

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)

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Abstract

The 19th century saw the advance of new print technology (lithographic press) in China. Many lithographic editions of *baojuan* (precious scrolls), the texts with primarily religious contents originally intended for oral presentation, were produced at the beginning of the 20th century. This paper deals with the connection of development of the lithographic print in Shanghai and the development of *baojuan* literary genre. *Baojuan* had been printed in woodblock technique long before the introduction of lithography. The paper addresses the question whether the use of new technique influenced the development of *baojuan* literature. It discusses the changes in contents, form, and usage that one can see in lithographic *baojuan*. Lithographic *baojuan* were popular-oriented reading materials rather than scripts of ritual storytelling. This transformation also led to the commercialization of *baojuan* editions.

The author also tried to trace the signs of actual use of lithographic *baojuan*. The paper discusses the specific place of this type of text in the market of fiction at the beginning of the 20th century. Significantly, the intended readership and audience of *baojuan* included people with modest educational level, especially those among children and women.

Keywords: *Baojuan*, lithographic printing, popular literature, popular reading materials, popular religion

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The 19th century in China saw the advance of new print technology introduced from the West, lithographic press. Lithography used an image drawn in wax or other oily substance applied to a lithographic stone as the medium to transfer ink to the printed sheet; it was the technology which allowed producing more copies at lower price and with better quality than the traditional woodblock printing. In the 1910-1920s lithographic publishers printed numerous editions of *baojuan* (寶卷, precious scrolls), the texts with primarily religious content written in the style of prose and verse alternation and originally intended for oral presentation.

Most Chinese and foreign scholars regard *baojuan* as a type of popular literature (*suwenxue* 俗文學), intended for non-sophisticated, often illiterate audience. Scholars divide the history of *baojuan* into three periods. In the first one (ca. 13th-15th centuries), they propagated Buddhist doctrines. In the second one (16th-18th centuries), *baojuan* were usually used as the scriptures of sects. However, sectarian *baojuan* co-existed with texts based on popular Buddhist tales. The second kind of text developed rapidly in the late period (19th-20th centuries). At that time many *baojuan* which were not connected with sectarian teachings were written. Texts which narrated biographies of saints and even texts with secular subjects predominated.¹

Since the 16th century, *baojuan* were often printed in the woodblock technique. Woodblock editions persisted into the first half of the 20th century. However, since the late 19th century *baojuan* started to be reproduced by the means of lithography. In the early 20th century in Shanghai, the centre of the new print culture that used lithographic technology, lithography basically substituted woodblock print as a means of the transmission of *baojuan*.

This paper deals with the connection of history of lithographic print in China and the development of *baojuan* genre at the beginning of the 20th century. The main question I am

¹ For the 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: 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).

interested in is whether the lithographic technology can be considered one of the factors of changes in *baojuan* literature. What innovations one can see in the contents, form, and use of the lithographic editions of *baojuan*?

Lithographic editions of *baojuan* have been scarcely noticed by scholars of two fields: those, who studied *baojuan* and those, who studied print culture of modern China. For example, in his monograph on *baojuan* Japanese scholar Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂 only briefly mentioned lithographic printing of *baojuan*,² and in his recent collection of articles about *baojuan*, Che Xilun devoted only few lines to the lithographic editions of *baojuan*.³ While there are several studies of the history of lithographic publishing of other written derivatives of Chinese storytelling genres, notably *guci* (鼓詞, drum ballad texts) in different languages,⁴ there is still no special study of this aspect of the history of *baojuan*. The aim of my research is to supplement the existing studies of *baojuan* by discussing the significance of lithographic mode of production for their history.

Scope, methods, and structure of the paper

This paper deals with Shanghai lithographic publishers who specialized in collecting and printing *baojuan* texts in the 1910-1920s. One of them, Xiyin shuju 惜陰書局, printed more than one hundred titles. However, one cannot find any information about its history in the existing reference books and monographs on the Shanghai printing.⁵ Unfortunately, Xiyin's editions were not dated; therefore, we do not know the exact dates of its activities. Judging from the style of editions, Xiyin should have been active in the 1910-1920s.

² Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, p. 80.

³ Che, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 223-224.

⁴ See for example, Otsuka Hidetaka 大塚秀高, "Chūō kenkyūin rekishi gogen kenkyūjo Fu Shinen toshokan shozō no 'sekiin koshi' ni tsuite – 'sekiin koshi' to 'dōjigi'" 中央研究院歷史語言研究所傅斯年圖書館所藏的「石印鼓詞」について—「石印鼓詞」と「童子戲」Tōtetsu 饗餐 8 (2000.9): 67-93; Li Yu 李豫 et al., "Zhongguo guci zongmu bianzhuān fenduan yiju ji lilun tantao (dai qianyan)" 中國鼓詞總目編撰分段依據及理論探討(代前言) in *Zhongguo guci zongmu* 中國鼓詞總目, edited by Li Yu et al. (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2006), pp. 16-39.

⁵ To name a few: Zhu Lianbao 朱聯保, *Jin xian dai Shanghai chubanye yinxiang ji* 近現代上海出版業印象記 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1993); Wang Qingyuan 王清原, Mou Renlong 牟仁隆, and Han Xiduo 韓錫鐸, ed., *Xiaoshuo shufang lu* 小說書坊錄 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002); Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

Other Shanghai publishers who printed *baojuan* in considerable numbers were Wenyi shuju 文益書局, Wen yuan shuju 文元書局, and [He] Guangji shuju 何廣記書局. Lithographic publishers who specialized in *baojuan* also existed in Ningbo, Hangzhou, Shaoxing and other big cities of southern China in the 1910-1920s. In this paper, however, I limit my discussion only to the publishers in Shanghai.

Due to the paucity of historical materials on this subject, I make use mainly of the information in the original editions of *baojuan* (which often appears in the form of prefaces, postfaces, publishers' notes, and commercials), which I studied in collections of *baojuan* editions in China, Taiwan, United States, and Russia. The most important among them are the rare book collections of Shanghai Library, Fudan University Library (Shanghai), Fu Ssu-nien Library at Academia Sinica (Taiwan),⁶ and Harvard-Yenching Institute (USA).⁷ Many materials that I use have not been reprinted recently.⁸

The structure of the paper is the following: I discuss changes in the form, contents, and the mode of production of *baojuan*, and then turn to the question of the use of the lithographic editions of *baojuan*.

