

Rostislav Berezkin

***Baojuan* publishing by Shanghai and Ningbo publishers (1911-1940) and its connection with the expansion and changes of the genre**

Abstract

In the period between 1911 and 1940, a considerable number of *baojuan* (precious scrolls), the texts with primarily religious contents originally intended for oral presentation, was printed in Shanghai and nearby cities. *Baojuan* were often printed with the use of modern print technologies: lithographic and typeset press. The lithographic and typeset publishers specializing in *baojuan* printing appeared at that time. These publishers also were engaged in collecting and editing the *baojuan* texts as well as in retailing their print production.

Looking at several cases of *baojuan* publishing, this paper explores the special features of this print production, especially in connection with the new trends in the work of publishers and the ways of consumption of *baojuan* editions. Due to the paucity of materials, the paper makes use mainly of the information in the original editions of *baojuan* which the author studied in collections of *baojuan* editions in several countries.

## Introduction

In the period between 1911 and 1940 several publishers in Shanghai and other cities of the Lower Yangtze region published numerous editions of *baojuan* (寶卷, precious scrolls).

*Baojuan* are texts with primarily religious content originally intended for oral presentation.

*Baojuan* is an old literary form that formed approximately in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries but still flourished at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars divide the history of *baojuan* into three periods. In the first one (ca. 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries), they propagated Buddhist doctrines. In the second one (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> 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 (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries). At that time many *baojuan* which were not connected with sectarian teachings were written. Narrative texts which often adopted secular subjects predominated.<sup>1</sup>

*Baojuan* were recited during the religious assemblies, and this type of performance was usually called “scroll recitation” (宣卷, *xuanjuan*); however, *baojuan* also circulated as manuscripts and editions. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *baojuan* were printed with the woodblock technique; woodblock editions continued to be produced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, publishers in Shanghai and Ningbo that specialized in the printing of *baojuan* in the period between 1911 and 1940 used modern printing techniques: lithographic (*shiyin* 石印) and typeset printing (*qianyin* 鉛印).

---

<sup>1</sup> 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).

It has been already accepted that *baojuan* texts have played a significant role in the development of the religious culture of Shanghai and adjacent areas. However, the production of *baojuan* in modern urban centers has not been discussed so far in the studies of the religious situation in China at the beginning of the Republican period. At the same time, several important studies in English on the religious revival, some of them dealing with the folk (or local) religious traditions, have appeared recently.<sup>2</sup> There are several recent works that discuss religious publishing of that period and its important social role.<sup>3</sup> The present research is intended to explain the role of Shanghai and Ningbo publishers in the production and dissemination of *baojuan*. Three publishers were chosen as the representative ones: Xiyin publisher (惜陰書局), Wenyi publisher (文益書局, both in Shanghai), and Zhu Binji publisher (朱彬記書莊) in Ningbo. In this paper I discuss the special features of the *baojuan* editions printed at that time, talking about their form, contents, and intended usage. I argue that the mass production of lithographic and typeset *baojuan* editions at the same time reflected the popularity of the genre and enhanced its development and spread. Speaking about the special features of the lithographic

---

<sup>2</sup> For the representative recent studies, see Yoshiko Ashiwa & David L. Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Thomas David DuBois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005); Rebecca A. Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); David Palmer & Vincent Goossaert, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Poon Shuk-wah (潘淑華), *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou 廣州, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2010); Robert P. Weller, *Alternate Civilities: Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan* (Boulder: Westview, 1999); Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, ed. *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> On the religious publishing in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in 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), esp. pp. 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), pp. 231-271; Jan Kiely, "Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1865-1949," in Christopher Reed and Cynthia Brokaw, eds., *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, 1800-2008* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2010), pp. 185-210; Jan Kiely, "Shanghai Public Moralists Nie Qijie and Morality Book Publication Projects in Republican China," *Twentieth-Century China* 36. 1 (January 2011): 4-22; Paul R. Katz, "Illuminating Goodness -- Some Preliminary Considerations of Religious Publishing in Modern China" (unpublished paper).

and typeset publishing of *baojuan*, I compare them with those of the woodblock publishing of *baojuan*.

Due to the paucity of materials, this paper makes use mainly of the information in the original editions of *baojuan* which the author studied in collections of *baojuan* editions in several countries. I also use the materials of archival and fieldwork research. The paper starts with the discussion of one representative specimen of the lithographic *baojuan*, and then proceeds with the short overview of the *baojuan* printing on the whole. This analysis is meant to demonstrate which aspects of the selected specimen are characteristic and which are unique.

## **1. Lithographic edition of *Baojuan of Flower Names* as an example of printed**

### ***baojuan***

#### **a. form**

In order to demonstrate the special features of *baojuan* texts published in Shanghai in the period between 1911 and 1940, I have chosen an iconic visual image that is a frontispiece page of the lithographic edition entitled *Baojuan of Flower Names* (*Hua ming baojuan* 花名寶卷). In my view, it epitomizes the new features of contemporary *baojuan* editions. This is an undated edition, and the place of publishing is unknown. This work is now in the rare book collection of Harvard-Yenching Library, but originally was owned by Professor Patrick Hanan, who purchased it in a Beijing bookstore sometime in the early 1950s. It is also available online due to “Harvard-Yenching Library *Baojuan* Digitization Project,” which provides access to the page images of entire work.<sup>4</sup>

As one can deduct from the date inscribed on the cover of this edition – the year 1934 (see below) -- it was printed before that date. Besides, it should have been published in one of the southern cities of China, most probably Shanghai. Another very similar lithographic edition

---

<sup>4</sup> <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:4739471>.

of the same work was published by Guangji publisher (廣記書局) in Shanghai sometime between 1911 and 1940. This undated edition has been preserved at the Fu Ssu-nien Library (傅斯年圖書館) of Academia Sinica in Taipei.<sup>5</sup>

What is the most characteristic of this frontispiece are the image and the subtitle that summarizes the contents and purpose of this edition, “The illustrated original texts for the recitation of scriptures” (Huitu nianjing zhen ben 繪圖念經真本). Here one can see the combination of the religious and profane features, also evident in the baojuan production of Shanghai publishers on the whole.

