馬路寶順里	
Yihuatang shanshuj 翼化堂善書局	豫園路18–20號（1917， 1935）	華微閣（1917） 張竹銘（1935）
Yinyuji shuju 殷裕記書局		
Yishan xizishe 一善惜字社		
Yuanchang shuju 元昌書局	派克路 305號	張大椿（1942）
Zhenyuan xiao shushe 振園小書社		

Publisher	Address	Manager
Zhongjiao Fotang 中教佛堂		
Zhujintang shanshuju 朱錦堂善書局		

Table 2: *Baojuan* published in Shanghai between 1910 and 1940

<i>Baojuan titles</i>	惜陰書局 <i>Xiyin shuju</i>	文益書局 <i>Wenyi shuju</i>	翼化堂善書局 <i>Yihuatang shanshuju</i>	宏大善書局 <i>Hongda shanshuju</i>
○阿育王寶卷			+	
○八寶雙鸞釵寶卷	+	+		
○百鶴圖寶卷	+			
○百花臺寶卷	+	+		
●白蛇寶卷（雷峰寶卷）	+	+	+	
●白侍郎寶卷			+	
●辟邪歸正消災延壽立願寶卷			+	
○彩蓮寶卷	+			
●純陽祖師說三世因果寶卷			+	
●刺心寶卷	+	+	+	
○雌雄盃寶卷	+	+		
●達摩寶卷			+	+
✱大乘寶卷（？）			+	
○吊金龜（雙釘記）寶卷	+			
●地藏菩薩寶卷			+	
○董永賣身寶卷	+			
○寶娥寶卷	+			
●（✱）度劫寶卷（天降度劫經）			+	
○福緣寶卷		+		
○福緣指迷寶卷		+		
○觀音靈感寶卷				+
●觀音濟渡本願真經			+	+
觀音金鑑（寶卷）（？）			+	
●觀音十二圓覺寶卷	+		+	+
○顧鼎臣雙玉玦寶卷	+	+		
●（✱）歸源還鄉寶卷			+	+
○果報錄寶卷	+			
●韓湘子關藍寶卷			+	+
✱荷花寶卷（？）			+	
○何文秀寶卷	+	+	+	
●何仙姑寶卷	+	+	+	+
○紅樓鏡寶卷	+	+		
●懷胎報恩寶卷			+	

<i>Baojuan titles</i>	惜陰書局 <i>Xi Yin shuju</i>	文益書局 <i>Wen yi shuju</i>	翼化堂善書局 <i>Yihuatang shanshuju</i>	宏大善書局 <i>Hongda shanshuju</i>
●花名寶卷		+	+	+
○黃慧如寶卷	+			
○黃金印寶卷	+			
○黃糠寶卷	+	+	+	
●還鄉寶卷			+	
○歡喜寶卷（懊惱祖師寶卷）		+		
○還金鑄寶卷（奎星寶卷）	+	+		
●花網寶卷	+	+	+	
○蝴蝶盃（遊龜山）寶卷	+			
●護國佑民伏魔寶卷注解				+
●回郎寶卷	+	+	+	
●回文寶卷			+	
●蔣五老寶卷		+		
●節義寶卷			+	
○雞鳴寶卷	+	+		
○金不換寶卷	+	+		
*淨土寶卷（？）			+	
○金牛太子寶卷		+		
*九品陀台傳（？）			+	
●蘭英寶卷	+	+	+	
●梁皇寶卷			+	
○梁山伯寶卷	+	+		
○蓮英寶卷		+		
○李宸妃冷宮受苦寶卷（狸貓寶卷）	+			
●菱花鏡寶卷			+	
○李三娘（白兔記，磨房）寶卷	+			
●劉香女寶卷	+	+	+	
*劉香女中卷（？）			+	
○龍鳳寶卷		+		
○龍鳳配寶卷	+			
○龍鳳鎖寶卷（金鳳寶卷）	+	+		
●龍圖寶卷	+	+	+	
○落金扇寶卷	+			
○洛陽橋寶卷（受生寶卷）	+	+		+
○梅花戒寶卷	+	+		
○猛將寶卷		+		
●孟姜女寶卷	+	+	+	
●妙英寶卷	+	+	+	
○蜜蜂記寶卷	+			
*木蘭孝女傳（？）			+	
●明宗孝義達本寶卷			+	
●目蓮救母寶卷	+	+	+	+
*南海香山寶卷（？）			+	

<i>Baojuan titles</i>	惜陰書局 <i>Xiyin shuju</i>	文益書局 <i>Wenyi shuju</i>	翼化堂善書局 <i>Yihuatang shanshaju</i>	宏大善書局 <i>Hongda shanshaju</i>
○南樓寶卷	+			
●潘公免災救難寶卷 (潘公寶卷)			+	+
●龐公寶卷		+	+	
●琵琶記寶卷 (趙氏賢孝寶卷)	+	+	+	
●普陀寶卷			+	
○搶生死牌寶卷	+	+		
○妻黨同惡寶卷	+			
○麒麟豹寶卷	+			
○清風亭寶卷	+			
●秦雪梅三元記寶卷	+		+	
●七七寶卷		+	+	
●(※)七真寶卷			+	
●(※)勸世寶卷			+	
○(※)任湯寶卷				+
●如如老祖寶卷			+	
○如意寶卷	+	+		
●(※)三寶寶卷			+	
●三茅寶卷			+	+
●三世修道黃氏寶卷 (黃氏寶卷)	+	+	+	
●三世王氏寶卷			+	
●三祖行腳寶卷			+	
●善才龍女寶卷			+	
○善宗寶卷				+
○殺子報寶卷	+			
*生蓮寶卷 (?)			+	
●昇蓮寶卷			+	
○十殿寶卷	+			
○十美图寶卷	+			
●石延壽寶卷			+	
*收圓普度忠義傳 (?)			+	
○雙鳳寶卷	+	+		
○雙貴圖寶卷	+	+		
○雙花寶卷	+	+		
○雙剪髮寶卷		+		
○雙金錠寶卷	+	+		
○雙玉燕寶卷	+	+		
○雙珠鳳奇緣寶卷	+	+		
○四郎寶卷		+		
○四香緣寶卷 (八美图寶卷)	+			
●宋氏女寶卷	+		+	
○蘇鳳英藥茶記寶卷	+			
○太平寶卷 (趙素貞寶卷)	+	+		

