

The Printing Industry in Chang'an's Eastern Market in the Tang Dynasty

SEO Tatsuhiko

Introduction

That the technique of wood block printing (printing from carved blocks) began to spread in the latter half of the Tang 唐 dynasty, in the ninth century, and that at the earliest, the Five Dynasties 五代 on into the Song 宋 dynasty ushered in the Golden Age of wood block printing are facts now widely acknowledged. The vicissitudes of the Chinese printing industry have been accurately described in works of comprehensive research on the history of printing in China by Thomas F. Carter, Paul Pelliot, Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也, Denis Twitchett, Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei 錢存訓, Luo Shubao 羅樹寶, and Yoneyama Torataro 米山寅太郎.¹⁾

It is evident, however, that numerous questions regarding the beginnings of printing in China still remain unclear. They include the dating of the first printing and the location where printing began, the era of the establishment of the private printing industry as a commercial enterprise, printing techniques and the content and types of printed items, print runs, circulation routes, sales levels, and regulations regarding printing.²⁾ Moreover, as previous studies have focussed on the history of printing technology, it has largely been left to future research to clarify such important topics concerning the beginnings of the printing industry in China at the end of the Tang and in the Song as mutual influences on contemporary social institutions and people's mental constructs.

Of these questions, regarding printing locations in the Tang dynasty, in early period research on the history of printing in China, on the basis of literary evidence and printed items from Chengdu 成都 discovered at Dunhuang 敦煌, it came to be thought that they were concentrated in the large cities of Shu 蜀 and Jiangnan 江南. Publication of Chen Zuolong 陳祚龍's "Tangdai xijing keyin tuji zhi yiban," 唐代西京刻印圖籍之一斑 (A class of printed maps and books of the Tang western capital) (*Dunhuang ziliao kaoxie* 敦煌資料考畧, vol. 2, Taipei 臺北, Commercial Press of Taiwan 臺灣商務印書館, 1979, originally published in *Shanxi wenxian* 陝西文獻 15, 1973) introduced the existence among the Dunhuang legacy of three printed items from Chang'an 長安. They were an annotated almanac produced by the private printing industry of the eastern market of Chang'an 長安東

市; a written copy of a book on moxibustion (the *Xin ji bei ji jiu jing* 新集備急灸經 Newly Collected Classic on First Aid Moxibustion) also printed in the eastern market; and the written copy of a text of instructions to a daughter (a text of admonitions to a daughter about to be married) printed in Chang'an. (Of these three items, only the annotated almanac is a printed item, the other two being written drafts for printed items. Furthermore, while the text of instructions to a daughter is extant in a Chang'an printing, other than the two items noted, printing in the eastern market is not clearly recorded.) Thus Chen 陳 demonstrated that in the ninth century, in late Tang, alongside Shu and Jiangnan, the eastern market in the imperial capital of Chang'an had become a center of the private printing industry.³⁾

Subsequent to Chen Zuolong's research, a comprehensive introduction to print items from Chang'an and to the copies of three print items were given by Su Bai 宿白⁴⁾ and Weng Tongwen 翁同文.⁵⁾ I myself touched briefly on them while investigating the history of commerce in Chang'an.⁶⁾ Furthermore, Lu Shen 魯深,⁷⁾ Shu Xue 舒學,⁸⁾ Zhang Xiumin,⁹⁾ Lin Congming 林聰明,¹⁰⁾ Luo Shubao,¹¹⁾ and Yan Wenru 閻文儒 and Yan Wanjun 閻萬鈞¹²⁾ introduced various aspects of the three print items.

Of the annotated almanac, book on moxibustion, and text of instructions to a daughter, individual studies have already been published on the latter two items. Namely, for the book on moxibustion, in brief, the text is recorded in: (1) Ma Jixing 馬繼興 edited, *Dunhuang gu yiji kaoshi* 敦煌古醫籍考釋 (An Examination of Ancient Medical Texts from Dunhuang), (Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi Kexue Chubanshe 江西科學出版社, 1988, pp. 442-452); (2) Zhao Jianxiong 趙健雄 edited, *Dunhuang yicui: Dunhuang yishu yiyao wenxuan jiaoshi* 敦煌醫粹: 敦煌遺書醫藥文選校釋 (Dunhuang Medical Gems: Annotated Selection of Medical Texts from Dunhuang), (Guiyang 貴陽, Guizhou Renmin Chubanshe 貴州人民出版社, 1988, pp. 155-59). The commentary is the same as in (1), above, but the full text of *Xin ji bei ji jiu jing* is not recorded, but only a portion of the obverse¹³⁾; (3) Cong Chunyu 叢春雨 edited, *Dunhuang zhongyiyao quanshu* 敦煌中醫藥全書 (Complete Collection of Works on Chinese Medicine from Dunhuang), (Beijing 北京, Zhongyi Guji Chubanshe 中醫古籍出版社, 1994, pp. 200-217); (4) Ma Jixing, Wang Shumin 王淑民, Tao Guangzheng 陶廣正, and Fan Feilun 樊飛倫 compiled, *Dunhuang yiyao wenxian jijiao* 敦煌醫藥文獻輯校 (Compilation of Medical Texts from Dunhuang), (Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 江蘇古籍出版社, 1998, pp. 513-528).¹⁴⁾

For the text of instructions to a daughter, already in the past Liu Fu 劉復, in *Dunhuang duo suo* 敦煌掇瑣 (Trifles Gathered from Dunhuang), (Beijing, Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Monograph 2 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之二, 1925), published the text under the title "*Cuishhi furen xun nü wen yiben* 崔氏夫人訓女文一本 (The volume *Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter*).” Later, Chen Zuolong wrote “Guanyu Dunhuang gu chao Li Tang *Cuishhi furen xun nü wen* 關於敦煌古鈔李唐『崔氏夫人訓女文』 (Regarding the ancient copy of the

Tang work *Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter*,” (in his *Dunhuang xuehai tan zhu* 敦煌學海探珠, vol. 1, Taipei, Commercial Press of Taiwan, 1979, originally published in *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 Second Series, 9/2, 1975), with corrections to the text of Liu Fu, establishing a foundation for future research. In recent years, with the publication of Zheng Acai 鄭阿財's, “Dunhuang xieben *Cuichi furen xun nü wen* yanjiu, 敦煌寫本『崔氏夫人訓女文』研究 (A study of the Dunhuang written draft of *Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter*),” (in his *Dunhuang wenxian yu wenxue* 敦煌文獻與文學, Taipei, Xin Wenfeng Chuban Gongsi 新文豐出版公司, 1993, originally published in *Zhongxing fashang xuebao* 中興法商學報 19, 1984), a relatively accurately corrected text and annotations have become available.¹⁵⁾ In addition, there are the transcriptions and simple annotations by Xiang Chu 項楚¹⁶⁾ and Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪.¹⁷⁾ Most recently, Ito Mieko 伊藤美重子 has published “Tonko shahon *Saishi fujin kunjōbun ni tsuite* 敦煌寫本『崔氏夫人訓女文』について (On the Dunhuang written draft of *Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter*),” *Toyama Daigaku Jinbungakubu kiyō* 富山大學人文學部紀要 26, 1997), with a new transcription and a colloquial Japanese translation, bring research a step forward.

Made clear through the development of the above research, the printing industry in the eastern market of Tang dynasty Chang'an and the existence of printed items are today widely familiar to scholarly circles. As stated above, however, while in the case of the book on moxibustion and the text of instructions to a daughter, the basis for research has been provided by critical examination of the text and the creation of notes, the annotated almanac has yet to be discussed specifically. Furthermore, as regards the content of these three print items of such differing content, a detailed examination going over the historical background and comprehensively investigating the role played by the late Tang Chang'an eastern market printing industry, in order to place that industry within the history of printing in China, is a research topic remaining to be pursued in the future.

As far as it goes, this article does not go beyond the limitations of a simple introduction to the eastern market printing industry. Since, however, previous research has not presented complete photographic reproductions and transcriptions of the three print items, to facilitate future research, the author would like here to arrange the content and to give tentative translations of the texts of the three print items (omitting the reverse of the moxibustion text). Besides, he would also like to attempt a preliminary examination of the distinctive historical features of the late Tang printing industry, including these three print items.

I. The Chang'an Eastern Market Printing Industry and Print Items

1. The Printing of Folk Almanacs: the almanac *Shangdu dongshi da Diao jia dayin* Stein P.12 (Giles 8101), size of original 17x7 centimeters

Regarding Tang dynasty prints of folk almanacs, including this “almanac in big print from the major Diao 刁 family of the metropolitan eastern market,” as of now, the following three print items are known. All of these are annotated almanacs, with notes on everyday good and bad fortune and taboos attached to the calendar.¹⁸⁾

#1 Fragment of the end of the scroll of the “Almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market” 「上都東市大刁家大印曆日」: Stein P.12 (Giles 8101), Fig. 1.¹⁹⁾

#2 “Annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year (Qianfu 4 in the reign of Xizong: 877)” 「丁酉年 (僖宗·乾符四年 <877>) 具注曆日」 with the beginning missing: Stein P.6 (Giles 8099), Fig. 2.

#3 Fragment at the beginning of the scroll of the “Almanac of the Fan Shang family of Chengdu in Xichuan, Jiannan” (*Jiannan Xiquan Chengdufu Fan Shang jia li* of Zhonghe 2 in the reign of Xizong 僖宗中和二年 (882) 「劍南西川成都府樊賞家曆」: Stein P.10 (Giles 8100).

Of these, the place of printing and the printer's name are clearly notes for #1, the “almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market,” and #3, the “almanac of the Fan Shang family of Chengdu in Jinnan Xichuan.” The periods when #1, the Chang'an “major Diao family”²⁰⁾ and #3, the Chengdu “Fan Shang family” were active in printing can be confirmed from #2, the “annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year,” and #3, the “almanac of the Fan Shang family of Chengdu in Jiannan Xichuan.” On #1, the “almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market,” the date is not noted. Since the content and form of the calendar annotations, and the character font are basically the same as #2, the “annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year,” it may be surmised that, like #2, #1 was printed in the latter half of the ninth century. (See Figures 1 and 2.) At the same time, #2 for which the location of printing and the printer are not noted, like #1, is not an official almanac printed by the state, so it may possibly be a folk calendar printed by a printer in Chang'an. Almanac #2 notes for each month, whether it is “large” or “small” (long or short), the initial day of the month, and the daily cycle of celestial stems and earthly branches, the intercalary months, and the days marking the solar terms by celes-

tial stems and earthly branches. Therein, this almanac is consistent with the official Changqing 長慶 "Xuanming Almanac 宣明曆" of the fourth year of Qianfu (877).²¹⁾

Of #2, the "annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year," the beginning is missing, but it is a large oblong annotated almanac in five or six sections. The uppermost section notes whether the months are "large" or "small," the initial day of the month in terms of celestial stems and earthly branches, and the lunar nine mansions chart. The small second section notes the *miri* 密日. The third section gives the daily cycle of celestial stems and earthly branches, the musical notes attached to the combination of stems and branches (*liujia nayin* 六甲納音), and the first and last days of the months. Below these are noted various methods of selecting days, under various situations of phases of the moon, solar seasonal patterns, and appropriate times and seasons, expressed as "the method of the constellations of the sexagenary cycle (六十甲子宮宿法)," "the method of relating disasters to the twelve zodiac signs (十二相屬災厄法)," "the method of calculating the twelve days when diseases can be caught (推十二得病日法)," "days for accompanying the Year Star General (Jupiter) (太歲將軍同遊日)," "days when the Five Surnames make repairs (五姓修造日)," "days when the Five Surnames sow or plant out (五姓種蒔日)," "chart for the Five Surnames to set up gates, doors, wells, and stoves (五姓安置門戶井竈圖)," "calculations of the days in the *dingyou* year on which the Five Surnames should commence building work (推丁酉年五姓起造日)," "days for washing the head 洗頭日," and the like, along with divinations regarding directions and notes on good and bad fortune.²²⁾

In the case of #1, which remains as only a fragment from the end of a scroll, the extant calendar content is almost entirely consistent with the end of the scroll of #2. Accordingly, it may be surmised that #1 originally took the same form as #2, and in the same way, had a large lower left portion forming the end of the annotated almanac scroll. Unlike #1 with the printer's name recorded at the end of the scroll, #2 has no record of the printer's name. As stated above, however, since they are in the same form and use characters of the same typeface, there is a possibility that #2, like #1, was printed in Chang'an's eastern market. On the other hand, #3, the "almanac of the Fan Shang family of Chengdu in Jiannan Xichuan" has the printer's name printed at the beginning of the scroll. The arrangement of the calendar annotations is also different, so its printed form differs somewhat from #1 and #2.