The colored image in this book depicts Bodhisattva Guanyin,<sup>6</sup> sitting on the mountainous island (apparently, Putuo Island, that was considered to be her abode in China) and her acolytes: Good-in-Talent (Shancai 善才, Skt. Sudhana), Dragon Girl (Longnü 龍女, Skt. Nāgakanyā), 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, where Guanyin became one of the major female deities;<sup>7</sup> and it was certainly very appropriate for putting into the *baojuan* editions. Bodhisattva Guanyin acts in several *baojuan*, significantly some of them tell popular stories about her self-cultivation.<sup>8</sup> There are also *baojuan* devoted to the stories of all Guanyin’s acolytes who appear in this image.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> 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), 361: 477-500. *Baojuan of Flower Names* also was reprinted by Wenyi and Zhu Binji (see Appendix).

<sup>6</sup> Full name – Guanshiyin 觀世音, Skt. Avalokiteśvara.

<sup>7</sup> Chün-fang Yu, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 438-448.

<sup>8</sup> Yu, *Kuan-yin*, pp. 293–352, 449-486; Wilt L. Idema, transl., intro., *Prinses Miaoshan en andere Chinese legenden van Guanyin, de bodhisattva van barmhartigheid* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2000); Wilt L. Idema, transl., intro., *Personal Salvation and Filial Piety: Two Baojuan Narratives of Guanyin and Her Acolytes* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii

Significantly, very similar image also was printed on the covers of *baojuan* produced by Xiyin publisher, which have the series title “Folk stories for recitation exhorting goodness” (*Xuanjiang quan shan minjian gushi* 宣講勸善民間故事). These editions are also undated, but we can suppose that they were produced in the 1930s. In historical sources available to me, Xiyin is mentioned at earliest in “Survey of Shanghai bookstores of 1935” (1935 nian Shanghai shi shudian diaocha 1935 年上海市書店調查).<sup>10</sup> Apparently this publishing house was active at that time, and it produced a large number of *baojuan* (see part 2 of this paper).

The difference between the image on the frontispiece of *Baojuan of Flower Names* and other similar images in *baojuan* editions of that time is that the first one is in color, while the latter ones are black and white. This edition of *Baojuan of Flower Names* is the only edition with the colored image among *baojuan* editions printed between 1911 and 1940 that I have seen. However, it should not be unusual for the printing industry of that time that used the colored lithographic technology.<sup>11</sup> Color images probably were exceptional in lithographic *baojuan*, but they were used the print production of that time. Despite that difference between *Baojuan of Flower Names* and other lithographic *baojuan*, it is evident that all publishers who printed *baojuan* paid special attention to illustrations. As we have seen, the illustration is mentioned in

---

Press, 2008); 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 (M.A. dissertation, Hualian shifan xueyuan Minjian wenxue yanjiusuo, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> On them, see Idema, *Personal Salvation and Filial Piety*, pp. 30-41; 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 (2002): 77–96; Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, “Shiyusuo cang “Yingge *baojuan*” yanjiu – jian lun tongyi ticao zai ge lei suwenxue de yunyong” 史語所藏《鸚哥寶卷》研究——兼談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, 23 (2008. 12): 1-26.

<sup>10</sup> Reprinted in Wang Yaohua 汪耀華, ed. *Shanghai shuye minglu: 1906-2010* 上海書業名錄：1906-2010 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2011), p. 44. A publisher with the name Xiyin (in two variants: Xiyin xian 惜陰軒 and Xiyin shuju 惜陰書局) appears in the commercial published in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* on 10.30.1889. However, the commercial says that this publisher operated in Hunan province: Shanghai Shenbao guan 上海申報館 ed., *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, rpt. of 1982-1987), vol. 35, 1889.10.30: 4. It is not clear if this publisher was in any way related to the Shanghai publisher that printed *baojuan*. The survey of 1935 says that Wang Zhisun 王知三, the manager of Xiyin, was a native of Wuxi 無錫.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), pp. 62, 66, 113.

the frontispiece subtitle of this *baojuan*. Most *baojuan*, printed by Shanghai publishers between 1911 and 1940 also have the word “illustrated” in their titles, in the variants *xiuxiang* 繡像, *huitu* 繪圖, and *zengxiang* 增像. One lithographic editions of *Baojuan of Flower Names* (early Republican edition, date unknown) preserved at the Fu Ssu-nien Library with the full title of “*Baojuan of Flower Names with the New Illustrations*” (新增繪圖花名寶卷) is illustrated in such way that figures appear at every page on the top of the text of *baojuan* (altogether 12 figures).<sup>12</sup> This mode of illustration was quite usual in the literary works serving as popular reading materials during the Yuan (1260-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) periods, such as *pinghua* 平話, *cihua* 詞話, and novel.<sup>13</sup>

What can explain this emphasis on pictures? In my view, it is clear that those illustrations, though few, were important for the commercial appeal of these editions. They helped to attract the possible reader of these texts. They also point to the fact of the individual possession and private reading of these texts that was one of the ways of the use of *baojuan* texts at that time. Illustrations certainly added to the entertaining quality of this text.