Changes in the form of editions in connection with the use of *baojuan* texts

One can feel a significant difference in the outlook of lithographic and woodblock editions of *baojuan*. We can take as examples two editions of the same text, *Baojuan of Xiangshan* (i.e. Fragrant Mountain, *Xiangshan baojuan* 香山寶卷, Che no. 1290). This text is quite famous in the history of Chinese religion and literature as it tells the story of Princess Miaoshan 妙善, the earthly reincarnation of Bodhisattva Guanyin.⁹ The first

⁶ The so-called collection of popular literature (*suwenxue congshu* 俗文學叢書), collected by Liu Fu 劉復 (1891-1934) and Li Jiarui 李家瑞 (1895-1975) in the 1920s. *Baojuan* in these collection were partly reprinted in Huang Kuanzhong 黃寬重 et al., ed., *Suwenxue congkan: xiju lei, shuochang lei* 俗文學叢刊。戲劇類，說唱類 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2002), vol. 352-361.

⁷ Originally a collection of Professor Patrick Hanan, purchased in Beijing in the 1950s.

⁸ Now in several collections *baojuan* are digitalized and available online, see for example *baojuan* at Harvard-Yenching library:

http://lms01.harvard.edu/F/7NU1GKMSY2Q6Q7JBVQ3D4E6DXJNYPXINGJTD4DMVYDPTHT5LEC-00388?func=find-acc&acc_sequence=082434245 (accessed on 05/07/2011).

⁹ The official title of this text is *Sūtra of the Deeds of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin* (*Guanshiyin pusa benxing jing* 觀世音菩薩本行經). For the complete English translation of the 19th century redaction of this text, see Wilt L. Idema, transl., intro., *Personal Salvation and Filial Piety: Two Baojuan Narratives of Guanyin and Her*

edition is a 1914 lithographic edition by Wenyi publisher in Shanghai; another one is a 1931 woodblock edition by Huikong sūtra publisher of the Zhaoqing monastery (Zhaoqing[si] Huikong jingfang 昭慶【寺】慧空經房) in Hangzhou. Both are at Harvard-Yenching library (no. 5726 8662 and 5726 8662a). The 1931 edition, though made later than the first, certainly represents the earlier stage in the development of printing. It is marked as the reprint of the old edition, and is very similar to the editions of the same text executed by Huikong publisher at the end of the 19th century.

It is obvious that the calligraphy in the lithographic edition is more beautiful than in the woodblock one; it follows handwriting style and not the print style typical for the woodblock print (see figures 1 and 2). In the lithographic edition characters are also smaller. Furthermore, in the lithographic edition, several illustrations showing protagonists of the story, parents and sisters of Princess Miaoshan, as well as several deities, appear at the beginning (see figure 3), while in the woodblock edition, there is only one illustration at the beginning of the text. It depicts Bodhisattva Guanyin with her acolytes, Shancai (善財, Good-in-Talent, Skt. Sudhana), Longnü (龍女, Dragon Girl, Skt. Nâgakanyâ), and the parrot.¹⁰ The same image also appears in the lithographic edition by Wenyi (figure 4), but it is different from the one in the woodblock edition. The image of Guanyin in the woodblock edition by Huikong also appears to be quite crudely cut (figure 5) than that in the lithographic edition by Wenyi. This fact demonstrates that completely new illustrations were made for the Wenyi's edition.

The Huikong's edition follows the old pattern of *baojuan* printing, while the Wenyi's one certainly represents innovations of Shanghai publishers. Many lithographic editions reproduced the texts that already existed in woodblock editions. However, even in the case of texts re-printed, as *Baojuan of Xiangshan*, the text was executed with new calligraphy and illustrations. The texts also underwent editing.

Acolytes (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008). From here on, if a text is listed in Che Xilun's catalogue of *baojuan* (*Zhongguo baojuan zongmu* 中國寶卷總目 [Beijing: Yanshan shuju, 2000]) I provide its number in this catalogue.

¹⁰ For their stories, also narrated in *baojuan*, see Idema, *Personal Salvation*, pp. 161-189; Wilt L. Idema, "The Filial Parrot in Qing Dynasty Dress: A Short Discussion of the *Yingge baojuan* [Precious Scroll of the Parrot]," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 30: 77-96.

Lithographic publishers not only reprinted earlier editions, but used previously existing manuscripts for the production of new texts. There is a note in one lithographic *baojuan* which tells us about the process of production of lithographic editions. It appears at the end of the first volume of *Baojuan of Qilinbao*¹¹ (*Qilinbao baojuan* 麒麟豹寶卷, Che no. 864, an undated edition by Xiyin) and the editor Chen Runshen 陳潤身 says that he collected “the folk manuscripts” of this *baojuan* (presumably those used by storytellers), revised the text on the basis of these different versions, edited it, and then published in the form written with the calligraphic script and embellished with illustrations.¹² Chen Runshen is quite noteworthy person, because his name (as the editor) appears in many editions produced by Xiyin.

Many lithographic *baojuan* have the words “illustrated” (*xiuxiang* 繡像, *huitu* 繪圖, *zengxiang* 增像) and “newly edited (released)” (*xin bian* 新編, *xin chu* 新出) in their titles. The special attention was paid to the calligraphy of the titles on frontispieces. The names of calligraphers who executed these titles often appear after the titles. For example, several Wenyi and Wenyuan editions bear the name of the calligrapher Yuan Weishan 袁蔚山. This person (dates unknown) was the famous calligrapher, illustrator, and editor, whose name was associated with many Shanghai lithographic editions of the early 20th century.¹³

The emphasis on the visual aspect of *baojuan* editions is not surprising, as the aesthetic perfection of the book was the hallmark of the Chinese lithographic print of that time. Christopher Reed argues that in the period from 1876 to 1905 lithography was the preferred modern type of printing in China because it suited the visual aspects of traditional book culture more than movable-type letterpress.¹⁴ The lithographic mode of printing enabled more convenient reproduction of calligraphy and pictures than the woodblocks. Many pictorial manuals and collections of calligraphic inscriptions were reproduced with the use of the lithographic print in Shanghai.

¹¹ The name of the horse: Unicorn-Leopard.

¹² *Huitu Qilinbao baojuan* 繪圖麒麟豹寶卷 (Shanghai: Xiyin publisher, n.d. [Fudan University library, 725041]), 1.12b. Also quoted by Sawada Mizuho in his *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, p. 80.

¹³ On his works, see Wang Anping 汪安平, “Hailing Yuan Weishan” 海陵袁蔚山, *Taizhou ribao* 泰州日報, 2009/05/22; <http://www.tznews.cn/Article/pzk/pwt/200905/50779.html> (accessed on 2011/02/04).

¹⁴ Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 86-87.

However, the case of lithographic *baojuan* is peculiar if compared with the lithographic printing of fiction and other sorts of books. The facts of aesthetic improvement point to the changes in the function of *baojuan* texts, namely they were certainly intended for personal possession and reading for oneself rather than the recitation by one performer for the audience of worshippers. Expanded illustrations and beautiful calligraphy were designed to please the eyes of the individual reader. Smaller font also more suited personal reading practice than recitation. Therefore, the lithographic printing accompanied the transformation of *baojuan* from the scripts of religious storytelling into the reading materials.