Thus, #1, the fragment of the "almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market" is made up of three sections: upper, middle, and lower (Figure 1). Looking in terms of content, it would seem that the upper section represents predictions related to the missing portion (神龜推走失法); the middle section, a diagram made up of a *bagua* 八卦 (eight trigram) directional diagram and lucky and unlucky directions (太歲八天出行圖); and the lower section, prognostications from the winds based on the *bagua* directional diagram

in the section above it.

Below, the author would like to set out a transcription based on the following: the microfilm held in the Toyo Bunko; the photoreproduction given on p. 244 of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Historical Research, Committee for the Compilation of Ancient Documents from Dunhuang of the Society for the Study of China's Dunhuang and Turfan, the British Library, and London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (中國社會科學院歷史研究所·中國敦煌·吐魯番學會敦煌古文獻編集委員會·英國國家圖書館·倫敦大學亞非學院) jointly edited, *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian* (*Hanwen fojiao yiwai bufen*) 英藏敦煌文獻 (漢文佛教以外部份), vol. 14 (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1995); the author's own observations (from the photograph given here as Figure 1, received during a visit to the British Museum in August 1992).

A-Upper Section of Figure 1 (Section A in Figure 1)

There are many lacunae in the text of the upper section of Figure 1. If after transcribing Figure 1, reference is made to the corresponding passages in the text of Figure 2, which records similar content, the transcription still remains unclear in places. Nevertheless an attempt is made to correct it with a tentative translation from the passages in Figure 2 equivalent to those missing in Figure 1.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□上, 到失物日止。□圓畫。急未得, 遲不得。□□□□物, 走者得□。值□□□□日。亡者不逐自來, 走者不覓自至。唯在志心, 萬不失一。

[Reference] The corresponding passage in Figure 2, the "annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year":

凡大月從上下數至下, 小月從下數至上, 到失物日止。值圓畫, 急未得, 遲不得。至長畫, 失物〔日〕, 走者得脫。至短畫, 失物日, 亡者不逐自來, 走者不覓自至。唯在誌心, 萬不失一。

[Translation] In all cases, for large months (Indicating those months with thirty days. The upper section of this calendar records the large months as the third month, the fifth month, the eighth month, the tenth month, and the twelfth month. The opening portion of this calendar is, however, missing, so that it begins from the tenth day of the second month.) count from the top going down, and for small months (Indicating those months with twenty-nine days. The upper section of this calendar gives the small months as the intercalary second month, the fourth month, the sixth month, the seventh month, the ninth month, and the eleventh month.) count from the bottom going up,

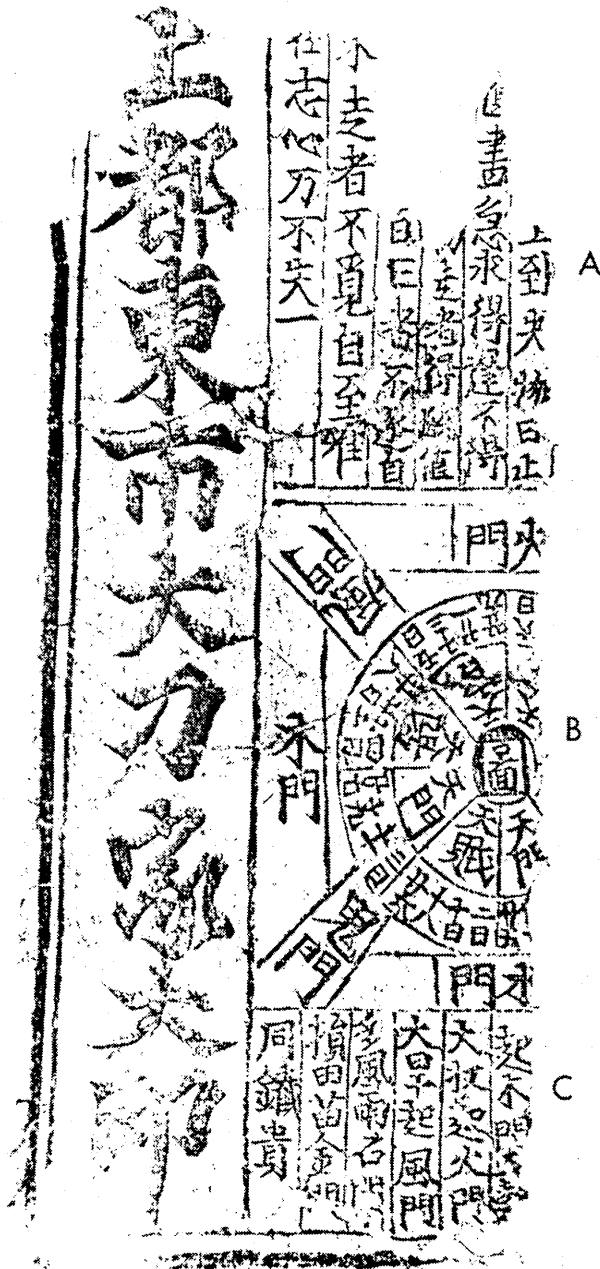


Figure 1: Stein P.12 (Giles 8101) "Almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market" (By permission of the British Library)

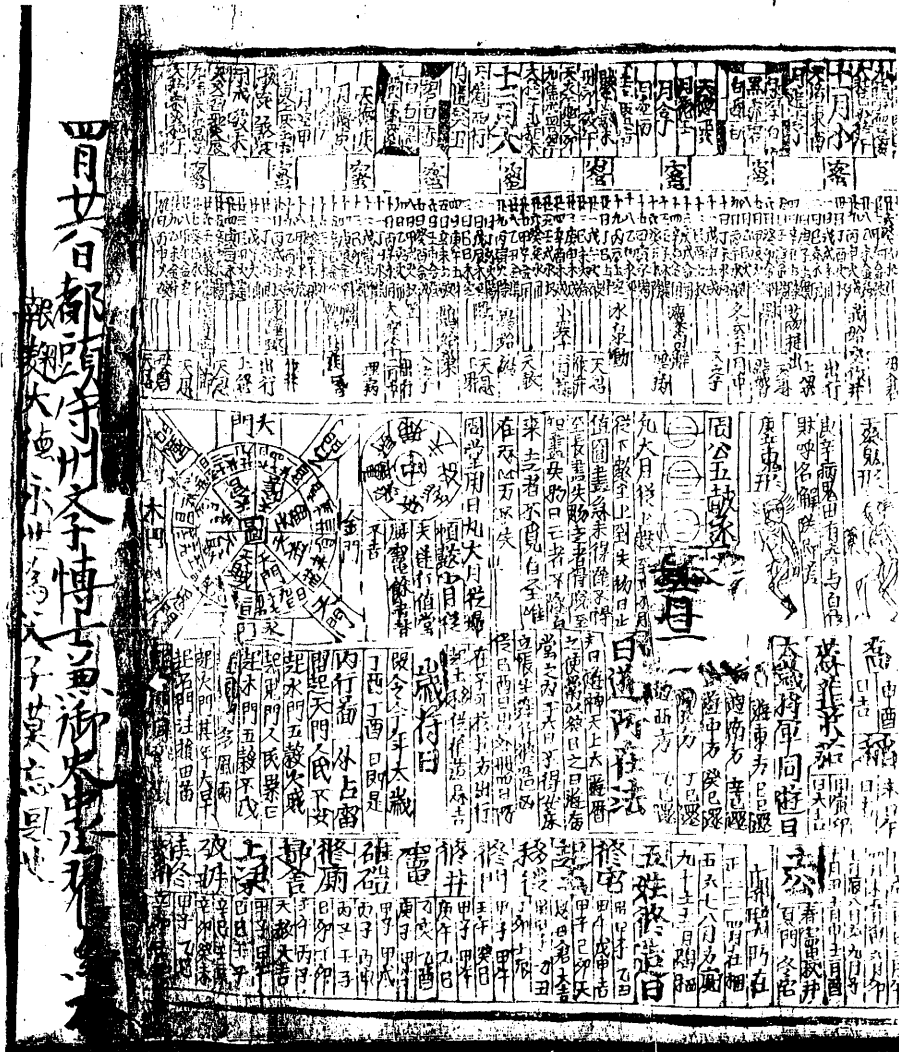


Figure 2: Detail of Stein P.6 (Giles 8099) "Annotated almanac of the dingyou year (877)"

stopping at the day the thing was lost. If you meet with a circular figure, you will not get it when hasty and you will fail to get it when slow. If you reach a long horizontal line, neither lost object nor person who has gone away comes back. If you reach a short horizontal line, lost objects or persons who have left will appear of their own accord without being pursued. People who have gone away will come without being sought. But if you put your mind to it, you will not lose one in ten thousand things.

B-Middle Section of Figure 1 (Section B in Figure 1)

This figure, when compared to a section of Figure 2, which is complete, may be understood to represent the eight trigram (*bagua*) directional diagram of the Changes (King Wen's *bagua* diagram (文王八卦圖)), that is, the diagram of *Hou tian yi* 後天易圖 (Consequential Changes). That is to say, outside the circle are represented the directions of the eight trigrams assembled from the Four Gates (四門) and Five Elements (五行), based on the *bagua* directional diagram of *Hou tian yi*. (The Four Gates are *Tianmen* 天門 (Heavenly Gate: *qian* 乾 = northwest), *Shimen* 石門 (Stone Gate: *kun* 坤 = southwest), *Fengmen* 風門 (Wind Gate: *xun* 巽 = southeast), and *Guimen* 鬼門 (Ghost Gate: *gen* 艮 = northeast). The Five Elements are *Mumen* 木門 (Wood Gate: *zhen* 震 = east), *Shuimen* 水門 (Water Gate: *kan* 坎 = north), *Jinmen* 金門 (Metal Gate: *dui* 兌 = west), and *Huomen* 火門 (Fire Gate: *li* 離 = south). Inside the circle appear to be noted the eight types of lucky and unlucky directions and the lucky and unlucky days based on them.²³) This *bagua* diagram corresponds to the content of harvest omens in the lower section below.