#### b. contents

The religious aspect of *Baojuan of Flower Names* was also very important both for the publisher and a potential reader/ listener of this text. As we have seen, the subtitle on its frontispiece includes the word “scripture”, which was used to designate the sacred texts in different religious traditions in China, including Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. *Baojuan of Flower Names* was certainly received as a scripture. But what religion it belonged to? One can suppose that it belonged to the so-called syncretic “popular” religion professed mainly by the people of lower social and educational levels in China.

---

<sup>12</sup> Rpt. in Huang Kuanzhong et al., ed., *Suwenxue congkan*, 359: 135-164.

<sup>13</sup> See for example, Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Anne E. McLaren, *Chinese Popular Culture and Ming Chantefables* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

The context of *Baojuan of Flower Names* in the lithographic edition under question helps us further clarify this question. The text of *Baojuan of Flower Names* per se is included in the collection of religious texts: *Sūtra of King Gao* (高王經), *Heart Sūtra* (心經), *Mantra on Resolving the Offenses and Untying [Karmic] Knots* (解冤釋結神咒), *Scripture of the Great Yang* (太陽經), *Scripture of the Great Yin* (太陰經), *Amitābha-sūtra* 彌陀經, *Scripture of the Lord of Stove* (灶君經), *Dhāraṅī of Great Compassion* (大悲咒), *Baojuan of Pregnancy* (懷胎寶卷), and *Hymn on Repaying the Mother's Mercy* (報娘恩讚).<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the more accurate title of the work would be the *Newly Inscribed Collection of Scriptures* (*Xin chao jing juan he ke* 新抄經卷合刻) that appears on the first page of this edition along with the table of contents, not *Baojuan of Flower Names*.<sup>15</sup>

Several texts in this collection, including the *Sūtra of King Gao* (*Avalokitēśvara Sutra of King Gao*), *Prajñāpāramitā Heart Sūtra* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (Skt. \**Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*), *Amitābha-sūtra*, also called "Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha", and *Dhāraṅī of Great Compassion*, are very popular texts in the Chinese Buddhism; some of them, notably the first one, are probably indigenous texts produced in China.<sup>16</sup> Other texts, such as the *Scripture of the Lord of Stove*, are related to the indigenous folk beliefs rather than Indian Buddhism. Significantly, two *baojuan* were included in this collection. However, unlike the usual *baojuan* texts, they do not have prosimetric form,<sup>17</sup> but are completely in verses, and also are quite short. Both of them have seven characters per line, which is characteristic of verses in Chinese popular literature.

<sup>14</sup> The last two texts are incomplete and missing in the edition at Harvard-Yenching, but are preserved in the edition at the Fu Ssu-nien Library.

<sup>15</sup> Under this title it was reprinted in *Suwenxue congkan*, 361: 477.

<sup>16</sup> On the *Avalokitēśvara Sutra of King Gao*, see Yu, *Kuan-yin*, pp. 110-118.

<sup>17</sup> The style of alternation of prose and verses.



Speaking about the contents of *Baojuan of Flower Names*, one should note that this is an old text reprinted in Shanghai sometime between 1911 and 1934. According to the catalogue of *baojuan* texts by Che Xilun, which is the most up-to-date catalogue of *baojuan* editions (though still not complete), the text with the same name appeared in print in 1869 as an appendix in the woodblock edition of *Baojuan of Woman Liu Xiang* (*Liu Xiang nü baojuan* 劉香女寶卷) from the Hangzhou area.<sup>18</sup> This catalogue by Che Xilun lists 30 different editions and manuscripts of *Baojuan of Flower Names* that apparently have some variations.<sup>19</sup>

*Baojuan of Flower Names* uses the popular tune that enumerates flowers of each season. It should be related to the tune called “Flower Names of Twelve Months” (*shiyue huaming* 十二月花名), widely used in the local drama and storytelling genres of the Shanghai region at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> However, the contents of verses are religious: they talk about filial piety, righteousness, and the necessity of reciting Buddha’s name and reading scriptures. The juxtaposition of religious and entertaining aspects of this text is further revealed in the short foreword for this *baojuan*:

We should say that this *Baojuan of Flower Names* is aimed at admonishing people of this world. It is not equal to the type of leisure [books] such as novels. Those, who recite this scroll should chant it with the pious thoughts. Men and women of this world who are listening to this scroll even more cannot make noise, laugh, and engage in chitchat. Namó Amitâbha Buddha! 且說此本《花名寶卷》奉勸世人。非同等閒小說之類。宣此卷者必須虔心朗誦。世間男女聽此卷者更不可喧嘩嬉笑閒談浮論也。南無阿彌陀佛！<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Che Xilun 車錫倫, *Zhongguo baojuan zongmu* 中國寶卷總目 (Beijing: Yanshan shuju, 2000), p. 82.

<sup>19</sup> The edition from Harvard-Yenching is not included.

<sup>20</sup> On its history and variations, see Lin Renyu 林仁昱, *Nian shiji chu Zhongguo suqu changshu renwu* 廿世紀初中國俗曲唱述人物 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2011), pp. 131-142.

<sup>21</sup> *Huaming baojuan* [undated, Harvard-Yenching Library], p. 1b.

Apparently, this foreword tries to distinguish this text from the secular “popular tunes” (*suqu* 俗曲) of that time and to emphasize its religious dimension.<sup>22</sup> This passage in *Baojuan of Flower Names* also provides some information on the possible way of use of this edition. It is clear that the author (or editor) of this text thought of it as intended for the oral presentation in front of the audience of “pious men and women”. This is the traditional way of use of *baojuan* texts that evidently existed along with the individual reading practice mentioned above.