This transformation should have started earlier than *baojuan* began to be printed in the lithographic form. Since the middle of the 19th century, *baojuan* were often printed by the publishers of morality books (*shanshu* 善書).¹⁵ Morality books were a type of didactic literature in most cases designed for the individual reading.¹⁶ The inclusion of some *baojuan* into the category of morality books and their mixing in the printing production should have contributed to the transformation of *baojuan* into the reading materials described above. However, only in the special features of lithographic editions this function of *baojuan* became evident. The use of lithographic technique certainly assisted this new use of *baojuan*.

The evidence of the new use of *baojuan* as texts for reading also comes from the note by the Xiyin's manager (惜陰主人識) on the covers of the editions, explaining the motive underlying printing of *baojuan*. It says: "The public morals are not [that good as] in antiquity; peoples' hearts are sinister and crafty. [However], if you consistently exhort them for goodness, there will be some improvement. In the past, this publisher promoted martial novels in this country, trying to support justice in peoples' hearts, to advise the wise and the

¹⁵ Yao Chi'on [You Zi'an] 游子安, *Quan hua jin zhen: Qing dai shanshu yanjiu* 勸化金箴：清代善書研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1999), pp. 153-154; Yao Chi'on [You Zi'an] 游子安, *Shan yu ren tong: Ming-Qing yilai de cishan yu jiaohua* 善與人同：明清以來的慈善教化 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 71-87.

¹⁶ For the representative studies of 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 酒井忠夫, *Chūgoku zenshō no kenkyū* 中國善書の研究 (revised edition: Tokyo: Kōbun dō, 1999).

stupid on the customs of this world. Who could envisage that the readers misunderstood [these intentions], and on the contrary, these novels were able to mislead the youth? Therefore, [now] the publisher regrets about 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.”¹⁷

This note is important in several aspects. First of all, it proves that lithographic *baojuan* were designed to be reading materials. It juxtaposes *baojuan* with the novels on martial arts (*wuxia xiaoshuo* 武俠小說), a popular type of fiction in the book market of that time.¹⁸ Because the novels on martial arts certainly were the kind of reading materials (the note uses the notion of the reader), *baojuan* were also used for reading. This juxtaposition implies that *baojuan* form the type of fiction. Xiyin published *baojuan* in the series called “Recitation of folk stories, exhorting goodness” (*Xuanjiang quan shan minjian gushi* 宣講勸善民間故事), and this title also appears on the covers of editions. The publisher's note translated above should be regarded as the preface to this series. The reference to the recitation in the series' title seems to point to the original function of *baojuan* texts, still evident to the publisher.

Secondly, this publisher's note gives us a glimpse of the history of Xiyin, otherwise unknown. It seems that originally Xiyin specialized in novels on martial arts, but then changed to *baojuan*. This process is described as a movement from “militarization” to “moralization”. The publisher says that his original intention with martial novels was also to moralize, and by promoting *baojuan* he also sought to moralize the reading public. As we saw, *baojuan* were very suitable for that purpose, possibly more so than the martial novels, which could provoke rebellious thoughts. Following this logic, the change of the publisher's preference is very appropriate. The switch from militarization to moralization at

¹⁷ 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。

¹⁸ On the development of the martial arts novel at the end of the 19th-early 20th centuries, see Fan Boqun 范伯群, ed. *Zhongguo jinxindai tongsu wenxue shi* 中國近現代通俗文學史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 1: 439-614; On the connection of the 19th century martial novel and storytelling, see Pieter Keulemans, “Sounds of the Novel: Storytelling, Print-Culture, and Martial-arts Fiction in Nineteenth-Century Beijing” (Ph.D. diss.: University of Chicago, 2004).

the beginning of the Republican period also should have to do with the changes in the historical and social situation. While at the end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), when the major danger came from the invading Western countries, militarization could be conceived as the way to strengthen the state, at the beginning of the Republican period, when the inner conflicts became especially fierce, the attitude to the martial-arts novels should have changed.¹⁹

The changes of contents

Lithographic publishers such as Xiyin, Wenyi, and Wenyuan favored certain type of *baojuan*. These were narrative texts, which probably appeared quite early, but greatly increased in number versus Buddhist or sectarian oriented scripture-type texts in the 19th century.²⁰ Many late narrative *baojuan* use subjects that were borrowed from popular novel, drama, and storytelling genres (such as *tanci*).²¹ Many *baojuan* printed as lithographs in the early 20th century that did not appear in the woodblock form represent the re-writing of texts of other genres, most notably *tanci*.

An example of *baojuan* text adapted from *tanci* is *Baojuan of He Wenxiu* (*He Wenxiu baojuan* 何文秀寶卷, Che no. 345), published as lithographs by several publishers in Shanghai (for example, by Wenyi in 1915) and Ningbo. The story of He Wenxiu is quite old; it became the contents of drama as early as in the 16th century. However, Che Xilun proves that *Baojuan of He Wenxiu* is derived from the *tanci* text.²² Tsuji Rin 辻リン, who studied the origins of the story told in *Baojuan on Fighting for the Plaques of Birth and*

¹⁹ On the social factors underlying the development of the martial arts' novel, see Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Qianggu wenren xiaoke meng: wuxia xiaoshuo leixing yanjiu* 千古文人俠客夢：武俠小說類型研究 (Taipei: Maitian, 1995), pp. 71-96.

²⁰ The main division into narrative and religious (scripture-type) *baojuan* has been accepted by many scholars, see Che, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 5-16. One should note there also was a certain overlap between these two major categories of texts.

²¹ 彈詞, string lyrics; a form of storytelling popular in Jiangsu and Zhejiang at that time, see Mark Bender, *Plum and Bamboo: China's Suzhou Chantefable Tradition* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 2003). On the written derivatives of *tanci*, called *tanci xiaoshuo* 彈詞小說, see Hu, Siao-chen [Hu Xiaozhen] 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: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 69-101.

²² Che, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, p. 574.

Death (*Qiang sheng si pai baojuan* 搶生死牌寶卷, Che no. 847) printed by Wenyi in 1915 discovered that though there was another *baojuan* with the similar story, dating back to the early 19th century, *Baojuan on Fighting for the Plaques of Birth and Death* uses details closer to other storytelling and dramatic versions of the same story of the later 19th and early 20th century rather than that early *baojuan*. Thus, its story was adapted again for the *baojuan* form in the early 20th century.²³

The special editors such as Chen Runshen 陳潤申 at Xiyin, mentioned above, should have been responsible for the adaptation of other texts as *baojuan*. The names of editors often appear in lithographic editions by other publishers, for example the names of editors Xie Shaoqing 謝少卿 from Nanchang 南昌 and Li Jiezhai 李節齋 in the editions by Wenyi.