C-Lower Section of Figure 1 (Section C in Figure 1)

These passages, when compared with the corresponding passages in Figure 2, would seem to comprise, in accord with prognostications from the winds, a section of "harvest omens" showing whether the harvest would be good or bad (the head portion being missing). It is clear that the content corresponds with the *bagua* directional diagram in the middle section above. As mentioned below, the equivalent section to the missing head portion from the fragment of the "almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market" in Figure 1 is extant in the above-mentioned "annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year" in Figure 2. While unclear passages remain in this case also, a tentative translation follows.

□ □。起木門五穀大收。起火門大旱。起風門多風雨。石門損田苗。金門同(銅)鐵貴。

[Translation] □ □. If the wind should roll from the quarter of the Wood

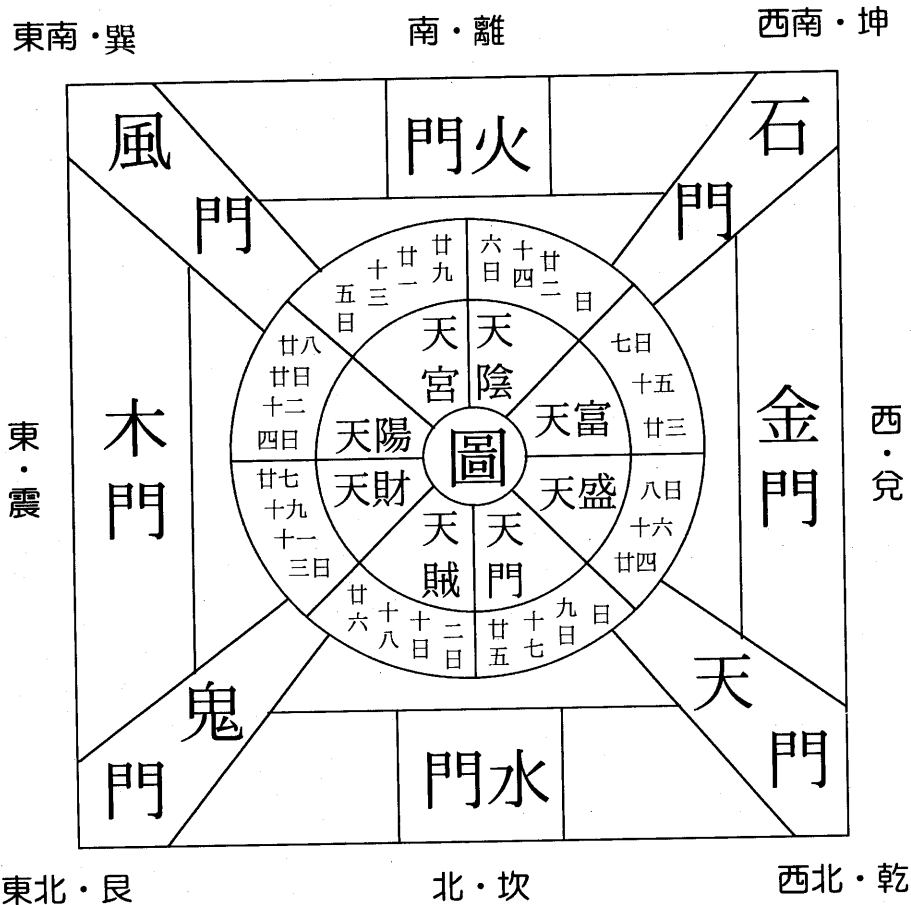


Figure 3: Reconstruction of the *bagua* directional diagram 八卦方位圖 in Figure 1.

This figure is a reconstruction of the partial *bagua* directional diagram in Figure 1 made by referring to the *bagua* directional diagram included in Figure 2. The Four Gates (*tianmen* 天門, *shimen* 石門, *guimen* 鬼門, *fengmen* 風門) and the Five Elements (*mumen* 木門, *huomen* 火門, *jinmen* 金門, *shuimen* 水門, *tumen* [土門]), along with the days of choice for *tianmen* 天門, *tianfu* 天富, *tianyang* 天陽, *tiangong* 天宮, and *tianyin* 天陰, etc. are combined in the diagram. The author has added the directions and trigram names around the borders of the figure.

Table 1: Contents of the *bagua* directional diagram and wind prognostications

Direction 方位	Trigram 易	Five Elements/ Four Gates 五行·四門	Lucky/ Unlucky Direction 吉凶方位	Lucky/Unlucky Days 吉凶日	Wind Prognostication 風占い
North 北	<i>kan</i> 坎	Water Gate 水門	<i>tianmen</i> 天門	1,9,17,25	(Arising from Water Gate, five grains will be cheap. 起水門, 五穀火賤。)
			<i>tianzei</i> 天賊	2,10,18,26	
Northeast 東北	<i>gen</i> 艮	Ghost Gate 鬼門	<i>tiancai</i> 天財	/	(Arising from Ghost Gate, people will die one after another. 起鬼門, 人民累 亡。)
East 東	<i>zhen</i> 震	Wood Gate 木門		3,11,19,27	Arising from Wood Gate, bountiful harvest from five grains. 起木門, 五穀大收。
			<i>tianyang</i> 天陽	4,12,20,28	
Southeast 東南	<i>xun</i> 巽	Wind Gate 風門	<i>tianguan</i> 天官	/	Arising from Wind Gate, much wind & rain. 起風門, 多風雨。
South 南	<i>li</i> 離	Fire Gate 火門		5,13,21,29	Arising from Fire Gate, great drought. 起火門, 大 旱。
			<i>tianyin</i> 天陰	6,14,22,30	
Southwest 西南	<i>kun</i> 坤	Stone Gate 石門	<i>tianfu</i> 天福	/	(Arising from Stone Gate, livelihood of people inse- cure. 起石門, 人民不安。)
West 西	<i>dui</i> 兌	Metal Gate 金門		7,15,23	If from Metal Gate, cost of copper & iron will be high. 金門, 同鐵貴。
			<i>tian sheng</i> 天□	8,16,24	
Northwest 西北	<i>qian</i> 乾	Heavenly Gate 天門	<i>tianmen</i> 天門	/	If from Heavenly Gate, seedlings will be damaged in fields. 天門, 損田苗。

Note 1. This table was formed to indicate the mutual relationship between the *bagua* directional diagram in the middle section of Figure 1 and the wind prognostications in the lower section.

Note 2. The phrases in brackets in the Wind Prognostication column are missing in Figure 1. The relevant phrases from Figure 2 have been supplied.

Gate (east), a bountiful harvest may be obtained from the five grains. If the wind should roll from the quarter of the Fire Gate (south), a great drought will arise. If the wind should roll from the quarter of the Wind Gate (southeast), there will be much wind and rain. If the thunder should roll from the quarter of the Stone Gate (northwest), the seedlings will be damaged in the fields. If the wind should roll from the quarter of the Metal Gate (west), the cost of copper and iron will be high.

[Reference] The corresponding passage in Figure 2, the “annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year:

假令今年太歲丁酉，丁酉日即是。內行圖，外占雷。雷起天門人民不安。起水門五穀火賤。起鬼門人民累亡。起木門五穀不成。起風門多風雨。起火門其年大旱。起石門注損田苗。起金門同（銅）鐵貴。

[Translation] Harvest omens. As this year, the Year Star is in *dingyou* (it is the fourth year of the Qianfu period of Xizong’s reign: 877), prognostications are taken from the first day of the *dingyou* year, that is, from the center of the diagram (indicating the *bagua* square diagram in Figure 1, B). From the outside, prognostications are taken from the sound of thunder. If the wind should roll from the quarter of the Heavenly Gate, the livelihood of the people will be insecure. If the thunder should roll from the quarter of the Water Gate, the five grains will be cheap. If the thunder should roll from the quarter of the Ghost Gate, people will die one after another. (As the text which follows is almost the same as noted above for Figure 1, it is omitted.)²⁴⁾

Now Figure 3 represents the *bagua* directional diagram forming the middle section of Figure 1 as restored to its original form with reference to Figure 2. Table 1 is arrived at by combining the content of Figure 3 with the notes on thunder divination from the lower section of Figure 1, and transforming them into tabulated form. As may be understood from looking at Figure 3 and Table 1, the fragment of the “almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market” in Figure 1 is based on a *bagua* directional diagram popular in the Tang dynasty. It could be concluded, therefore, that the mutual relationship between directional prognostications for the year corresponding to the calendar (*dingyou* = 877) and prognostications from winds are recorded.²⁵⁾

The annotated almanac format of the calendar under examination was perpetuated in the format of folk annotated almanacs of later dynasties, namely *tongshu* 通書 (almanacs; *lishu* 曆書, *tongsheng* 通勝, or *huangli* 黃曆).²⁶⁾ The almanac under examination was aimed at the literate classes. Since however it recorded prognostications from winds and choices of days by lucky and unlucky directions, which were widely believed in by the people of the time, it may be said to be

capable of revealing an aspect of the spiritual culture of the masses. Since the Qin 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties, the choice of days by lucky and unlucky directions had been a typical folk method of prognostication, systematized according to *yinyang wuxing* 陰陽五行 thought.²⁷⁾ The prognostications based on the *bagua* directional diagram in the almanac under examination are connected with the ancient Chinese tradition of folk prognostications.

Probably, not just the extant section of lucky and unlucky days and prognostications, but the whole almanac may be considered closely connected with the content on divining the lucky and unlucky according to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602-70) in *Yisi zhan* 乙巳占 (Divination by Celestial Stems and Earthly Branches), vol. 10 and Quyun Xida 瞿雲悉達 edited, *Kaiyuan zhan jing* 開元占經 (The Divination Classic of the Kaiyuan period completed in 718), vol. 120. Everyone in those days shared the belief that, on the basis of calendar notes, fortunes could be predicted and luck and misfortune be selected on one's own volition.

As is well known, since in traditional Chinese thought, the role of mediation in the order of Heaven and Earth fell to the Son of Heaven, the emperor, alone. The publication of the calendar, which embodied the correspondences of Heaven and Earth, observations of the heavens and divination from the phenomena of Heaven and Earth, were naturally, therefore, the monopoly of the Son of Heaven, the emperor. The development of the private printing industry, however, shook the monopolistic power of the Son of Heaven, the emperor, over the channel to Heaven. The making of calendars and their interpretation spread among private individuals, and direct confrontation with Heaven became an everyday possibility. In the administrative regulations of the Tang Code, there were prohibitions against the private ownership of astronomical instruments (*xuanxiang qiwu* 玄象器物), books on astronomy, copies of the Yellow River Chart of the Luo River Document (*Hetu Luoshu* 河圖洛書: auspicious signs recovered from those rivers), prophetic books (*chenshu* 讖書), military books, seven day calendars (七曜曆) (calendars recording good and bad luck controlling seven days), and planchettes of Taiyi or Leigong (*Taiyi shi* 太乙式, *Leigong shi* 雷公式: used to divine public or private fortunes) (*Tang lü shu yi* 唐律疏議 (The Tang Code) 9, *Zhizhi* 職制 (Administrative Regulations). Up until the Qing 清 dynasty, under all dynasties, *mutatis mutandis*, decrees prohibiting the printing and circulation of private calendars were issued.