It is quite possible then that *Baojuan of Flower Names* was used by the semi-professional or professional performers of *baojuan* who were active during the Republican period in the city of Shanghai itself and the area around it. Such performers differed in their social status as well as roles performed by them. They ranged from the religious specialists who also performed life-cycle rituals to professional entertainers who performed on special stages for storytellers.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless most of the evidence on these *baojuan* performances stresses their primarily religious role: recitation was usually accompanied by setting up an altar with images of deities, invitation and sending-off these deities, burning incense, making offerings, etc. One can suppose that these mainstream performances were similar to the modern *baojuan* recitations in other areas of Jiangsu province (quite close to Shanghai) some traditions known as “scroll recitation”

---

<sup>22</sup> On these tunes, see Lin Renyu, *Nian shiji chu Zhongguo suqu*.

<sup>23</sup> On the *baojuan* performances in 1911-1949, especially in Shanghai and its suburbs, see 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 zhoukan* 大晚報（第五版）：通俗文學周刊, 25 (1936. 09. 25); 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 1992 (19): 58-61; Wei Jie 魏捷, “Shi tan xuanjuan” 試談宣卷, *Shanghai wenhua shi zhi tongxun* 上海文化史志通訊 1993.4 (25): 60; *Zhongguo quyi yinyue jicheng: Shanghai juan* 中國曲藝音樂集成：上海卷 (Beijing: Zhongguo ISBN zhong xin, 1994), 2: 1286-1322; Li Shiyu 李世瑜, “Jiang-Zhe zhu sheng de xuanjuan” 江浙諸省的宣卷 (1959), in his *Baojuan lun ji*, pp. 20-37; et al.

and some as “telling scriptures” (*jiangjing* 講經). These recitations are mingled with the performance of rituals.<sup>24</sup>

There is the evidence that professional performers of *baojuan* in suburbs of Shanghai recited *Baojuan of Flower Names* as the part of their repertoire since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and used the editions of this *baojuan*. The fieldwork report by Shanghai folklorists who interviewed *baojuan* performers in Chenhang 陳行 village in the Pudong area (still active in the early 1990s) states that Zhang Houtang 張後堂 (dates unknown), the founder of this school of scroll recitation, at first got acquainted with the printed texts of *baojuan* and then became interested in their performance. Sometime during Xuantong reign (1909-1911) he purchased several texts in a bookstore in the nearby town of Zhoupu 周浦, *Baojuan of the Flower Names* among them.<sup>25</sup> This *Baojuan of the Flower Names*, though not specified, should have been a woodblock or lithographic edition, similar to the text that we have as the lithographic edition preserved at Harvard-Yenching.<sup>26</sup>

The text of *Baojuan of the Flower Names* also has been circulating in the Gangkou 港口 town area of the former Changshu 常熟 county (since 1962 under the jurisdiction of Zhangjiagang 張家港 city). Local scholars published the manuscript of *Baojuan of the Flower Names* copied by the performer Yu Guanbao 虞關保 (b. 1932) from the Gangkou area, which is

---

<sup>24</sup> See for example, Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 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 quyī* 民俗曲藝 169 (2010.9): 195-214; Rostislav Berezkin, “Special Features of Scripture-Telling (*jiangjing*) in Zhangjiagang Area and its Place in the History of Chinese Storytelling” *Asia Major* 24. 1 (2011.6): 1-42.

<sup>25</sup> Chen Quanming, “Pudong Chenhang ‘xuanjuan’”: 58.

<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, the transcription of this text is not available and it is not clear whether performers in Chenhang still had this text in the 1990s.

very similar to the text from Harvard-Yenching, only a few phrases are different.<sup>27</sup> It is quite possible that this manuscript was copied from a woodblock or lithographic edition, as it is known that this practice existed in the Gangkou area.<sup>28</sup> The editions of *baojuan* produced in the big cities (notably Shanghai) reached adjacent rural areas and even influenced the practice of *baojuan* recitations there.

One should note that other religious texts included in the edition from Harvard-Yenching, discussed here, also could be employed in communal recitation. This fact is well proved by the modern ritualized performances of *baojuan* in several areas of Jiangsu. For example, Yu Dingjun 余鼎君, a hereditary performer of telling scriptures in Shanghu 尚湖 town near Changshu city, notes that the recitation of big narrative *baojuan*, such as *Baojuan of Xiangshan* (i.e., Fragrant Mountain, *Xiangshan baojuan* 香山寶卷), begins and closes with the chanting of the *Dhāraṇī of Great Compassion* and the *Heart Sūtra*.<sup>29</sup> The author of this paper, Rostislav Berezkin, observed that during the performance of telling scriptures in the village of the Jingjiang 靖江 area (a county-level city in Jiangsu) with the purpose of “extending the longevity” of the sponsor’s mother on April, 13 2009, professional performers called *fotou* (佛頭, lit. “Buddha’s head”) brought with them the manuscripts of *Heart Sūtra*, *Amitābha Sūtra*, *Sūtra of the Buddha’s Names* (*Fo ming jing* 佛名經), *Scripture of Geng-shen [Days]* (*Gengshen jing* 庚申經), and recited them along with the long narrative *baojuan* texts.<sup>30</sup> They were mingling *baojuan* texts (including those retelling popular tales and legends) with the more common scriptures of Buddhist or Daoist origin, the practice that apparently served to provide more authority to this

---

<sup>27</sup> *Zhongguo Heyang baojuan ji* 中國河陽寶卷集 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2007), 1: 1111-1112.

<sup>28</sup> *Zhongguo Heyang baojuan ji*, 1: IV.

<sup>29</sup> Yu Dingjun 余鼎君, “Jiangsu Changshu de Jiangjing xuanjuan” 江苏常熟的讲经宣卷 (unpublished manuscript), p.12.