It is obvious that Xiyin and Wenyi publishers primarily considered the market of fiction and reproduced texts that enjoyed popularity of readers. For example, a note by the head of Wenyi in the *Complete Version of Baojuan of Miaoying* (*Miaoying baojuan quan ji* 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 demand for the study halls [textbooks], calligraphic inscriptions’ collections 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 [Beijing] drama scripts.”²⁴

Another Shanghai publisher Jiangchunji shuzhuang 蔣春記書莊 published mainly novels, classics, *tanci*, morality books, and traditional textbooks: judging by the catalogue of its production appended to the lithographic edition of *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang* (*Liu Xiang nü baojuan* 劉香女寶卷, Che no. 642, undated, in Harvard-Yenching Library, no. 5726 7223b) only five out of forty-eight titles printed by Jiangchunji were *baojuan*. The association of *baojuan* with popular fiction (including written *tanci*) should have been one of the reasons of their transformation into the reading materials (in addition to the association with *shanshu*).

²³ 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 kenkyusho, 2005), pp. 8-12.

²⁴ 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 at the Fu Ssu-nien Library, reprinted in Huang et al., ed., *Suwenxue congtan*, 354: 488.

The literary aspect of *baojuan* texts developed as they started to be mass printed in the lithographic form. New *baojuan* texts pay more attention to the psychology and individual features of characters. The task of depiction of feelings of characters was facilitated by the new dramatized form of the text, namely the inclusion of the direct speech of characters, which became a characteristic of late *baojuan*, reproduced as the lithographic editions. Direct speech was included in *baojuan* texts earlier, and there are even stage directions which prescribe that the performer should imitate the voices of characters during the recitation of *baojuan*. For example, stage directions in the compact version of already mentioned *Baojuan of Xiangshan*, which appeared in the woodblock editions of the late 19th century, read: “The intonations of suffering, joy, and pity should all be imitated”.²⁵ However, in the lithographic editions there is the indication of the roles with the use of the traditional drama terms: “lead female” (*dan* 旦), “second female” (*hua[dan]* 花【旦】), “lead male” (*sheng* 生), “second male” (*jing* 淨), “third male” (*mo* 末), “additional character” (*wai* 外), “clown” (*chou* 丑), “episodical character” (*za* 雜), etc.²⁶ This indication of roles has to do with the changing performance manner in the professional recitation of *baojuan* at the early 20th century, which received a considerable impact of oral *tanci* and local genres of theatre.²⁷ The dramatization of dialogues also was accompanied by the introduction of detailed descriptions of objects and events, as well as the complex storylines, such as those in *Baojuan of Qilinbao*, mentioned above, and *Baojuan of Nanlou* (南樓寶卷, Che no. 763), both of which were published by Xiyin.²⁸ As the subjects of both texts seem to have been adopted from *tanci*, here again one can feel the literary influence of this genre.

²⁵ Idema, *Personal Salvation*, p. 47.

²⁶ See for example lithographic editions of *baojuan*, reprinted recently by Japanese scholars, Furuya Akihiro 古屋昭弘 et al., eds., *Ukin hōkan. Eiin honji chūshaku* 烏金寶卷: 影印・翻字・注釋 (Tōkyō: Chūgoku koseki bunka kenkyusho, 2003); Furuya Akihiro et al., eds., *Baikakai hōkan: eiin, honji, chūshaku* 梅花戒寶卷: 影印, 翻字, 注釋 (Tōkyō: Chūgoku koseki bunka kenkyusho, 2004); Tsuji Rin, ed., *Shō sei shi fuda hōkan*.

²⁷ Che, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, p. 213.

²⁸ *Baojuan of Nanlou* is represented in the collection of the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (中國社會科學院文學研究所, Beijing). One should note that *Baojuan of Qilinbao* and *Baojuan of Nanlou* represent the story sequels of the Pearl Pagoda (Zhenzhu ta 珍珠塔) and Japanese Robe (Wo pao 倭袍) respectively, both of which were popular in *tanci* genre and also appeared in *baojuan* form (Che no. 1540, 1201). See also, Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, pp. 245-246; 206.

One should note that the scripture-type *baojuan* also continued to be published in Shanghai by the publishers who specialized in morality books, such as Yihuatang 翼化堂 and Hongda shanshuju 宏大善書局.²⁹ Many publishers of morality books also used lithographic printing. For example, Hongda reprinted several old sectarian scriptures in the lithographic form, including *Precious Scroll of Protecting the State, Aiding the People, and Subduing Demons with Comments and Explanations* (*Hu guo you min fu mo baojuan* 護國佑民伏魔寶卷註解, Che no. 434),³⁰ the scripture compiled around year 1617 by a follower of the Yellow Heaven Teaching (Huangtian jiao 黃天教); and *True Sûtra of the Original Vow of Guanyin to Rescue Mankind* (*Guanyin jidu ben yuan zhen jing* 觀音濟度本願真經, Che no. 318), which was the revision of the Miaoshan story presumably edited by the leader of the Teaching of Blue Lotus (Qinglianjiao 青蓮教) around the middle of the 19th century.³¹

Therefore, the use of lithographic print was associated with the growing specialization of *baojuan* printing. One can feel it if compares the production by Xiyin and Wenyi, consisting almost entirely of narrative texts, with the woodblock editions by the older publishers Huikong in Hangzhou and Manao sûtra publisher (Manao jingfang 瑪瑙經房) in Suzhou, who printed *baojuan* in the late 19th –early 20th centuries. Huikong and Manao printed narrative *baojuan* together with the scripture-type texts.

Traditional features of contents preserved

Speaking about the changes of contents in *baojuan* of the early 20th century, I would like to note that many traditional features of *baojuan* were preserved in the lithographic

²⁹ 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, *Yang shan banyue kan* 揚善半月刊 13 (01/01/1934), rpt. in *Yang shan banyue kan: xianxue zhuanmen zazhi* 揚善半月刊：仙學專門雜誌 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2005): 18-19; Wu Yakui 吳亞魁, “Hua shuo Yihuatang shanshuju” 話說翼化堂善書局, *Shanghai dao jiao* 上海道教 1 (1995): 26-27; Yao, *Quan hua jin zhen*, pp. 153-155; Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), pp. 234-241.

³⁰ It deals with the miracles performed by Lord Guan (關帝, Guan Yu 關羽). See, Che Xilun 車錫倫, *Minjian xinyang yu minjian wenxue: Che Xilun zi xuan ji* 民間信仰與民間文學：車錫倫自選集 (Luzhou: Bo yang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2009), pp. 346-352.