The popularity of such folk calendars would seem to have speeded up the deterioration of the ancient Chinese philosophy of ritual which saw the Son of Heaven, the emperor, as the sole mediator between Heaven and Earth. In the study of the history of Chinese thought, the period from the mid Tang, in the ninth century, to the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Song dynasty may be said to have brought about a shift in philosophical focus from an incomprehensible, transcendent "Heaven" (*tian* 天) to a comprehensible, relatively materialistic "Principle" (*li* 理), and the shift in the intellectuals' view of heaven came into

being.²⁸⁾ Liu Zongyuan's (773–819) *Tian shui* 柳宗元, 天說 (Explaining Heaven) and Liu Yuxi's (772–842) *Tian lun* 劉禹錫, 天論 (Discussing Heaven) are famous as the beginning of criticism directed toward the absoluteness of Heaven in passing heavenly censure through arbitrating the fate of mankind. Such changes in thought, and the popularity of privately printed calendars are most probably mutually related.

Naturally enough, the dynastic regime, for its part, passed laws forbidding the circulation of folk calendars, but the existence of the calendar under examination bears witness to the realities of printing and sale on a grand scale of folk calendars in the market of the imperial capital, at the end of the Tang, to residents inside and outside of the city.²⁹⁾ Wenzong 文宗's prohibition promulgated in the ninth year of the Taihe 太和 period (835) (*Chi zhudaofu bude sizhi liriban* 敕諸道府不得私置曆日板 Decree to provincial authorities forbidding the private setting up of print blocks for calendars) was the first instance of an order banning the printing of folk calendars. This marked the beginning of the feud between officially produced printed calendars ("big calendars" *dali* 大曆) and privately printed calendars ("small calendars" *xiaoli* 小曆 or *tongshu*), which persisted for more than a millennium through successive dynasties up to the end of the Qing.³⁰⁾

2. The Printing of a Book on Moxibustion: scroll remnants of "*Xin ji beiji jiu jing* printed by the Li family of the capital in the eastern market" (Pelliot 2675)

Of the document given the Pelliot number 2675, *Xin ji beiji jiu jing*, two sections are extant. The two scroll remnants with different copyists and dates of copying are designated *Xin ji beiji jiu jing* scrolls A and B. The authorship is anonymous, while the content comprises moxibustion techniques and contraindications. The content of *Xin ji beiji jiu jing* scroll A is sequentially divided between the obverse and reverse, with the obverse designated scroll A-a, and the reverse, scroll A-b.³¹⁾ The heading of scroll A-a reads: "*Xin ji beiji jiu jing*, vol. 1, printed by the metropolitan Li family in the eastern market 京中李家於東市印," clearly recording that it was a publication of the Li family of the eastern market in Chang'an. It is the oldest record of the printing of a medical book.

Xin ji beiji jiu jing scroll A-a, which is analysed in this paper, is a written copy of a printed book on moxibustion techniques, as a household ready-reference for treating the onset of acute conditions, of which the latter half is missing.³²⁾ The reverse, Scroll A-b, is a section noting moxibustion contraindications. The lower half of the first part is missing, but the section of *ren shen jinji* 人神禁忌 (taboo periods for acupuncture and moxibustion in designated years, seasons, months and days) is extant.³³⁾ At the end of the scroll is the following note: "In the second year of the Xiantong period (861), the year Xinsi, on the 25th day of

the twelfth month, hand copied by the *yaqian tongyin bing tongshi sheren* Fan Ziying and the *yinyang* practitioner Fan Jingxun" (咸通二年, 歲次辛巳十二月二十五, 衙前通引并通事舍人范子盈, 陰陽汜景詢二人寫記). From this, it may be understood that this document was written by Fan Ziying 范子盈 and Fan Jingxun 汜景詢 in 861 and that consequently, the printed version of *Xin ji beiji jiu jing* was printed earlier on by the Chang'an printing concern, the Li family.

The content of this written version, following a short preface, consists of a drawing of a moxibustion chart of the human body from the front, with the moxibustion points on the human body indicated by black circles. The text portions indicating symptoms and moxibustion techniques to which they correspond are joined to them with lines. The colours red and black are used for these lines. The text portions indicating symptoms and moxibustion techniques first note the symptoms and then concisely give the positions, names, and number of applications of the moxibustion points answering to the symptoms, and their effectiveness. As stated above, however, the latter half of the document is missing, so the charts and the text are incomplete. Originally it is thought that there was not just a chart of the human body from the front, but charts from the back and sides also existed.

Below is noted a transcription and tentative translation based on: the microfilm held in the Toyo Bunko; the transcriptions and interpretations in the previously cited *Dunhuang guyiji kaoshi* of Ma Jixing; Cong Chunyu edited, *Dunhuang zhongyiyao quanshu* (Encyclopaedia of Chinese Medicine at Dunhuang), Zhao Jianxiong edited, *Dunhuang yicui: Dunhuang yishu yiyao wenxuan jiaoshi* (The Pick of Dunhuang Medicine: An Annotated Anthology of Dunhuang Medical Works and Medicine); Ma Jixing, Wang Shumin, Tao Guangzheng, and Fan Feilun, *Dunhuang yiyao wenxian jijiao* (Annotated Medical Documents from Dunhuang); along with the author's own observations (in August 1992 at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris). (This document has been treated briefly by Naba Toshisada 那波利貞,³⁴ Miyashita Saburo 宮下三郎,³⁵ and Miki Sakae 三木榮.³⁶) The reverse section of the scroll (Scroll A-b) and Scroll B are omitted for lack of space. Now as the sequence of the transcript differs in all the works cited, that edited by Cong Chunyu is followed. Furthermore, by the side of substituted characters, the correct characters are given in parentheses.

Xin ji beiji jiu jing scroll fragments (Pelliot 2675)

Xin ji beiji jiu jing in, vol. 1, printed in the eastern market by the metropolitan Li family

『灸經』云,「四大成身,一脈不調,百病皆起」。或居偏遠,州縣路遙,或隔山河,村坊草野,小小災疾,藥耳難求,性命之憂,如何所治。今略諸家灸經,用濟不愚,兼及年月日等人神并諸家雜忌,用之,請求審詳,神儉無比。

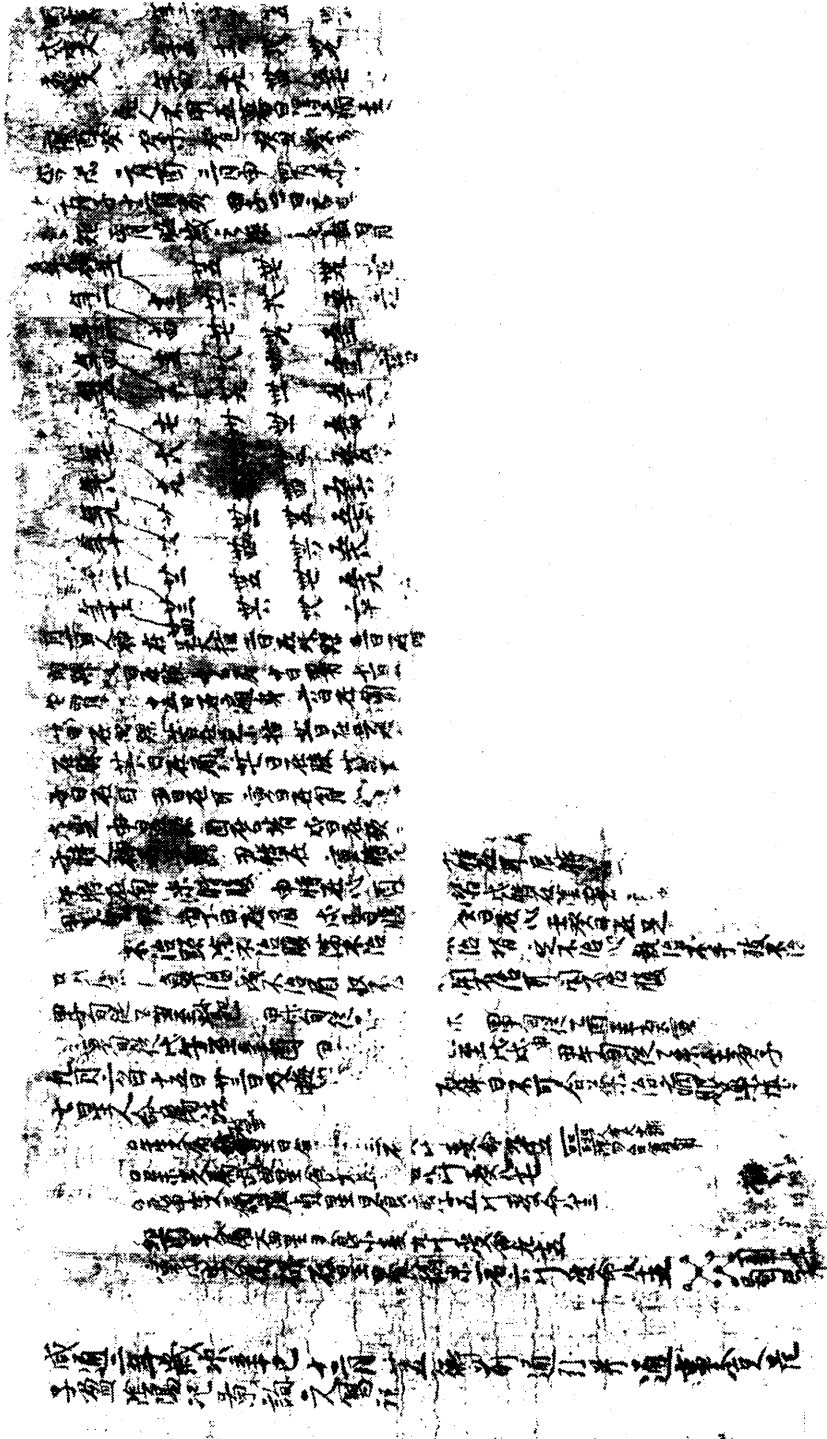


Figure 5: Pelliot 2675: Scroll A-b of Xin ji bei ji jiu jing

[**Translation**] The *Jiu jing* 灸經 (Classic of Moxibustion) (a lost work) says: “The body is formed from a synthesis of the Four Elements (earth, water, fire, wind). If but one pulse is out of order, all kinds of sicknesses arise at one time.” If one lives in a remote region, in a place far removed from the prefectural or county seat, or in a rustic village cut off by mountains and rivers, (in circumstances where there is no physician nearby), on catching even the most trifling disease, it is difficult to obtain medicine. So if one suffers a life-threatening condition, how can it be cured? So now, we set out simple moxibustion techniques for every household to heal sicknesses. We also note the *renshen* 人神 dates, (when moxibustion is not to be used) and the prohibitions for all households. If they are followed, and are checked carefully when seeking the means to a cure, their efficacy will be unmatched.

[1] 患肩膊重, 擡手不起。取左右膊井上, 灸名二七壯。各膊肩井穴。

[**Translation**] In a case where the shoulder and upper arm (the region below the head and above the elbow) feels heavy, and when the hands are lifted, they cannot be raised. To the left and right *bojing* 膊井 points, apply moxibustion 14 times each.