<sup>30</sup> Unlike other places, *baojuan* in Jingjiang are mostly oral narratives, and are recited from memory, not with the use of the scripts. In case of sūtras, the manuscripts are used in recitation.

ritual event and justify its name “telling scriptures.” One can assume that this practice also existed in Shanghai and adjacent region in the Republican period: there, the groups of religious specialists who could perform *baojuan* together with the Buddhist or Daoist scriptures and related rituals existed. According to Chen Zhiliang 陳志良, in the 1930s in Shanghai these people were better paid than the troupes that performed only *baojuan*.<sup>31</sup>

At the same time, I also have the evidence about the individual reading of *Baojuan of Flower Names* dating from the early Republican period. It is provided by the female writer Qijun 琦君 (the pseudonym of Pan Xizhen 潘希珍, 1917–2006), who spent her childhood in Quxi 瞿溪 area of Yongjia 永嘉 county in Zhejiang province. In her autobiographical story “Mom’s hands” (*Mama de shou* 媽媽的手) Qijun recalled how her literate mother (she should be in fact her aunt Ye Menglan 葉夢蘭, as her mother died, while the author was too small) read *Baojuan of Flower Names* for herself. She writes:

After mom finished cleaning and fed pigs, she usually poured hot water in a wooden basin, and she soaked her two hands inside, 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, lit the rape oil lamp, screw up her short-sighted eyes, and read her *Baojuan of the 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。<sup>32</sup>

As Qijun further mentions the thin paper and small characters’ size of this work, one can suppose that she writes about the lithographic edition. This passage does not specify if it was vocalization or silent reading, however, it obviously points to the dual role of lithographic *baojuan* as the scripts for performances and reading materials. Furthermore, from this passage

---

<sup>31</sup> Chen Zhiliang, “Xuanjuan”.

<sup>32</sup> Qijun 琦君, *San geng you meng shu dang zhen* 三更夢書當枕 (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1975), pp. 42-43.

we can see that a busy hard-working housewife regarded this *baojuan* as the source of entertainment. She spent her free time reading *baojuan*, and referred to it as “the book for leisure” (*xianshu* 閒書).<sup>33</sup> Once again, we observe that *baojuan* were not only religious instructional materials, but also entertaining literature.

There is an inscription on the cover of *Baojuan of Flower Names* from Harvard-Yenching that indicates that it was used by certain Zhang Wenhua 張文華 in 1934. That shows that this edition was in use, but how was it used? Unfortunately, I was not able to find any information about that person, therefore I do not know if he (or she) was a professional performer of *baojuan* and other religious texts or a believer who recited these “scriptures” on his/her own. As we can see from the evidence presented above, both options are possible, the fact that demonstrates the multi-functionality of *baojuan* editions in the Republican period.

## 12. Other *baojuan* mass produced

As was said, *Baojuan of Flower Names* is only one item in the long list of *baojuan* texts produced by the lithographic and typeset publishers in Shanghai and Ningbo. Most of these texts are long prosimetric texts, and therefore differ considerably from *Baojuan of Flower Names*. Around 1911 several publishers that specialized in *baojuan* appeared Shanghai and other cities around. Those who published the biggest amount of *baojuan* texts were Xiyin and Wenyi in Shanghai and Zhu Binji in Ningbo. Unfortunately, there are no complete commercial catalogues printed by those publishers themselves. Judging by the catalogue of *baojuan* texts by Che Xilun, Xiyin printed 95 titles, Wenyi -- 71 titles; in the commercial list of *baojuan* appended to one of

---

<sup>33</sup> Qijun 琦君, *San geng you meng*, p. 43.

the Zhu Binji's editions, *Baojuan of the Caltrop-Flower Mirror* (*Linghua jing baojuan* 菱花鏡寶卷, dated 1926, at Harvard-Yenching) there are 47 titles.<sup>34</sup>

I was not able to find much information on the history of these publishers. Even the foundation dates are problematic. For example, according to the “List of Shanghai publishers in 1911” (1911 nian Shanghai shuye minglu, 1911 年上海書業名錄), Wenyi was founded in 1911.<sup>35</sup> However, there are lithographic *baojuan* editions by that publisher that are dated to the earlier time than 1911.<sup>36</sup> According to the dates in *baojuan* editions published by Wenyi, it still existed in the 1920s and early 1930s, though its name was not mentioned in the lists of Shanghai publishers compiled after 1917.<sup>37</sup> As was already said, Xiyin was mentioned in the surveys of the 1930s. The Zhu Binji's editions that survived date to the 1920s. While Xiyin and Wenyi used lithographic technique, Zhu Binji printed typeset editions.

Similarly to *Baojuan of Flower Names*, many *baojuan* editions by Xiyin, Wenyi, and Zhu Binji are reprints of old texts. Furthermore, publishers also printed texts based on the folk manuscripts. Lithographic *baojuan* were usually edited and illustrated. The improved aesthetics of the editions made the difference between the lithographic and woodblock editions: the number and quality of illustrations in the lithographic editions exceed those of the woodblock ones (typeset editions follow this trend). One can have a glimpse of the process of production of these new *baojuan* editions from the postface of *Baojuan of Qilinbao*<sup>38</sup> (*Qilinbao baojuan* 麒麟豹寶卷), an undated edition by Xiyin. There, an editor Chen Runshen 陳潤身 says that he collected “the folk manuscripts” of this *baojuan* (presumably those used by professional performers),

---

<sup>34</sup> Many *baojuan* printed by Zhu Binji are not included in Che Xilun's catalogue.

<sup>35</sup> *Shanghai shuye minglu*, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> For example, edition of *Baojuan of the Pearl Pagoda* (*Zhenzhuta baojuan* 珍珠塔寶卷) is dated to 1909, see Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan zongmu*, p. 368.