³¹ On this text see, Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 548-552.

editions. First of all, most texts retained the traditional religious aspect of the genre. Even the popular stories, which previously were not used in the *baojuan* form and appeared only in the lithographic editions, were interpreted in the religious framework of retribution, related to the Buddhist idea of karmic causation. For example, the concluding verses of *Baojuan on Fighting for the Plaques of Birth and Death* (see above), which tells the story originally not connected with the karmic causation, say:

At the end, goodness and evil eventually have retribution.

The Imperial Heaven will not let down people with good intentions,

For every person, it is good to remain honest;

Then, in the future, even your children and grandchildren will enjoy the reward.

善惡到頭終有報。

皇天不負善心人。

爲人總要良心好。

後代兒孫有收成。³²

Not only protagonists receive the rewards for their good deeds (they are usually reborn in the Pure Land or become immortals), the texts also directly exhort audience (and readers) to be pious.

One should also note that most texts preserve the introductory and concluding parts, which are connected with the ritual of invocation of deities (who are supposed to attend a meeting of worshippers). These rituals of inviting and seeing-off the deities constituted the special feature of *baojuan* literature since the early period of its development. They continued in *baojuan* of the late period, and also exist in modern practice of *baojuan* performances. For example, *Illustrated and Newly Released Baojuan of the Crying Rooster* (*Huitu xin chu ji ming baojuan* 繪圖新出雞鳴寶卷, Che no. 543) printed by Wenyi in 1915 has the secular narrative content, as it deals with one of the cases solved by Judge Bao (Bao gong 包公), but it starts with the invitation of deities:

³² Tsuji Rin, ed., *Shō sei shi fuda hōkan*, p. 62.

Opening at first *Baojuan of the Crying Rooster*,
 All the buddhas and bodhisattvas descend to the assembly.
 If good men and pious women listen with sincere thoughts,
 It will increase happiness, extend longevity, and bring peace!
 雞鳴寶卷初展開，
 諸佛菩薩降來臨。
 善男信女虔誠聽，
 增福、延壽、保平安！³³

Only then the prose narration of *baojuan*, preceded by the formula “That is what I heard...” (*gong wen* 恭聞), typical for the Chinese popular literature, starts.

The concluding verses of this *baojuan* also have the auspicious content. They say:

Now we have finished the recitation of *Baojuan of the Crying Rooster*;
 The ancient mirror, polished anew, illuminated Nine Heavens.
 Today, this recitation of *Baojuan of the Crying Rooster*
 Is as efficacious as that of the *Lotus Sûtra*.
 If one wants to go to the Western land,
 One should perfect oneself, recite the Buddha’s name and be sincere in the pious thoughts.

[then the lines dealing with the reward of protagonists follow]
 Dear all, you listened to *[Bao]juan of the Crying Rooster*;
 All the family members, old and young, will remain in peace;
 After good men and pious women listened to *[Bao]juan of the Crying Rooster*,
 Each and every household will enjoy the well-being!
 雞鳴寶卷宣完成，
 古鏡重磨照九天。

³³ Reprinted in Huang et al. ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 356: 193.

今日宣部雞鳴卷，
 勝如蓮花一部經。
 爲人要到西方去，
 修行念佛道心虔。
 大家聽了雞鳴卷，
 合宅老小保平安。
 善男信女聽了雞鳴卷，
 家家戶戶保安寧。³⁴

The *baojuan* recitation is thus equated to the recitation of Buddhist scriptures, the *Lotus Sūtra* being a very popular scripture. Standard ritual elements preserved in lithographic *baojuan* demonstrate that the recitation (or reading) of these texts was still believed to be a religious practice supposed to be able to bring welfare to the audience. In spite of the shift towards the individual reading, lithographic editions still could be used for the recitation during the communal religious meetings, as many traditional ritual elements of these texts were preserved.

The printing of *baojuan*, even narrative texts, was perceived as the pious undertaking, which is clear from the publisher's note in the Xiyin's editions, cited above. Although the language and tone of this note is very conventional, if we consider it against the background of traditional fiction, the juxtaposition of martial novels and *baojuan* in terms of the morality propagation is significant. These Xiyin's editions also have a picture of Bodhisattva Guanyin and her acolytes on the covers, quite similar to the illustration in woodblock and lithographic editions of *Baojuan of Xiangshan*, discussed above. This decoration leaves no doubts about the moral and religious goals of *baojuan* editions.

Another publisher, Wenyi, also treated narrative *baojuan* as the religious texts. This is clear from the fact that the poetic moralizing texts were often printed together with the longer narrative *baojuan*. For example, *The Complete Edition of Miaoying Baojuan* printed by Wenyi in 1914, already mentioned above, has two appendices: "The Essay on Ni

³⁴ Huang et al. ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 356: 240.

Xiuzhang from Jiaying, who Escaped from Fire, Because [his Family] Kept Fast during Six Generations, and their Plea would Certainly Have the Response” (*Jiaying Ni Xiuzhang liu dai chi zhai zheng huo you qiu bi ying zhi* 嘉興倪秀章六代持齋拯火有求必應誌) and “Text Admonishing the World by Zhang Defang” (*Zhang Defang quan shi wen* 張德方勸世文).³⁵ In *Baojuan of Xinghua* (*Xinghua baojuan* 杏花寶卷, Che no. 1279) by the same publisher (undated) “Text Admonishing the World by Zhang Defang” is also repeated.³⁶ “Text Admonishing the World by Zhang Defang” seems to be the standard addition of this kind in *baojuan*. In *Baojuan of Xinghua* it starts with the words which say that it was originally appended to *Baojuan of the Flowers’ Names* (*Hua ming baojuan* 花名寶卷, Che no. 351), another popular text. In spite of the preference for the texts with entertaining quality, Wenyi’s managers also certainly thought of *baojuan* as the moralizing literature, and associated it with morality books.

In spite of certain innovations in contents, which were fostered by the lithographic printing of *baojuan*, the contents and ideology of *baojuan* remained quite conservative. The preservation of the traditional features of *baojuan* literature apparently impeded its broader circulation in the age of modernization and secularization of China.

Changes in the mode of production of *baojuan* editions

The printing of lithographic *baojuan* was commercialized. In this aspect the lithographic and woodblock publishing of *baojuan* were very different. Traditionally, printing of *baojuan* followed the mode of printing of Buddhist scriptures (as well as morality books). Woodblock editions of *baojuan* usually were printed with the funds collected from worshippers and were distributed free of charge. A sponsor could order to print a needed number of copies; such information often appears in colophons of *baojuan*.³⁷ Lithographic editions of *baojuan*, on the contrary, were designed for sale. The commercial catalogues of *baojuan* produced by Wenyi, Xiyin, and Jiangchunji (sometimes with the indication of a price of each book) often appear appended to their editions.