[2] 患肚脹如板, 氣急。取臍兩^傍五分, 各四蒲穴, 灸三七壯。

[**Translation**] In a case where the belly becomes distended and stiff as a board, and breathing is irregular. To the *sipu* 四蒲 (should read *siman* 四滿) points 5 *fen* 分 to each side of the navel, apply moxibustion 21 times.

[3] 患腰脚重, 冷風下, 化爲冷痺。令人垂兩^手□, 中指頭^上□股上, 是, 灸三七壯。

[**Translation**] In a case where the lower back and the legs feel heavy, and they have become numbed by cold wind. At the places where the tips of the middle fingers touch the thighs when the hands are extended downward, that is (at the *fengshi* 風市 point), apply moxibustion 21 times.

[4] 患邪氣·鬼氣·疰·風癩等病。下唇下名承漿穴, 灸二七壯。立差。^(瘧)

[**Translation**] In cases of contracting “evil vapor” (*xieqi* 邪氣) or “ghost vapor” (*guiqi* 鬼氣) (vapors which cause people to die of sickness), pestilences (*zhu* 疰) (said to be infectious or chronic diseases), convulsions, and the like. At the *chengjiang* 承漿 point below the lower lip, apply moxibustion 14 times. The sickness should be cured at once.

[5] 患癩風, 心狂亂, 加兼卒不語良久。取鼻孔下名人中穴, 灸七壯。立差。^(瘧)

[**Translation**] In a case where the mind is confused by fits, and furthermore, there is acute inability to speak for a prolonged period. At the *renzhong* 人中 point below the nostrils, apply moxibustion 7 times. The sickness should be cured at once.

[6] 患眼赤, 兼瘡翳生, 并^{風赤}□□。兩耳尖上名陰會穴, 一七壯。便永不發。

[**Translation**] In a case in which the eyes are bloodshot and are blurred by inflammation. At the *yin hui* 陰會 points on the two ear lobes, apply moxi-

bustion 7 times. Once this is done, the condition will never reoccur.

[7] 患頭暈 (眩) 闇風, 兼生頭痛, 日瘡。頭心上灸百會穴, 二七壯。

[Translation] In a case of dizziness and numbness, where the head aches and dandruff appears. At the point *baihui* 百會 on the center of the scalp, apply moxibustion 14 times.

[8] 患急黃欲死。鼻上至髮住神穴, 灸二七壯。

[Translation] In an acute case of jaundice, in which one is on the point of death. At the point *zhushen* 住神 at the top of the nose and below the hair, apply moxibustion 14 times.

[9] 患大風疾。兩眉中名光明穴, 灸隨年。又兩脚及手, 共灸之一百壯。

[Translation] In cases of leprosy. At the *guangming* 光明 point located centrally between the two eyebrows, apply moxibustion. (The number of applications) is to accord with the number of years of the patient's age. At the (*yongquan* 湧泉 points) on both feet and the (*laogong* 勞宮 points) in the center of the hands, also apply moxibustion 100 times.

[10] 患手腕勞, 疼痛不可忍, 加手麻痺, 兼風勞。手腕節, 灸七壯。

[Translation] In a case where the wrist is so painful that it is unbearable and the hand is numb, and the patient has contracted *fenglao* 風勞 (a disease in which the throat is strained and the eyes and head ache). At the point called *shouwanjie* 手腕節 (wrist), apply moxibustion 7 times.

[11] 患□ □吐逆, 并水痢。□ □骨下二寸, 名□ □穴, 灸二七壯。

[Translation] In cases of □ □ and vomiting, where diarrhea also occurs. At the location 2 *cun* 寸 (inches) below the □ □ bone, designated the □ □ point, apply moxibustion 14 times.

[12] 患急□ □, 又心疼, 兼上氣□ □始咳嗽。心脾骨□ □

[Translation] In acute cases of □ □, when pain is also felt in the heart, and the patient is also troubled by aggravated coughing. The heart and the spleen, bone □ □.

[13] 患□ □兩乳□ □灸一七□ □

[14] 患手心熱, 四支不舉, □ □

[Translation] In a case where the palm of the hand becomes heated and the four limbs cannot be raised. □ □

[15] 患□ □, 妳假如□ □, 不得喉□ □

[Translation] In a case of □ □, where the breasts become like □ □, and (food) cannot be swallowed □ □

[The continuation of the text on the reverse is omitted.]

Table 2 is an arrangement of the above content in tabulated form. As Table 2 shows, the names and locations of previously unknown ancient moxibustion points (the points *yinhui*, *guangming*, and *shouwanjie*), and moxibustion techniques are made clear from this document. At the same time, from the content of *Xin ji beiji jiu jing*, the existence in the past of accounts reduplicating medical texts on

Table 2: Contents of the *Xin ji beiji jiu jing*

No.	Symptom	Location of Moxibustion Point oblique lines (- indicate lacuna in text)	Name of Moxibustion Point (Points in brackets indicate relevant points in modern medical texts)	No. of Moxibustion Treatments (divisible by 7, 7 being the model yang 陽 number)	Relevant Medical Works (Brackets indicate in which edition by Ma Jixing (M), Zhao Jianxiong (Z), or Cong Chunyu (C) the reference was made)
①	Shoulder & upper arm 肩膊 (region below head & above elbow) feel heavy, & when hands are lifted, they cannot be raised	Above L & R <i>bojing</i> 膊井 (<i>jianjing</i> 肩井)	<i>bojianjing</i> 膊肩井 (<i>jianjing</i>)	14 (Table 2, 2 nd page)	<i>Zhenjiu jia yi jing</i> : 針灸甲乙經 3 (M, Z, C) <i>Taiping sheng hui fang</i> 太平聖惠方 99: <i>Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian</i> 中國針灸穴位通鑿 (<i>jianjing</i>), p. 408
②	Belly distended & stiff as a board, & breathing irregular	5 <i>fen</i> 分 each side of navel	<i>sipu</i> 四滿 (<i>siman</i> 四滿)	21	<i>Zhenjiu jiayi jing</i> 3, (M, C): <i>Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian</i> (<i>siman</i>), p. 1676
③	Lower back & legs feel heavy, & have become numbed by cold wind	Tips of middle fingers touch thighs when hands extended down	(<i>fengshi</i> 風市)	21	<i>Taiping sheng hui fang</i> 100 (M, C): <i>Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian</i> (<i>fengshi</i>), p. 1453; <i>Zhouhou beiji fang</i> 肘後備急方 3
④	"Evil vapor" or "ghost vapor," convulsions and the like	Below lower lip	<i>chengjiang</i> 承漿	14	<i>Zhenjiu jia yi jing</i> 3 (Z, C): <i>Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian</i> (<i>chengjian</i>), p. 167
⑤	Mind confused by fits, & acute inability to speak for a prolonged period	Below nostrils	<i>renzhong</i> 人中	7	<i>Zhenjiu jia yi jing</i> 3 (C): <i>Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian</i> (<i>renzhong</i>), p. 293
⑥	Eyes bloodshot & blurred by inflammation	Both ear lobes	<i>yinhui</i> 陰會	7	Old moxibustion point (not seen in extant medical works)
⑦	Dizziness & numbness, head ache & appearance of dandruff	Center of scalp	<i>baihui</i> 百會	14	<i>Zhenjiu jia yi jing</i> 3: <i>Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian</i> (<i>baihui</i>), p. 259

⑧	Acute jaundice, near death	Above nose, below hairline	zhushen 住神 (shenting 神庭)	14	Zhenjiu jia yi jing 3 (M, Z, C): Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian (shenting), p. 284
⑨	Leprosy	Centrally between eyebrows	guangming 光明	as no. of years of age	Old moxibustion point (not seen in extant medical works) Zhenjiu jia yi jing 3: Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian (yongquan), p. 1617 Zhenjiu jia yi jing 3: Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian (yongquan), p. 463
		Centers of soles of both feet	(yongquan 湧泉)	100	
		Centers of both hands	(laogong 勞宮)		
⑩	Wrist so painful it is unbearable, hand numb, fenglao 風勞 condition	(Wrist joints)	shouwanjie 手腕節	7	Old moxibustion point (not seen in extant medical works)
⑪	□ □ & vomiting, also diarrhea	2 cun 寸 below □ □ bone		14	
⑫	Acute □ □, pain also felt in heart, coughing	Heart & spleen, bone □ □			
⑬	□ □	□ □ of both nipples		7	
⑭	Palms of hands heated, & four limbs cannot be raised				
⑮	Case of □ □, cannot swallow				

Note 1. Space limitations restrict citation of relevant extant medical works to *Zhenjiu jia yi jing* by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 of the Jin dynasty and *Taiping sheng hui fang* (Prescriptions Compiled with Imperial Grace during the Taiping Period), compiled by Wang Huaiyin 王懷隱 and others of the Northern Song. For locations of the points in other relevant books, see Wang Deshen 王德深 edited, *Zhongguo zhenjiu xuewei tongjian* (Comprehensive Review of Chinese Acupuncture and Moxibustion Points), (Qingdao 青島, Qingdao Chubanshe 青島出版社, 1994). (This work, however, does not cite *Xin ji beiji jiu jing*.)

Note 2. Although the name of the guangming point exists in the *Huangdi nei jing tai su* 黃帝內經太素 (The Yellow Emperor's Manual of Corporeal Medicine: Great Innocence) by Yang Shangshan 楊上善 of the Sui dynasty, 9, 15, on the tracts, being in a different position, it must be a different point with the same name.

Note 3. □ □ indicates lacunae and unclear characters.

moxibustion techniques is apparent. That is to say, it duplicates sentences from the *Zhenjiu jiyi jing* 針灸甲乙經 (ABC of Acupuncture and Moxibustion) vol. 12 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–281) of the Jin 晉 dynasty, the *Zhou hou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (Handbook of Medicines for Emergencies) in vol. 8 by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–363) of the Jin dynasty, the *Qian jin yaofang* 千金要方 (Invaluable Remedies) vol. 30 by Sun Simo 孫思邈 (581–682) of the Tang dynasty, and the *Qian jin yi fang* 千金翼方 (Supplementary Invaluable Remedies), vol. 30 by the same author.

The *Xin ji beiji jiu jing* is one of a number of medical books newly discovered at Tunhuang. Other than this work, the following works on moxibustion exist among the documents from Dunhuang: two versions of *Jiufa tu* 灸法圖 (Moxibustion Charts) (Stein 6168 & 6262); *Jiu jing ming tang* 灸經明堂 (Moxibustion Anatomy) (Stein 5737); and *Ren shen ri ji* 人神日忌 (Taboo Days) (Pelliot 3247), noting contraindications for moxibustion. Although the dates when these books were written are not recorded, from the script and literary style, they are thought to be works of pre-Tang rather than Tang authorship. Probably from the ninth century onwards, moxibustion charts showing the body in diagrammatic form and describing moxibustion technique, in manuscript and printed form, circulated widely within China.³⁷⁾ It would seem that in ordinary households at that time, if not moxa then some material of a similar kind for moxibustion was kept handy.