<sup>37</sup> *Shanghai shuye minglu*, p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> The name of the horse: Unicorn-Leopard.

revised the text on the basis of these different versions, edited it, and then published in a form written in calligraphic script and embellished with illustrations.<sup>39</sup>

The emphasis on the visual aspect of *baojuan* editions should have point to the primary use of *baojuan* as the reading materials more than scripts for the recitation. Lithographic printing technique also suited very much this demand for the embellished editions. Reed argues that in the period from 1876 to 1905 lithography was the preferred modern type of printing because it conformed to the visual aspects of traditional book culture more than movable-type letterpress. Lithographic editions also replicated the aesthetic qualities of Chinese calligraphy more closely than woodblock ones.<sup>40</sup> As lithography allowed producing refined images and calligraphy at low cost, this advantage of lithographic print was very profitable for the function of *baojuan* texts as the reading materials. Apparently the change in the primary function of *baojuan* editions fortunately coincided with the adoption of lithographic printing. Decorated editions should have been attractive for the readers, and the market demand for this literature was also reflected in the contents of *baojuan*.

Speaking about the contents of *baojuan*, one should note the growing diversity in subjects of the lithographic and typeset editions. It has been accepted that *baojuan* can be classified as “literary” (narrative) and “non-literary”. Furthermore, within the “literary” category one can single out *baojuan* with the religious and secular subjects.<sup>41</sup> The last distinction is supported by the information of the professional performers of *baojuan* in Jiangsu, who usually divide *baojuan* texts into “sacred” and “secular” according to their contents. For example, in Gangkou there is the division between sacred scrolls (*shen juan* 神卷 or *sheng juan* 聖卷) and secular

---

<sup>39</sup> *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.

<sup>40</sup> Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 86-87. See also, Cynthia Brokaw, “Commercial Woodblock Publishing in the Qing (1644-1911) and the Transition to Modern Print Technology” in *From Woodblocks to the Internet*, p. 48.

<sup>41</sup> Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 5-16.



scrolls (*fan juan* 凡卷), and in Jingjiang -- between sacred scrolls (*sheng juan* 聖卷, or main scrolls, *zheng juan* 正卷) and worldly scrolls (*cao juan* 草卷, or small scrolls, *xiao juan* 小卷).<sup>42</sup>

Sacred scrolls deal with the tales of deities' self-perfection, while secular scrolls retell folk legends or popular literary subjects. *Baojuan of Flower Names* that I have discussed above belongs to the category of “secular” or “small” *baojuan*. Therefore, the performers of *baojuan* have distinguished between these two categories, but have performed them together at the same religious assemblies.

Such publishers as Wenyi, Xiyin, Zhu Binji certainly preferred narrative texts, though they published narrative texts with both “sacred” and “secular” subjects. We can feel the difference between the lithographic (and typeset) and woodblock publishers, if we compare the lists of *baojuan* produced by Wenyi, Xiyin, Zhu Binji, and Yihuatang publisher of morality books (see Appendix 1). Yihuatang was the famous Shanghai publishing house of didactic literature, called morality books (*shanshu* 善書), and other types of religious literature (including *baojuan*) established around 1857 and still active at the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It used mainly the woodblock printing technique.<sup>43</sup> The repertoire of titles printed by Wenyi, Xiyin, and Zhu Binji is relatively uniform, while it differs from that of Yihuatang. The lithographic and typeset publishers almost did not publish “non-literary” texts, while Yihuatang continued to produce them, examples being *Baojuan in Coarse Words by Zhongxi* (*Zhongxi cu yan baojuan* 眾喜粗言

---

<sup>42</sup> Che Xilun, *Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu*, pp. 302, 387.

<sup>43</sup> On the history of Yihuatang, see Zhang Zhuming 張竹銘, “Yihuatang shanshujū 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 shanshujū” 話說翼化堂善書局, *Shanghai daojiao* 上海道教 1 (1995): 26-27; 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. 153-155; Liu, *Daoist Modern*, pp. 234-241.

寶卷), *Baojuan of the Great Vehicle on Leaving the Valley, Returning to the Source and Reaching the [True] Home* (*Da sheng chu gu gui yuan huan xiang baojuan* 大乘出谷歸源還鄉寶卷), *Baojuan of the Traces of Origin of Three Patriarchs* (*San zu xingjiao baojuan* 三祖行腳寶卷), *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), *Baojuan of Making Vows That Averts From Heresy, Leads to Truth, Dispels Calamities and Prologs Life* (*Bi xie gui zheng xiao zai yan shou Li yuan baojuan* 辟邪歸正消災延壽立願寶卷), et al.<sup>44</sup>

Wenyi, Xiyin, and Zhu Binji continued to publish traditional “sacred” texts with the stories of the deities and saints, such as *Baojuan of Xiangshan*, *Baojuan of the Woman Liu Xiang*, *Baojuan of Prince Siddhartha* (悉達太子寶卷), *Baojuan of Mulian* (目連寶卷), *Baojuan of Miaoying* (妙英寶卷), et al. However, the emphasis was obviously on the texts with “secular” subjects, such as *Baojuan of the Crying Rooster* (*Ji ming baojuan* 雞鳴寶卷), *Baojuan of the Lute* (*Pipa baojuan* 琵琶寶卷), *Baojuan of Liang Shanbo* (梁山伯寶卷), *Baojuan of the White Snake* (*Bai she baojuan* 白蛇寶卷), *Baojuan of Fighting for the Plaques of Life and Death* (*Qiang shengsi pai baojuan* 搶生死牌寶卷), et al. Obviously, most of the “new” *baojuan* that did not appear before as the woodblock editions belonged to the last, secular type.

This predominance of “secular” subjects obviously has to do with the market demand and orientation of the publishers. It is known that Wenyi and Xiyin besides *baojuan* also produced

---

<sup>44</sup> Most of these texts were produced by the sectarian groups.

editions of literary works, such as novels and drama, which is evident from the descriptions in Shanghai publishers' surveys<sup>45</sup> and commercials placed in the *Wenyi's baojuan* editions.