<i>Baojuan titles</i>	惜陰書局 <i>Xiyin shuju</i>	文益書局 <i>Wenyi shuju</i>	翼化堂善書局 <i>Yihuatang shanshuju</i>	宏大善書局 <i>Hongda shanshuju</i>
○太平花寶卷	+			
○唐僧寶卷	+	+		
●歎世寶卷			+	
○天仙寶卷	+			
○啼笑姻緣寶卷	+			
○王昭君和蕃寶卷	+			
○晚娘（紅羅）寶卷	+	+		
○（*）萬應衛生寶卷				+
○倭袍寶卷	+			
○五常寶卷			+	+
○烏金記寶卷	+	+		
●五祖黃梅寶卷	+		+	
●香山寶卷	+	+	+	
○仙女寶卷（思凡寶卷）	+			
○現世報養婦媳寶卷	+			
●現世寶卷			+	
●（*）孝道寶卷（指真寶卷）			+	
○孝燈寶卷（王月英寶卷）	+			
*小潘公寶卷（?）			+	
●孝心寶卷（錢孝子寶卷）			+	
●悉達太子寶卷（雪山寶卷）	+	+	+	
○西瓜寶卷	+	+		
●惜穀寶卷			+	
●杏花寶卷		+	+	
●醒心寶卷			+	
●希奇寶卷（二郎盡孝）			+	
●秀女寶卷			+	
●秀英寶卷（碧玉簪寶卷）	+	+	+	
○雪梅寶卷（陳世梅寶卷）	+	+		
○徐子建雙蝴蝶寶卷	+	+		
*楊麟盡孝卷（?）			+	
*楊公寶卷（?）			+	
*閻羅寶卷（?）			+	
●延壽寶卷（金本中）	+	+	+	+
*延生寶卷（金本中）			+	
*閻王經卷（?）			+	
●鸚哥寶卷			+	
*因果經寶卷（?）			+	
○岳飛寶卷（精忠寶卷）	+			
●魚藍寶卷	+		+	
○玉帶記（劉文英）寶卷	+	+		
●玉露金盤				+
*玉律寶卷（協天大帝）(?)			+	

<i>Baojuan titles</i>	惜陰書局 <i>Xiyin shuju</i>	文益書局 <i>Wenyi shuju</i>	翼化堂善書局 <i>Yihuatang shanshuju</i>	宏大善書局 <i>Hongda shanshuju</i>
○玉連環寶卷	+	+		
●玉蜻蜓寶卷	+	+		
●玉英寶卷	+	+	+	
○再生花寶卷	+			
○再生緣寶卷	+			
●龜君寶卷			+	+
*張氏寶卷（？）			+	
●張氏三娘賣花寶卷	+	+	+	
*張氏無常寶卷（？）			+	
●湛然寶卷		+		
○趙千金烈女寶卷	+	+		
○正德遊龍寶卷	+	+		
●真武寶卷			+	+
●真修寶卷（箴心寶卷）	+		+	+
●珍珠塔寶卷	+	+	+	
●（*）指迷引真寶卷			+	
○忠良寶卷		+		
●眾喜粗言寶卷			+	
○珠花寶卷		+		
○姊妹花寶卷	+			

Explanations for the table “*Baojuan* published in Shanghai between 1910 and 1940”:

1. The table above gives information on publishers who printed the biggest amount of *baojuan* titles in Shanghai in the period between 1910 and 1940.
2. The table is organized in the alphabetic order of the titles’ pinyin transcriptions.
3. A + symbol indicates that this *baojuan* was printed by a given publisher; ○ stands in front of *baojuan* that appeared first as the lithographic editions (no earlier woodblock editions are known); ● stands in front of *baojuan* that appeared first as the woodblock editions; ☆ are *baojuan* that have not been seen by the author. The titles highlighted in grey are *baojuan* of narrative type.
4. The sources for this table include the original catalogues by the publishers and Che Xilun’s catalogue of *baojuan* (2000). Several editions seen in the *baojuan* collections, but not included in the Che Xilun’s catalogue were also

incorporated in the table. The titles given in the publishers’ lists have been identified with those listed in the Che Xilun’s catalogue.

5. Several editions listed in Yihuatang’s catalogue published in its periodical (1933) cannot be identified with the use of the Che Xilun’s catalogue. Those are followed by the question mark at the end. Some of these titles, especially those with the word *zhuan* 傳 at the end of title, may not be *baojuan*, if we judge them by their literary form. However, they were classified as *baojuan* by the compiler of the 1933 catalogue, and thus they are included in this table. The alternative titles of the same *baojuan* in the Yihuatang’s catalogue, as in the case of 真修寶卷 (箴心寶卷) were united into one entry.
6. Many *baojuan* listed in the Yihuatang’s own catalogue do not appear as printed by Yihuatang in Che Xilun’s catalogue. Apparently, these editions have not survived.
7. *Baojuan* printed by Xiyin, Wenyi, and Hongda are all lithographic editions; while *baojuan* printed by Yihuatang (those seen by the author) are mostly woodblock editions, with a few exceptions.