Mid ninth century Chang'an, where the *Xin ji beiji jiu jing* is thought to have been printed, was the center of Chinese medicine at that time. Many specialists were concentrated into the medical organisations included in the official system, while private medical treatment also developed. In the "medicine rows" (*yao hang* 藥行 streets of pharmacies) of the eastern and western markets, many kinds of medical ingredients and compounds from inside and outside China were traded.³⁸⁾ In moxibustion too, various schools competed in Chang'an. The capital, Chang'an was the source location from which news of the newest medical thought originated.³⁹⁾

Besides, that such copies of printed works should circulate in Dunhuang shows that at that time printed items were limited in number and high in price, so they were generally difficult to obtain. This must be because the society of the late ninth century represents the period of transition from the era of the hand written book to the era of the printed book.⁴⁰⁾

3. The Printing of Instructions to a Daughter on Marriage: "the *Cuishu furen xun nu wen*" printed by "the Li Family of the capital" (Pelliot 2633 & 3780; Stein 4129 & 5643) Figures 6 & 7

The *Cuishu furen xun nü wen* is an instructional text in the form of an admonition addressed to her weeping daughter in front of the wedding carriage by one Madam Cui 崔, from the distinguished clan of the time. These texts are not the

original printed items, but hand written copies of the printed version. Pelliot 2633 carries a record of the year when it was copied, the *xinsi* year. It is conjectured that this *xinsi* year is 921. Besides, at the time of printing in Chang'an, it was possibly called *Cuishifu ren yao nü wen* (Madam Cui's Betrothal of her Daughter) (with Figure 6 carrying the original title). At the time of copying in Dunhuang, it is presumed that, to give it more weight, it was changed to *Cuishifu ren xun nü wen* (Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter (see Figure 7)).⁴¹⁾ Here, in accordance with the previously common nomenclature, it will be called *xun nü wen*.

A section of this text is made up of triplets or couplets of seven syllable lines, forming old style regular seven syllable rhyming verse with the rhyme in the even numbered lines. (Of the odd numbered lines, the first line and the first line of the new rhyme, that is, the ninth line, contain rhymes.) In form resembling the easy to understand "seven character lyric form" of colloquial literature, the written style is accounted vulgar.⁴²⁾ After the text are appended a four syllable eight line laudatory verse entitled *Bo Shilang zan* 白侍郎讚 (Praise from Vice-minister Bo 白), and two seven syllable four line poems. Since at the very end there are the words "printed by the Li family of the capital" (*Shangdu li jia yin* 上都李家印) (Pelliot 2633; see Figure 6), it is clear that the printing was done in Tang dynasty Chang'an.

The Vice-minister Bo of *Bo Shilang zan*, cited in these handwritten copies, indicates Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846). Therefore the printed work upon which the handwritten copies were based was printed subsequently to Bo Juyi's appointment as vice-minister of the Board of Punishments (*xingbu shilang* 刑部侍郎) (827-29). Assuming this to be the case, it is possible that this "Li 李 family" of the capital is the same printer as the "Li family" which printed and issued the above-mentioned *Xin ji beiji jiu jing*, thought to be in business at about the same time (the mid ninth century).⁴³⁾

A new transcription and tentative translation are given below, drawing upon as reference: microfilms held by the Toyo Bunko (principally Pelliot 2633 (Figure 6) and Stein 4129 (Figure 7); the annotations of Zheng Acai, Gao Guofan 高國藩, Xiang Chu, and Tan Chanxue cited above; and Ito Mieko's annotations and translation.⁴⁴⁾ The white and black dots beside characters in the original text mark the rhyming characters and rhyme changes.

香車寶馬競爭輝	The fragrant carriage and the horses ornamented with jewels compete in their splendor.
少女堂前哭正悲	About to part, before the hall, my young daughter weeps with sadness.
吾今勸汝不須哭	I urge you, don't cry,
三日拜堂還得歸	Because in three days you will be able to come back to greet our family (the bride's home visit three days after marriage).

崔氏夫人要女文一本 香奩賈島覽章 題少女堂前宋王悲思
 今版汝不須失三日拜堂還舊新君母前頭行婦札假依委莫相迷好壽
 知不見莫作本意在家時在家作女慣猶恰今他作婦婦信前緣
 欲讀三思然後出遊一少莫多言路上逢人須獻手尊卑迴避莫湯前
 次言莫向家中說家聲莫向人傳如章共語但聲應小都其語亦如然
 草輒題上起書請看婦伯並直博袖裡相看蓋莫承勇女假以此恩於上
 和下膝同舒發莫作二意有庸係夫婿解來李莫前迎處提侍妾安關道
 向人前相罵辱辱誰讓定是不和顏羞廉言依吾詩何得翁婆不愛於
 故怨此法相教亦千古千秋共流傳 白待郎讚 崔氏妻文乃女傳
 細愛而察之實亦爾得養育之法方假事人差乞禮儀過在父母詩一
 首高下獨步枝花紅脂青娥不是誇作持喜自為愁自未慣離
 家往尋家 又詩一首拜別高堂日飲殿中巾披派黃菊花枝來生處
 却為客今日隨夫始是家上都李家印 崔氏夫人畫本

Figure 6: Pelliot 2633: Detail of *Cuishi furen yao nü wen*

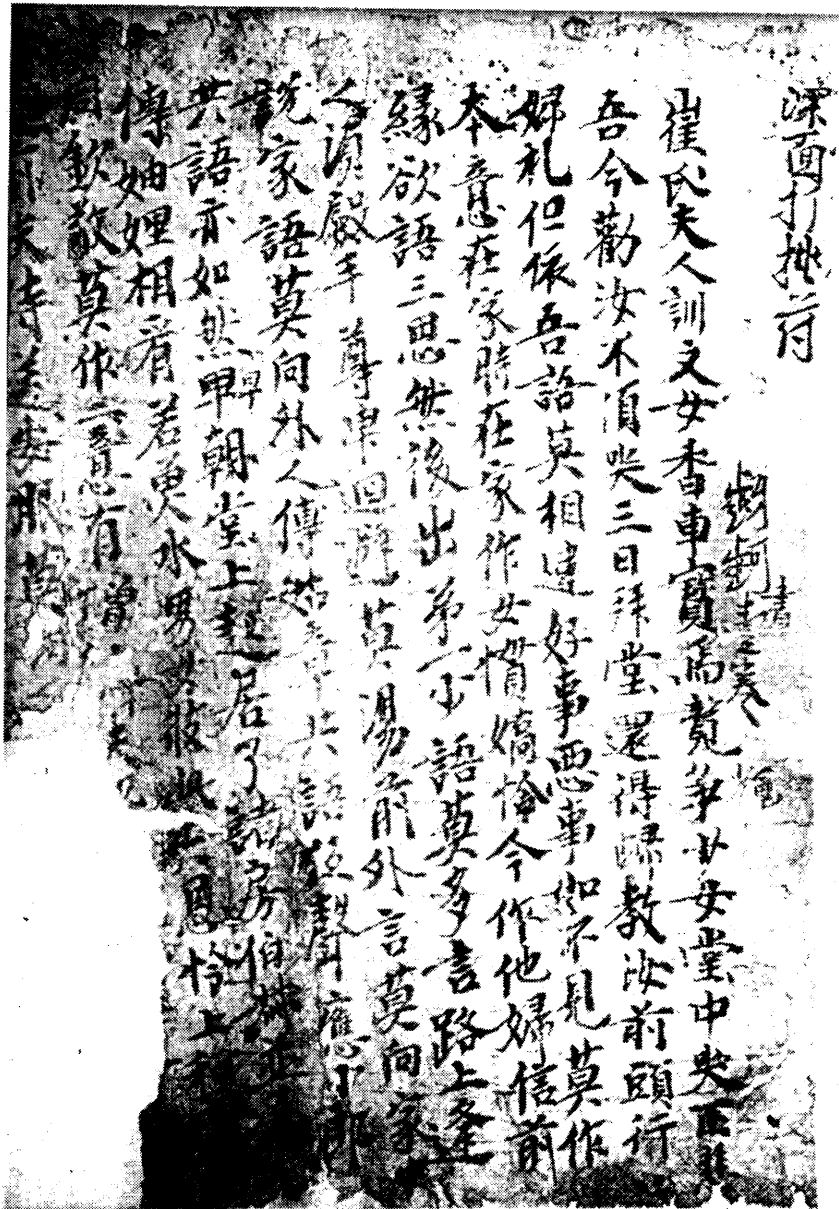


Figure 7: Steín 4129: Detail of *Cuishi furen xun nü wen*

- 教汝前頭行婦禮
 但依吾語莫相違
 好事惡事如不見
 莫作本意在家時
 在家作女慣嬌伶
 今作他婦信前緣
 欲語三思然後出
 第一少語莫多言
 路上逢人須斂手
 尊卑迴避莫湯前
 外言莫向家中說
 家語莫向外人傳
 姑_(嫂)章共語低聲應
 小郎共語亦如然
 早朝堂上起居了
 諸房伯叔竝通傳
 妯娌相看若魚水
 男女彼此共恩伶
 上和下睦同欽敬
 莫作二意有庸偏
 夫壻醉來含笑問
 迎前扶侍送安眠
 莫向人前相罵辱
- Let me tell you how from now on you should conduct yourself as a wife.
 Follow my words carefully and don't deviate from them.
 Whether good things or bad things, turn a blind eye to them.
 Don't follow your own inclinations as you did at home.
 At home, as a daughter, like that it was always charming,
 But now as preordained you are to be a wife in another family.
 If you want to say anything, think before you speak,
 For the first thing is to say little. Don't be talkative.
 If you meet someone on the street, you must put your hands together (the courteous gesture of folding the hands together in front of the chest) in greeting,
 And whether they are superiors or inferiors, give way.
 Don't be pushy.
 Don't repeat outside gossip within the family,
 And don't pass household gossip on to outsiders.
 When speaking with your parents-in-law, talk softly,
 And do the same when speaking to your husband's younger brothers.
 Get up early and at the main apartment, inquire after the health of your parents-in-law,
 And greet the uncles from all the apartments. (*Shu bo* 叔伯: Zheng gives *bo shu* 伯叔.)
 Regard your sisters-in-law like birds of a feather,
 And treat all their children, boys and girls, with affection.
 Obey your superiors and be kind to your inferiors, treating all with respect. (For *mu* 睦, Xiang gives *shen* 慎.)
 Do not be two-faced or show favoritism. (For *yong* 庸, Xiang gives *zeng* 憎.)
 If your husband comes home drunk, greet him with a smile. (For *wen* 問, Xiang and Ito give *xiang* 向.)
 Help him to bed to rest peacefully. (For *qian* 前, Gao gives *yuan* 愿. For *mo* 抹, Xiang gives *fu* 服. For *song* 送, Gao and Ito give *ruo* 若.)
 Don't shame him in front of others by nagging him.

(For *xiang*, Gao gives *wen*. For *ma ru* 罵辱, Zheng gives *ru ma* 辱罵.)

醒後定是不和顏
若能一一依吾語
何得翁婆不愛怜
故留此法相教示
千秋萬古共流傳

It's better to put on a stern face after he sobers up.
If you can follow my words, letter by letter,
You will be sure to grow old together without a care.
So I leave these instructions with you,
To be passed on for time immemorial.