However, one should note that the so-called “secular” *baojuan* also had the religious aspect. We have already observed it in the case of *Baojuan of Flower Names*. The secular subjects were usually put in the framework of the karmic causation, thus *baojuan* always teach about retribution; furthermore, *baojuan* with these secular subjects preserve ritual elements of “opening” and “closing of scripture.” As was noted above, such works are recited along with more serious hagiographies during the religious assemblies in Zhangjiagang, Jingjiang, and other places; performers there also regard them as “scriptures”. The publishers also were aware of the religious dimension of the works that they published. An example is the series by Xiyin “Folk stories for recitation exhorting goodness” (see above) with the characteristic picture of Guanyin on the covers. Here, the publisher obviously exploited the didactic contents of the stories, and apparently also regarded them as a type of “morality books.”

The title “Folk stories for recitation exhorting goodness” points to the original use of these texts as the scripts for recitation. Lithographic editions produced by Shanghai publishers could be used as the scripts, as the evidence from Zhangjiagang and other areas around Suzhou demonstrates.<sup>46</sup> However, this function should have been secondary for them. Judging from the special features of these lithographic editions, such as the small size of characters, perfected calligraphy, and illustrations, their primary aim was individual ownership and reading. There is also the proof of it in the contemporary sources (see an example from the novel above).

The last, but important change noticeable in *baojuan* printing of the 20<sup>th</sup> century included its commercialization. Traditionally, the printing of *baojuan* followed the mode of printing of Buddhist scriptures (and morality books as well). Previously, woodblock *baojuan* were printed

---

<sup>45</sup> *Shanghai shuye minglu: 1906-2010*, pp. 44, 69.

<sup>46</sup> For example, seven early 20<sup>th</sup> century lithographic editions of *baojuan* were found by local scholars in possession of the performers of *baojuan* in Zhangjiagang: *Zhongguo Heyang baojuan ji*, 2: 1492-1505.

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*.<sup>47</sup> On the contrary, lithographic publishers sold their *baojuan*. The commercial catalogues of *baojuan* produced by a certain publisher (often with indication of a retail price of each book) often appear at the end of editions (see for example the catalogue of Wenyi's editions, fig. 3). The market orientation explains the emphasis on the production of narrative texts that had not only religious, but entertaining quality.

### **Conclusion**

The printing of the lithographic and typeset editions of *baojuan* in the period between 1911 and 1940 by several representative publishers in Shanghai and Ningbo is characterized by the growing aesthetical perfection of the editions, the enrichment of the repertoire of the printed texts with the pronounced tendency towards the increase of the secular, entertaining subjects, and commercialization of the editions. The special features of these editions demonstrate that *baojuan* served more as the reading materials than as the scripts for recitation (which was the traditional function of *baojuan* scripts). Their function as reading materials should be regarded as the primary while the function as scripts -- the secondary one. This fact demonstrates the variation in the functioning of *baojuan* at the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, most of *baojuan* combined proselytizing (or didactic) and entertaining aspects, and their performances and reading also had both religious and entertaining dimensions. *Baojuan* with the secular subjects that often were new for the market of printed fiction (they had not appeared as the woodblock editions before) became the hallmark of the lithographic and typeset publishers at that time. Modern printing techniques, which were very useful for maintaining the commercial appeal of the *baojuan* editions, contributed to the growth and development of this type of literature.

---

<sup>47</sup> On such printing of *baojuan*, see Sawada, *Zōho hōkan no kenkyū*, pp. 70-75.