³⁵ Reprinted in Huang et al. ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 354: 511-512.

³⁶ Reprinted in Huang et al. ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 359: 129-130.

³⁷ On such printing of *baojuan*, see Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, pp. 70-75.

As the information in the editions demonstrates, these publishers were also engaged in distribution of lithographic *baojuan*. They had branch stores in different cities and also had connections with the big bookstores, where they distributed *baojuan*. For example, the frontispieces of *baojuan* by Wenyi have the notes that this publisher had his branch-stores (*fenfasuo* 分發所) in Hangzhou, Shaoxing, and Nanjing, called Juyuantang publishers 聚元堂書局 in both Hangzhou and Shaoxing, and Juzhen publisher 聚珍書局 in Nanjing; the books were also sold in all big bookstores in different provinces (*ge sheng da shufang* 各省大書坊).³⁸

Editions of Wenyi usually have a note about the copyright and prohibition to reproduce on frontispieces. Such notices appear to be completely opposite to the invitations to multiply *baojuan* found in the woodblock editions. They testify for the fact that the publishers of *baojuan* embraced the concept of copyright, widespread in the Chinese print culture of the early 20th century.³⁹ The appearance of copyright issue should have to do with the bigger cost of machinery used for the lithographic printing if compared with the woodblocks. Here, I do not enter into the discussion whether these copyright restrictions proclaimed in *baojuan* editions were actually observed; however, the mere fact of their appearance deserves notice. The mode of production and distribution of *baojuan* became modernized and commercialized.

Intended audience and use of lithographic *baojuan*

Now, I would like to turn to the question of the intended audience of the lithographic *baojuan*. Whom were these books intended for, and how were they actually used?

Unfortunately, we know very little about the people who purchased and read these texts. Basing on the scarce evidence we have, we can suppose that women constituted the primary audience. In the recent years, many scholars of Chinese literature and history turned their attention to the traditional literature written by women and for women,⁴⁰

³⁸ See for example, frontispiece of *The Complete Edition of Miaoying Baojuan*, reprinted in Huang et al. ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 354: 488.

³⁹ Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 176-178.

⁴⁰ The most representative recent monographs are: Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1995); Susan Mann, *Precious Records:*

however, none of these studies discuss the role of *baojuan* in education and guiding of women.

We know that oral performances of *baojuan*, called “scroll recitation” (*xuanjuan* 宣卷) in most places, had primarily female audience since the 16th century till the 20th century.⁴¹ At the beginning of the 20th century performances of *baojuan* by professional storytellers in the Lower Yangtze region, the areas around Shanghai, attracted mainly female audience, as the contemporary scholars of Chinese popular literature Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980), Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958), Li Shiyu 李世瑜 (1922-2010), and writer Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967) testified.⁴² Significantly, many *baojuan* reproduced in lithographic mode dealt with the stories of self-cultivation of women, who usually reached sainthood at the end of their spiritual path. There are several special studies of this theme in *baojuan*.⁴³

We can suppose that women constituted the main audience and readers of the lithographic *baojuan*. Lithographic *baojuan* were both recited aloud for the female audience (often illiterate) as well as read by women themselves. These reading practices also existed along with the professional performances of *baojuan*, which flourished in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces at the beginning of the 20th century (some of the schools of

Women in China's Long Eighteenth-Century (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997) and *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); and Widmer, *The Beauty and the Book* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006).

⁴¹ For the overview of evidence, see David Johnson, “Mu-lien in *Pao-chüan*: the Performative Context and Religious Meaning of the *You-ming Pao-chüan*” in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 59-60, 64-69.

⁴² Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, “Suzhou jindai de yuege” 蘇州近代的樂歌, *Geyao* 歌謠 3.1 (1937): 7; Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo suwenxue shi* 中國俗文學史 (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 1954; 1st ed. – Changsha: Commercial Publishers, 1938), 2: 311; Li Shiyu 李世瑜, “Jiang-Zhe zhu sheng de xuan juan” 江浙諸省的宣卷 (1959), in his *Baojuan lun ji*, pp. 24-25; Zhou Zuoren 周作人, “Gua dou ji” 瓜豆集 in *Zhou Zuoren quan ji* 周作人全集, vol. 4 (Taipei, Landeng wenhua shiye, 1992), p. 25.

⁴³ Daniel L. Overmyer, “Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature: Ming and Ch'ing *Pao-chüan*” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 243–253; Zheng Ruqing 鄭如卿, “Qing dai *baojuan* zhong de funü xiuxing gushi yanjiu” 清代寶卷中的婦女修行故事研究 (MA diss., 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 (MA diss., National Chungcheng University, Institute of Chinese Literature, 2006); Xu Yunzhen 許允貞, “Cong nüxing dao nūshen: nüxing xiuxing xinnian *baojuan* yanjiu” 從女性到女神：女性修行信念寶卷研究 (Ph.D. diss., Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2010).

these performers survived till now).⁴⁴ Modern performances of *baojuan* in several parts of southern Jiangsu also are attended mostly by the peasant women.

Some notes in lithographic *baojuan* testify that these texts were produced for the female audience in mind. The postface to the lithographic edition of *Baojuan of Piercing the Heart* (*Zhen xin baojuan* 鍼心寶卷, Che no. 1550) printed by Hongda morality books' publisher in 1919, called "Eight Methods for the Spread of *Baojuan*" (*Baojuan liutong ba fa* 寶卷流通八法), mentions women as one of the targeted audiences of *baojuan* and, probably, even readers:

Old men in the villages and ladies of inner chambers, when they have spare time, often enjoy telling stories, performances of *tanci*. If you encourage the spread of recitation of this book - either perform [script] yourself, or transmit it to other people [to make them read], it will rectify the hearts of listeners, repent their sins and lead them to goodness as it enters their ears. If compared with all kinds of stupid storytelling, this recitation is superior [in morality] ten thousand times".⁴⁵

In this passage, the editor speaks about the traditional recitation of *baojuan*, which he compares with the *tanci* performances: the texts which also enjoyed popularity among women at that time both as the oral texts and written novel-type versions.⁴⁶

Women also read *baojuan* texts themselves, which certainly had connection with the growth of female literacy (especially in urban centers) at the 19th - beginning of the 20th century. Women's literacy was widespread in well-to-do families in the late imperial period, and grew in the republican era, as the public schools for girls spread in the cities.⁴⁷ *Baojuan* constituted a part of literature read by women.

⁴⁴ See, Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 212-216.

⁴⁵ 鄉村父老、閨閣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。 *Zhen xin baojuan*, 1919, p. 12b.