白侍郎讚
崔氏訓女
萬古傳名
細而察之
實亦周備
養育之法
方擬事人
若乏禮儀
過在父母

Praise from Vice-minister Bo
Madam Cui's instructions to her daughter
Are famous through the ages.
When looked at in detail,
They really cover everything.
Her mode of upbringing
Seems just what is of service.
If etiquette is neglected,
The fault lies with parents.

詩一首
亭亭獨步一枝花

A Poem
Graceful and beautiful, she walks alone, a young girl
like a flower.

紅臉青娥不是誇
作將喜貌爲愁貌
未慣離家住婿家

It's no exaggeration to say she has a rosy complexion
and dark eyebrows.
Her happy expression is presently replaced by a sad
expression,
For she is not yet used to living away from her own
family in her husband's family.

又詩一首
拜別高堂日欲斜

Another Poem
As they leave the high hall (refers to the afore-men-
tioned visit by the couple to the wife's family three
days after the wedding), the sun is setting,
The high-born budding flower of a young girl wiping
away her tears with a red kerchief.

紅巾拭淚貴新花
徒來生處却爲客

She has returned to the home where she was born,
but as a guest.

今日隨夫始是家

Now, following her husband, for the first time she
becomes "family."

上都李家印
崔氏夫人壹本

Printed by the Li family of the capital
One volume from "Madam Cui"

A multiplicity of "admonitions to women," chiefly advocating submissive-

ness in women about to be married out of the clan, had already emerged in the Latter Han when in the second century, an attitude to women whose premise was patrilineal society, and Confucian values permeated Chinese intellectual society.⁴⁵⁾ Into the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern dynasties 魏晉南北朝, with the decay of the united empire and the invasion of northern China by non-Han peoples, overlaid by the penetration of Buddhism and the like, Confucianism decayed of its own accord, but the philosophy of instructions to women was perpetuated as a moral code of the aristocratic society of Han Chinese deriving from the Latter Han.

With the reunification of China under the Sui and Tang, Confucianism, which legitimated the correspondence between the concept of dynastic rule and the order of commoner society, was revived. All kinds of typical instructional texts for women, like Zheng 鄭's *Nü Xiao jing* 女孝經 (Female Classic of Filial Piety) and Song Ruozhao 宋若昭's *Nü Lunyu* 女論語 (Analects for Women) were adopted as teaching materials in private study, and would seem to have had a wide circulation.⁴⁶⁾ In particular, from the end of the eighth century, when the An-Shi Rebellion 安史の亂 (755–63) opportunely reduced the area under dynastic control, and international friction increased, to the late Tang period in the ninth century, the revival of Confucianism was brought about by officials who had newly gained power by means of the examination system, based on moral duty theory. This development formed the nucleus of the later Neo-Confucian movement of the Song dynasty. This was the period when the Confucian values perpetuated since the Latter Han in aristocratic households began to permeate widely through intellectual society.

The printing of *Cuishhi furen xun nü wen* in the dynastic capital of Chang'an came in the midst of this trend toward the revival of Confucianism. From the circulation of this printed item, a further speeding up in the penetration of Confucian values may be concluded. Along with the relationship with the husband, the content emphasises the relationship with the family members of the family into which the woman marries, that is, the parents in law, the husband's brothers and their wives and children. The freedom and heterogeneous Confucian values of women in the Early and Flourishing Tang periods glimpsed from the pottery funerary figures of horsewomen and the like expire with this text copy. Moreover, this text copy affords an insight into the marriage customs between households of the aristocracy in Chang'an.

II. Commerce in Chang'an and the Eastern Market Printing Industry

If the above-mentioned single printed item from Chang'an's eastern market (the annotated almanac) and the two hand written copies of printed items (the book on moxibustion and the instructions to a daughter) are to be placed in the general context of the printing industry of the late Tang and its special charac-

teristics are to be investigated, the result is as suggested below.

1. Types of Printed Items, Where They Were Printed, and Their Areas of Circulation (See Table 3: Review of Tang Dynasty Printed Items)

The types of printed items (including both extant printed items and those documented in historical sources), arranged in quantitative order, are: works relating to Buddhism (11 examples: 5 Dharani sutras+3 on Vajra teachings+2 others); calendars and almanacs (5 examples); dictionaries (4 examples); a moxibustion classic (1 example); a text of instructions to a daughter (1 example); a Daoist tale (1 example).⁴⁷⁾ These statistics directly display the penetration in the ninth century of esoteric Buddhism and Vajra teachings and the popularity of privately produced calendars.

As may be inferred from Table 3 and Song dynasty examples of printed items, the transformations in printed items would seem to have gone from stamp form (Buddha chops, Buddha rubbings) to woodblock print pictures (Buddhist religious prints), and the emergence of printed items in the form of print pictures with text added (a printed Buddhist prayer or calendar). Then came the genesis of the book form dictionary or classical book with text alone, expanding to the popularity of family published and privately printed works. Printing in the ninth century is the first rung on the ladder to the golden age of printing, when by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was large-scale printing of classics and of family published and privately printed books.

According to Table 3, among the extant items printed in Chang'an's eastern market in the Tang dynasty, none relate to Buddhism. It would seem, however, that, given the popularity of Buddhism at the time, that from the beginning to the end of the Tang dynasty, Chang'an would consistently maintain the status of being the greatest center of Chinese Buddhist culture. Supposing this to be so, in the print works of the eastern market, likewise, printing connected with Buddhism would have been bound to have been carried out. From the tombs on the outskirts of Chang'an, up until now, there have been excavated three Dharani sutra mantras. Namely, in 1967, in Fengxi in the western suburbs of Xi'an 西安, one Dharani sutra mantra in Sanskrit (Table 3, #16) was excavated from a Tang tomb, while in 1974 and 1975, two Dharani sutra mantras (one in Sanskrit and one in Chinese) were excavated in the western suburbs of Xi'an (Table 3, #15).⁴⁸⁾ While these printed items did not record the names of their printers, naturally it would appear, from the location of their discovery, that they were the products of Chang'an printers.⁴⁹⁾

The printing locations seen in Table 3, (excluding Silla 新羅 and Heijokyo 平城京), comprise: Xichuan 西川 and Dongchuan 東川 circuits in Jiannan 劍南, including Chengdu 成都 (6 examples and one presumed example); Chang'an (3 examples and 3 presumed examples); Luoyang 洛陽 (1 presumed example); the

Table 3: Review of Tang Dynasty Printed Items

	Date of Printing	Extant Printed Item	Historical Source	(a) Printer (b) Print Technology	Place Where Printed	Place Where Excavated/Held	Source Work
1	705-751 (following translation into Chinese of Dharani sutra 陀羅尼經: time of setting up Sakyamuni pagoda)	<i>Vimala Nirbhasa Sutra</i> 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經		(b) Woodblock printed scroll	Silla 新羅 (presumed)	Sakyamuni Pagoda, Pulguk-sa temple 佛國寺, Kyongju 慶州, S. Korea (discovered 1965)	Yi Hongshik 李弘植, "Keishu Bukkokuji Shakato Hakken no Mukujoko Daidaranikyo 慶州佛國寺釋迦塔發見の無垢淨光大陀羅尼經," Chosen Gakuho 朝鮮學報, 49, 1968.
2	770 (under Empress Shotoku 稱徳天皇 of Japan, Hoki寶龜 1)	<i>Vimala Nirbhasa Sutra</i> (Various types extant, eg., width 4.8 cm / length 49.2 cm)		(a) Donation of Empress Shotoku b) not clear if wood block or copper plate	Heijokyo 平城京	Horyuji temple 法隆寺 & elsewhere	Nihon Insatsu Gakkai 日本印刷學會 (Western Section) Hyakuman Daroni Kenkyuhan 百萬陀羅尼研究班 edited, <i>Hyakuman Daroni no kenkyu</i> 百萬陀羅尼の研究, Yagi Shoten 八木書店, 1986
3	835 (Taihe 太和 9, 12 th month)		printed calendars 印曆・時憲書	(a) private printer (b) wood block	Jiannan 劍南兩川道 Huainan dao 淮南道		<i>Jiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書 17B, Annals of Wenzong 文宗 <i>Ce fu yuan gui</i> 冊府元龜 160, <i>Diwangbu</i> 帝王部, <i>Gebi</i> 革弊 <i>Quan Tang wen</i> 全唐文 624, Feng Su 馮宿, <i>Jin banyin shixianshu zou</i> 禁版印時憲書奏
4	before 847 (before Huiyun 惠運)		<i>Long san shi shiba hui</i> 隆三世十八會 1				<i>Huiyun lishi shu mulu</i> 惠運律師書目錄
5	847-49 (during He Gangao 紇干皐's governorship of Jiangxi 江西)		<i>Liu Hong zhuan</i> 劉弘傳 1000 block print copies	(a) He Gangao 紇干皐, governor of Jiangxi	Jurisdiction of governor of Jiangxi		<i>Yun xi you yi</i> 雲溪友議 B
6	before 861 (before year when hand copied)	<i>Xin ji beiji jiu jing</i> (hand copy of printed item)		(a) Li family 李家 (private printer)	Li family of Eastern Market, Chang'an 長安東市李家	Dunhuang 敦煌	Pelliot 2675 (see Figures 4 & 5)
7	Before 865 (before Zongrui 宗叡 left China)		(a) <i>Tang yun</i> 唐韻 1, 5 (b) <i>Yu pian</i> 玉篇 1, 30		Xichuan 西川		Zongrui, <i>Xin shu xie qing lai fa men deng mulu</i> 新書寫請來法門等目錄, Taisho zokyo 大正藏經, 55, P. 1111.
8	868 (Xiantong 咸通 9)	Diamond Sutra 金剛般若波羅密經 (width 30.5cm: length 488 cm)		(a) Wangjie 王玠 (deposited with printer)		Dunhuang	Sein P.2 (Giles 8083)