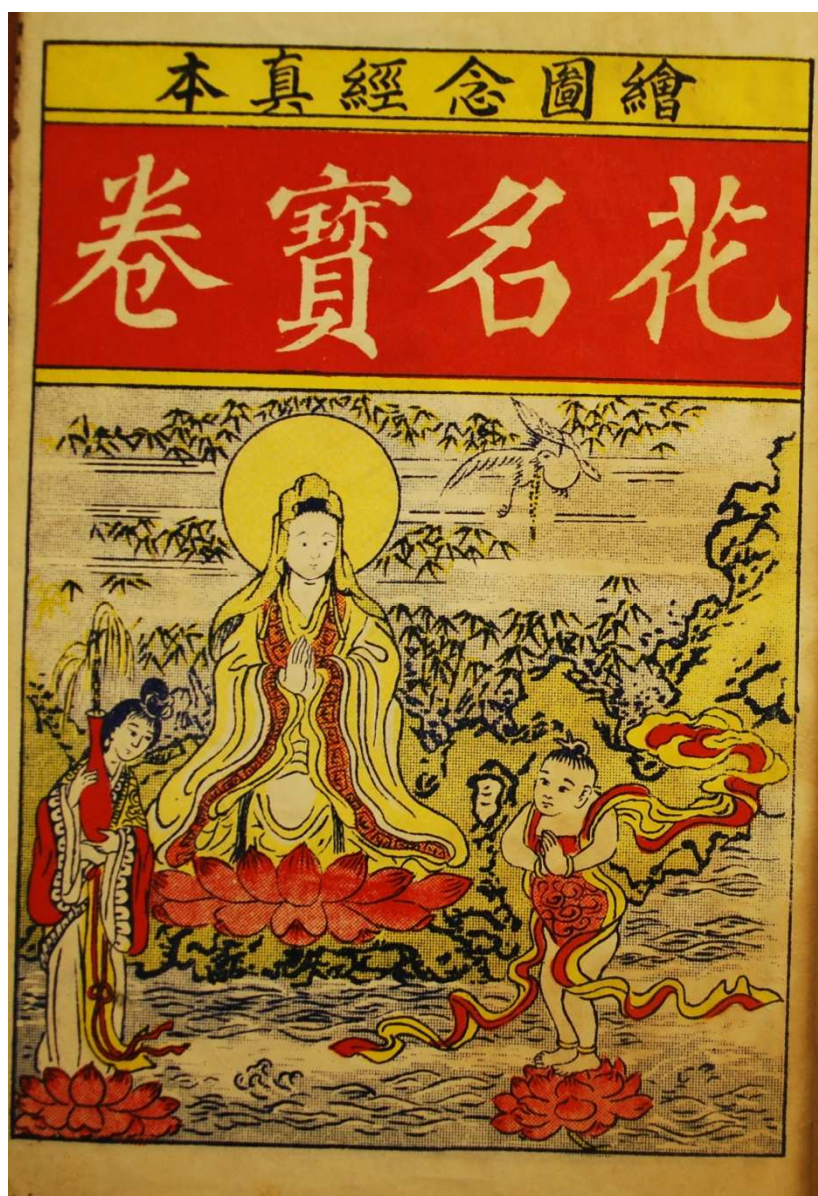


Figure 1. Lithographic edition of *Baojuan of Flower Names* (undated, between 1912 and 1934). Harvard-Yenching Library.



Figure 2. Lithographic edition of the *Illustrated Baojuan of the Phoenix Hairpin* [Made of] *Eight Treasures* by Xiyin publisher (undated). Harvard-Yenching Library.



Fig. 3. Commercial catalogue of *baojuan* produced by Wenyi publisher, 1915. Harvard-Yenching Library.

Appendix 1. *Baojuan* editions produced by Shanghai and Ningbo publishers

<i>Baojuan</i> titles	惜陰 書局 Xiyin shuju	文益書 局 Wenyi shuju	翼化堂善 書局 Yihuatang shanshuju	朱彬記書 莊 Zhu Binji shuzhuang (Ningbo)
阿育王寶卷			+	
八寶雙鸞釵寶卷	+	+		
白鶴圖寶卷	+			+
百花寶卷				+
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			+	
福緣寶卷		+		
福緣指迷寶卷		+		
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			+	
合同記寶卷	+			+
何文秀寶卷	+	+	+	+
何仙姑寶卷	+	+	+	
紅樓鏡寶卷	+	+		+
懷胎報恩寶卷			+	

花名寶卷		+	+	+
黃慧如寶卷	+			
黃糠寶卷	+	+	+	+
還鄉寶卷 ( ? )			+	
歡喜寶卷 ( 懊惱 祖師寶卷 )		+		+
還金鑷寶卷 ( 奎 星寶卷 )	+	+		+
花網寶卷	+	+	+	
荷花寶卷 ( ? )			+	
蝴蝶盃 ( 遊龜 山 ) 寶卷	+			
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		+		+

孟姜仙女寶卷	+	+	+	
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 (?)			+	
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 (蓮花庵寶卷)	+			+
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 ( ? )			+	
【喜】鵲橋寶卷				+
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			+	
殺子報寶卷	+			
生蓮寶卷 ( ? )			+	
昇蓮寶卷			+	
十殿寶卷	+			
十美圖寶卷	+			
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 美圖寶卷 )	+			
宋氏女寶卷	+		+	
蘇鳳英藥茶記寶卷	+			
太平寶卷 ( 趙素 貞寶卷 )	+	+		+
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				
倭袍賣卷	+			
五常賣卷			+	
烏金記賣卷	+	+		+
五祖黃梅賣卷	+		+	+
香山賣卷	+	+	+	
仙女賣卷 ( 思凡 賣卷 )	+			
現世報養婦媳賣卷	+			
現世賣卷 ( ? )			+	
孝道賣卷 ( ? )			+	
孝燈賣卷 ( 王月 英賣卷 )	+			
小潘公賣卷 ( ? )				
孝心賣卷			+	
悉達太子賣卷 ( 雪山賣卷 )	+	+	+	+
西瓜賣卷	+	+		+
惜穀賣卷			+	
杏花賣卷		+	+	+
醒心賣卷			+	

希奇寶卷 ( 二郎盡 孝寶卷 ) ( ? )			+	
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	+	+		+
楊黼盡孝卷 ( ? )			+	
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 ? )			+	
玉連環寶卷	+	+		+
玉蜻蜓寶卷	+	+		+
玉英寶卷	+	+	+	+
再生花寶卷	+			
再生緣寶卷	+			
竈君寶卷			+	
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		+		
朱買臣寶卷				+
姊妹花寶卷	+			

### Explanations for the table:

1. The table is organized in the alphabetic order of the titles' pinyin transcriptions.
2. The sources for this table include the original catalogues by the publishers (mostly those appended in *baojuan* editions) and Che Xilun's catalogue of *baojuan* (2000). Sign + means that this *baojuan* was printed by a given publisher.
3. The titles given in the publishers' lists have been identified with those listed in the Che Xilun's catalogue where possible.
4. Several editions listed in Yihuatang's catalogue published in its periodical (1933) cannot be identified in 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* in terms of the literary form. However, they were classified as *baojuan* by the compiler of catalogue in 1933, therefore 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.
5. Many *baojuan* editions listed in that Yihuatang's catalogue, as well as in the list of editions by Zhu Binji appended to *Baojuan of the Caltrop-Flower Mirror*, do not appear in the Che Xilun's catalogue. Apparently, these editions have not survived.
6. *Baojuan* printed by Xiyin and Wenyi are all lithographic editions, *baojuan* printed by Zhu Binji – typeset editions; *baojuan* printed by Yihuatang (those seen by the author) are mostly woodblock editions (with the few exceptions of lithographies).