⁴⁶ On the printing and readers of *tanci* in the 20th century, see, for example, Widmer, *The Beauty and the Book*, pp. 86-88.

⁴⁷ On the different views of female literacy in late imperial China, see Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), p. 24; Wilt L. Idema, "Review of Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*", *T'oung Pao* 66: 4-5 (1980): 314-324. On women's

Zhou Zuoren described two cases of young girls who were reading *baojuan* texts themselves in the essay *Woman Liu Xiang* (劉香女) written in 1934, which deals with *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang* (already mentioned in section on the Changes of Contents above). Both cases took place in small towns in Shaoxing area (of which Zhou Zuoren was a native), one coming from Zhou Zuoren's childhood memory and another from the newspaper. In case of his neighbor during his childhood years, *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang* was "the favorite book of the girl," in the case that took place in the mid-1930s, the girl went to the elementary school, but then abandoned learning, and stayed at home, reading novels and *baojuan*, especially *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang*, which she read a hundred times. In case of the first girl, her initial knowledge of *baojuan* came from the oral performances of scroll recitation. She often listened to the scroll recitation, organized by her mother, who acted as a head of religious assembly (*hui shou* 會首, on these assemblies see below), at which *baojuan* were recited.⁴⁸

According to Zhou Zuoren, the type of *baojuan* about self-cultivation of the female heroines represented by *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang* had a big influence on some pious women. *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang* influenced two young girls in the way that they resisted marriage and engaged in the religious practices of vegetarian diet and recitation of Buddhist scriptures (in the second case this ardent devotion to the *baojuan* ideas led to suicide).⁴⁹ Zhou Zuoren notes that such cases were quite widespread at the beginning of the 20th century. In words of Zhou Zuoren, those pious women in the time of his childhood (both audience and readers of *baojuan*) regarded *baojuan* as the Confucian classics and histories (*jing shi* 經史), the most important books of traditional education in China.⁵⁰ In other words, while men were studying classics and histories, women, interested in learning, turned to *baojuan*, where they found solution to their problem of low social standing.

education in China at the 19th-early 20th centuries, see also Paul J. Bailey, *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁴⁸ Zhou Zuoren, "Gua dou ji", p. 25.

⁴⁹ On the ideas propagated in *Baojuan about Woman Liu Xiang*, see Overmyer, "Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature," pp. 245-253.

⁵⁰ Zhou Zuoren, "Gua dou ji", p. 25.

Another piece of evidence on women reading *baojuan* comes from the book by Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) *Writing about Myself [at the Age of] Forty* (*Sishi zi shu* 四十自述), where he writes that “the mother-in-law of the second elder brother was quite literate, and she brought to the house morality books such as *Stories of Jade Chronicles*, *Scripture of the King Miao-zhuang*, and often told us (children – R.B.) the stories how Mulian traveled to the underworld, how the princess Miaoshan (Guanyin), [a daughter] of the King Miao-zhuang, left the family for self-cultivation, and other stories. I read all the books which she brought, ... and my mind was full of terrifying images of hell”.⁵¹

The first text mentioned in this passage is a popular morality book describing underworld;⁵² I was not able to find any information on the second one, but judging from its contents, the story of the princess Miaoshan and her father King Miao-zhuang, it should be based on *Baojuan of Xiangshan* that was already mentioned. The story of Mulian rescuing his mother from hell also was very popular in *baojuan* literature.⁵³ Therefore, it is possible to suppose that Hu Shi referred to *baojuan* texts interpreted as a kind of morality book here, although he does not name them. We also can assume that *baojuan* editions, as well as those of morality books, mentioned by Hu Shi, were the reading materials for female and junior readers.

Quite many *baojuan*, such as those about Miaoshan, Mulian, and other, dealt with the underworld themes.⁵⁴ Stories about hell were connected with the religious idea of retribution (see above). Hu Shi did not mention illustrations in the editions he read as a child; however, as we know, *baojuan* editions usually were illustrated, and these illustrations certainly played an important role in the formation of the images of hell, to

⁵¹ 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，常給我們講說目蓮救母遊地府，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。Hu Shi 胡適, *Sishi zi shu* 四十自述 (Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1992), pp. 39-41.

⁵² Yao, *Quan hua jin zhen*, pp. 16-18.

⁵³ On his story in *baojuan*, see Rostislav Berezkin, “The Development of Mulian Story in *Baojuan* Texts (14th-19th centuries) in Connection with the Evolution of the Genre,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

⁵⁴ 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: Papers from the International Workshop on the Mu-lien Operas*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 225-236.

which Hu Shi referred. For example, an edition of *Newly Printed Baojuan of Mulian Rescuing His Mother* (*Xin ke Mulian san shi jiu mu baojuan* 新刻目蓮三世救母寶卷, Che no. 689) printed by Wenyi in 1921 has two images of the kings of hell at the beginning.

The references by Zhou Zuoren and Hu Shi provide us with some knowledge of the complex way of perception of *baojuan* by the female and children's audiences. In case of Zhou Zuoren's neighbor, the girl listened to *baojuan* performances first, while accompanying her mother at the religious meetings. Then she started to read *baojuan* editions herself. It can be the case that children learned about *baojuan* at religious assemblies organized by their female family members, but then they became interested in reading *baojuan* editions. In Hu Shi's piece at first the literate elderly woman read *baojuan* for herself, then she told the stories that she learned from the books to the children, still unable to read. Then, the author himself read these pious books, and completed his knowledge of their contents. Here, we can see the constant interplay of the written and oral aspects of the *baojuan* transmission in the modern society.

This situation with *baojuan* transmission becomes even more complex when we consider the non-professional recitation of *baojuan* by a literate person to the illiterate family audience. Such use of the lithographic *baojuan* is evident in "Eight Methods for the Spread of *Baojuan*", cited above; and there is also other evidence showing that some pious families in different parts of China practiced reading *baojuan* aloud. According to the information of the Czech scholar Vena Hrdličková, Yang Luoyun 楊洛雲, her female colleague at the Chinese embassy in Prague, read *Mulian Baojuan* on the request of her grandmother after she went to school and learned how to read (this was in the 1930s in northern China).⁵⁵ One should note that *Mulian Baojuan* (usually an abbreviated title of *Baojuan of Mulian Rescuing His Mother*) was reproduced in the lithographic mode by several Shanghai publishers: it was reprinted by Xiyin (undated), Wenyi (1921), Hongda morality books publisher (1922), Jiangchunji (undated), Wenyuan (1921), Zhenyuan xiao

⁵⁵ Vena Hrdličková, "Tun-chuangské pien-weny o "oddaném synovi Mu-lienovi", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philologica* 1976, 2: 273.

shushe 振園小書社 (1924) and others.⁵⁶ We know that Shanghai lithographic editions were circulated quite broadly, and they reached the northern areas of China. Patrick Hanan bought many of them in Beijing in the 1950s (see note 7). It is quite possible that Yang Luoyun used one of these lithographic editions of *Mulian Baojuan*.

Obviously, this girl practiced her reading skills when she recited *baojuan* for the illiterate elderly family members. Such amateur recitation of *baojuan* existed along with the professional performances by storytellers, who also often assumed the role of the religious specialists. Those employed particular melodies and musical instruments, carried props, and even performed rituals together with the *baojuan* recitation during the religious assemblies.⁵⁷

All this information leads us to the hypothesis that lithographic editions of *baojuan* were also intended for the “amateur” performances in the family setting, and they had an educational function, as children, who were learning how to read, and women, who had little formal education, could practice reading characters with the use of these *baojuan* editions. Lithographic *baojuan* were quite important tools of education and entertainment of the audiences who received little formal traditional education. Basing on this information, we can also feel the reason why illustrations mattered much to people who produced and read *baojuan*.

Conclusion

After examining the available evidence on the lithographic editions of *baojuan*, I can conclude that the adoption of lithographic print technology was an important factor of the new development of *baojuan* literature. Publishers who specialized in *baojuan* printing appeared in Shanghai at the early 20th century. They obviously preferred narrative *baojuan*; and new texts were composed for the lithographic printing. There were also changes in the form of *baojuan* editions and intended use of the texts, namely the commercialization of

⁵⁶ Che no. 689, 694. The last two editions are preserved in the Fu Su-nien Library of Academia Sinica (no. AP5-045 and AP5-044), they are not included in the comprehensive catalogue of *baojuan* by Che Xilun: *Zhongguo baojuan zongmu*, pp. 166-168.

⁵⁷ See, Li Shiyu, “Jiang-Zhe zhu sheng de xuan juan”, pp. 25-26; Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 212-222.

printing and orientation for the individual reading more than for the communal recitation. Reading practices associated with lithographic *baojuan* included individual reading and amateur performances. The latter co-existed with the professional performances of *baojuan*. Lithographic printing of *baojuan* was closely connected with the market demand of popular fiction and the rise of category of readers interested in and capable to read *baojuan* themselves.

However, one should confess that the transformation of *baojuan* into secular reading material was not complete. Many traditional features of *baojuan* texts continued, as they were printed with the use of new technology. Even commercialized publishers were well aware of the pious contents of *baojuan* and exploited this fact. *Baojuan* had the very special place in the burgeoning market of popular literature at the end of the 19th-early 20th centuries, as they required the special audience of believers. In spite of some modernization in form and contents, *baojuan* literature never left the religious framework. These facts can explain the fast disappearance of *baojuan* texts in the book market and shelves of readers as the modernization and secularization of China advanced. However, one can still confess a considerable role of *baojuan* texts, and mostly their lithographic editions, in education and entertainment of a reader who did not receive much formal traditional education, especially some groups of women and children.

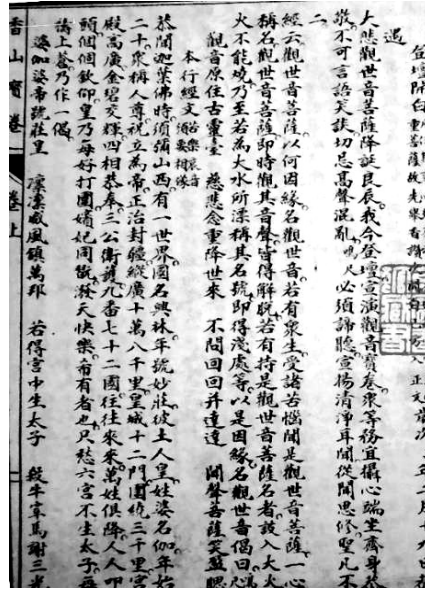
Figures⁵⁸

Figure 1

Baojuan of Fragrant Mountain (香山寶卷), lithographic edition by Wenyi publisher (Shanghai, 1914)

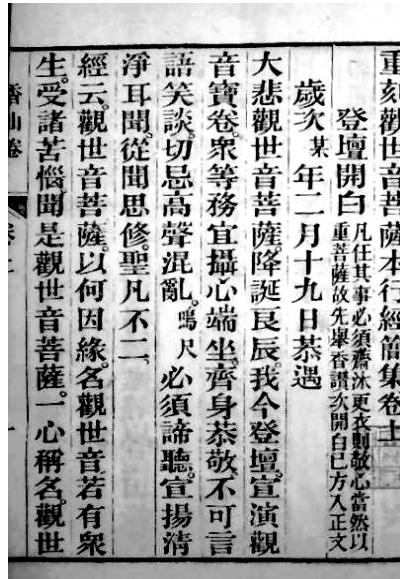


Figure 2

Baojuan of Fragrant Mountain, woodblock edition by Huikong sūtra publisher (Hangzhou, 1931)

⁵⁸ All figures are courtesy of Harvard-Yenching Library, pictures taken by the author of this paper.



Figure 3

Baojuan of Fragrant Mountain, lithographic edition by Wenyi publisher (Shanghai, 1914), illustrations showing parents and sisters of Princess Miaoshan



Figure 4

Baojuan of Fragrant Mountain, lithographic edition by Wenyi publisher (Shanghai, 1914), illustration showing Bodhisattva Guanyin



Figure 5

Baojuan of Fragrant Mountain, woodblock edition by Huikong sūtra publisher (Hangzhou, 1931), frontispiece illustration

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上海二十世紀十至二十年代石印出版業的發展與 寶卷文學形式的變遷： 出版業與中國俗文學發展的關係初探

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摘 要

二十世紀初，上海的一些出版社專門印刷寶卷的石印本。寶卷原來是作為講唱文學的腳本，在明清時期盛行。現如今，有關的研究主要討論寶卷文獻的內容與寶卷文學的講唱方式，很少涉及到寶卷發行的文本形式與出版業發展之間的關係。本文透過寶卷文獻的變遷史進一步探討其與石印出版業之間的關係，嘗試補充說明當代有關寶卷文獻的傳播的研究成果。

上海出版的石印本的寶卷與當時的或更早的木刻本寶卷有很多不同之處，其區別在於文本的形式（書籍用到的書法文體、插圖）、內容及其社會功能。石印本寶卷不便於說唱，而適於閱讀。這裡表明，石印本的出現是伴隨著寶卷的用途的變化，即寶卷不僅僅作為講唱的腳本，還能作為一種讀物。並且石印寶卷的出版與木刻本相比較更為專業化，也傾向於商業化。

關鍵詞：寶卷、石印本、俗文學、通俗讀物、民間宗教

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