9	873-79 (during Sikong Tu 司空圖's 1 st visit to Luoyang 洛陽)		800 reprinted copies of <i>Riguang jiu shu</i> 日光舊疏 (Date of original printing unclear)		Luoyang (presumed)		Sikong Tu, Sikong <i>Biaosheng wen ji</i> 司空表聖文集 9, "Wei Dongdu Jingaisi jiang lu seng Huijui huamu diaoke li shu 爲東都敬愛寺講律僧惠確化募雕刻律疏"
10	877 (Qianfu 乾符 4)	Almanac for <i>ding you year</i> 丁酉日曆		(a) Private printing (presumed) (b) one sheet print		Dunhuang	Stein P.6 (Giles 8099) (see Figure 2)
11	881-85 (when Xizong 僖宗 was in Shu)		Tang edition 唐本	(a) Private printing	Jiangnan dong dao 江南東道		<i>Tang yulin</i> 唐語林 7, Buyi 補遺
12	882 (Zhonghe 中和 2)	Fan Shang family almanac 樊賞家曆		(a) Fan Shang family 樊賞家 (private printer) (b) one sheet printing	Chengdu 成都 (Fan Shang family of Chengdu, Xichuan, Jiannan 劍南)	Dunhuang	Stein P.10 (Giles 8100)
13	883 (Zhonghe 3)		Works on <i>yin yang</i> 陰陽, assorted opinions, interpreting dreams, siting houses, the Nine Heavenly Mansions, the Five Apocrypha, dictionaries, and minor learning (probably all block printed)	(a) private printer	Chengdu 成都 (presumed)		<i>Airizhai congchao</i> 愛日齋叢鈔 1, preface to "Liushi jiaxun 柳氏家訓"
14	902 (Tianfu 天福 2)	Diamond Sutra (hand copy of printed item)		(a) Guo family 過家 (private printer)	Guo family 過家 of Xichuan	Dunhuang	Stein 5695 (Other hand written copies of the Diamond Sutra "authentically printed by the Guo family of Xiquan" are Stein 5444, 5451, 5534, 5544, 5669, 6726; Pelliot 2876, 3398, 3493. The dates when they were copied continue on into Latter Jin of the Five Dynasties)
15	Early or Flourishing Tang (presumed)	2 Dharani sutra mantras 呪: Sanskrit, Early Tang; Chinese, Flourishing Tang			Chang'an (presumed)	Tang tomb in Xi'an 西安唐墓 (burial date unclear; discovered 1974-5)	Bao Quan 保全, "Shijie zui zaodi yinshuapin: 世界最早的印刷品 Xi'an Tang mu chutu yinben Tuoluoni jing zhou 西安唐墓出土印本陀羅尼經呪," <i>Zhongguo kaoguxue yanjiu lunji</i> 中國考古學研究論集 1: <i>Jinian Xia Nai xiansheng kaogu wushi zhou nian</i> 一紀年夏鼐先生考古五十周年, Xi'an 西安, San Qjn Chubanshe 三秦出版社, 1987

16	Flourishing Tang (presumed)	Dharani sutra mantras (Sanskrit) (width 28.1~28.3; length 32.3~32.7 cm)		(b) One sheet printing	Chang'an (presumed)	Tang tomb, Fengxi 灋西, Xi'an 西安 (burial date unclear; discovered 1967)	An Jiayao 安家瑤 & Feng Xiaotang 馮孝堂, "Xi'an Fengxi chutudi Tang yinben Fanwen Tuoluoni jing zhou 西安灋西出土的唐印本梵文陀羅尼經呪, (A Tang printed Dharani sutra mantra excavated at Fengxi 灋西, Xi'an 西安)," <i>Kaogu</i> 考古 1998/5
17	End of Tang dynasty (presumed)	Dharani sutra mantra		(a) Bian family 卞家 (private printer)	Chengdu (Bian family of Longchi ward 龍池坊卞家, Chengdu)	Tang tomb, Chengdu (burial date unclear, discovered 1944)	Feng Hanji 馮漢驥, "Ji Tang yinben Tuoluoni jing zhoudi faxian 記唐印本陀羅尼經呪的發現, (Excavation report on a Tang printed Dharani sutra mantra)," <i>Wenwu cankao ziliao</i> 文物參考資料 1957/5
18	End of Tang dynasty (presumed)	Diao family almanac 刁家印日曆 (width 17 cm; length 7 cm)		major Diao family 大刁家 (private printer)	major Diao family of Eastern Market 東市大刁家, Chang'an	Dunhuang	Stein P.12 (Giles 8101) (see Figure 1)
19	End of Tang dynasty (presumed)	<i>Cuishi furen xun nü wen</i> (hand written copy of printed item)		Li family (private printer)	Li family of Chang'an 長安李家	Dunhuang	Pelliot 2633, 3780; Stein 4129, 5643 (see Figures 6 & 7)
20	Tang dynasty	<i>Miu bu qian qie yun</i> printed in Great Tang 大唐刊謬補欠切韻					Pelliot 2014, 2015, 4747, 5531
21	Tang dynasty (presumed)	Diamond Sutra (hand written copy of printed item)			Xichuan	Dunhuang	Pelliot 2094; Stein 5450

Note 1. While this table represents a summary of items printed in the Tang dynasty, the oldest extant printed items include items printed in Korea and Japan, (#1 & #2).

Note 2. In the course of compiling this table, the "To Godai choin nenpyo 唐・五代雕印年表 (Table of block prints of the Tang and Five dynasties)," included in Ishida Yoshimitsu 石田義光's "To Godai no choin 唐・五代の雕印 (Block prints of the Tang and Five dynasties)," *Shukan Toyo gaku* 集刊東洋學 10, 1963) was included. Please refer to the studies cited in that work.

middle reaches of the Yangzi River 揚子江 (2 examples); and the lower reaches of the Yangzi River (1 example). They are regions where the commercial economy was developed. As it would seem that printed items from Chengdu or Xiquan circuit in Jiannan and from Chang'an circulated as far as Dunhuang, it may be concluded that in the ninth century, the products of private print works in Chengdu and Chang'an had a market throughout China. The privately produced almanacs, household medical books (books on moxibustion), and instructions to daughters and the like printed in Chang'an were printed items aimed at ordinary households. This fact shows the metropolitan culture of Chang'an seen in the compilation of calendars, medical techniques, or marriage customs reaching distant regions, beginning with Dunhuang.

2. The Reasons for Printers Carrying on Their Trade in the Eastern Market of Chang'an

At the end of the Tang dynasty, the eastern market was located in Chang'an city at the heart of the district where a concentration of the upper class resided. It was a major collection and distribution center for the goods of the entire Chinese market. This then was the backdrop for the establishment of the eastern market printing industry. The eastern market and the districts in its environs were the meeting ground for merchants from widely separated regions throughout China. In addition, every year, from the tenth to the twelfth months, it was also the place visited by candidates coming up to the capital for the doctoral and civil service selection examinations resident in the provinces and their servants, over ten thousand persons in all. The capital liaison offices (*jinzouyuan* 進奏院), the metropolitan branch offices of all the regional military commissioners, were also concentrated in this district. The capital liaison offices were not simply organs for the collection of information, but combined functions of the finance industry. It may be said that the information sheets about central government political circles sent to the generals in all the regional military commissions represent the beginning of newspapers in China.⁵⁰⁾

In short, the eastern market and the districts in its environs constituted the information center not just of the city of Chang'an, but of the whole of China. In this environment, it seems, the Li and Diao family printers of the eastern market were able to accumulate and print the latest information on calendars and almanacs, and medical books, and trade their products throughout China.

Concluding Remarks

The rise in recent years of research into publishing culture has given the same depth of consideration to the topics, neglected in earlier studies of the history of printing, of printers, circulation routes, classes of readers, reading behav-

iors, and the significance of spaces devoted to reading. Thus methods for comprehensively analysing the cultural role performed by printing within society have come to be opened up.⁵¹⁾ This article aims at setting out the contents and characteristics of items printed in a market of Tang dynasty Chang'an and investigating the role played by the printing industry of Chang'an, as well as examining the degree to which the printing culture of that time played a role in society. On this point, however, the analysis in this article is extremely tentative.

In general, printed artifacts, by creating information shared in common, introduced commonly shared values to people in general. On this point, it may be possible to say in brief that the circulation in the latter half of the Tang dynasty of all kinds of printed items, beginning with the printed items from the eastern market, set in motion the unification of China into one cultural sphere. The printed artifacts of the latter half of the Tang dynasty were rarely printed in book form, and print runs and their market seem to have been limited. As a result, care must be taken not to over-value the cultural influence of the printing industry in the latter half of the Tang. The fact that the prototype of the printing industry which rapidly developed with the coming of the Song dynasty is already seen in the cities of the latter half of the Tang, beginning with the capital, Chang'an, clearly cannot be overlooked when considering the history of printing in China.

The reason why, in the calendar annotations and the book on moxibustion, there are various taboos and prohibited items, would seem to be that the holding in common of taboos and prohibitions was an effective means to bind people together in fellowship. Thus, it surely may be said that, while the persuasive power in the content of the taboos and rules was certainly important, over and above that, the very existence of taboos and rules carried the significance of forging connections between people. It may be concluded that the circulation of printed items, making common property of the taboos and rules previously generated by word of mouth, in one action spread them by region and by class. It thus created a wide-scale group consciousness of commonly held taboos and rules, contributing to the formation of a common cultural sphere.

The importance of the printing industry to the formation of modern Europe is widely recognized. In recent years, there has been discussion of the important role, at the time of the Reformation, played by the circulation of printing of Bibles translated into vernacular languages, such as German and French. The diffusion of printing through vernacular languages of various regions, broke the monopoly on information of the classical language of Latin, stimulating the social integrity of each region and establishing the basis for the formation of the nation state.⁵²⁾

In the case of East Asia, in a development comparable with the transformation in status of Latin in Europe, there was what may be called a relative diminution in circulation of the previously universal language, classical Chinese. That is to say, after the eighth century, pioneered by the Turkish script, regions on the

periphery of China began to use their own scripts. From the twelfth century, stimulated by the development of the printing industry in China, printed artifacts in the Xixia 西夏, Uighur 回紇, Jurchen 女真, Tibetan 吐蕃, and Japanese languages appeared in succession, symbolizing the cultural integrity of each region.

In China, as seen from the privately produced calendars, book on moxibustion and instructions to a daughter treated here, it may be understood that a literary style of simple Chinese characters, removed from the classical language, or colloquial style, in part using vernacular language, came to penetrate society with the spread of printing. While it is clear that the printing industry in all parts of China nourished independent regional printing cultures, in China, up until recent times, there was no diffusion of printing in the form of independent regional vernaculars based on phonetic script. To the end, the Chinese script largely made up of ideographical elements, maintained its status as a common script, promoting simplification.

Thus, in China, as the development of the printing industry promoted the simplification of the classical language, the integration of society was stimulated as the common ownership of information by everyone was made easier. On the other hand, on the periphery of China, with the appearance of printing in various non-phonetic languages of an ideographical nature (with Xixia language using a phonetic script), in all regions of East Asia, printing cultures of their various national languages took root. In China, from the Tang to the Song dynasties, in response to the development of the printing industry, the simplification of the Chinese language was promoted, while on the periphery of China, independent scripts were devised in the various regions. Thus it may be concluded that the genesis of printing in various languages and the development of social integration in the various regions of East Asia were parallel phenomena. This topic, however, needless to say, is beyond the scope of the argument in this article, and requires an accumulation of relatively thoughtful discussion.

Notes

- 1) For research on the history of Chinese printing published up until the early 1980s, the Bibliography included on pp. 384-450 of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume V:1 Paper and Printing* (by Tsien Tsuen-Hsün 錢存訓), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) is convenient to use. More recently, Pan Jixing 潘吉星, *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi: Zaozhi yu yinshua juan* 中國科學技術史造紙與印刷卷 (The History of Chinese Science and Technology: Volume on Papermaking and Printing) (Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科學出版社, 1998) includes works on the history of printing in China up to 1997.
- 2) Regarding the time of the first printing, while theories vary, in general it is thought to have been practiced already in the seventh century, in the early Tang period and to have spread in the ninth century, in the mid and late Tang. The oldest extant printed item discovered in the Pulguk-sa temple 佛國寺 in Kyongju 慶州 in South Korea 韓國 (a *dharani* mantra scroll) is thought to have been printed between the years 705 and

- 751 (see Table 3, #1). A recent detailed publication on the origin of printing, Cao Zhi's *Zhongguo yinshuashudi qi yuan* 曹之, 中國印刷術的起源 (The Sources of the Printing Craft in China) (Wuchang 武昌, Wuhan University Press 武漢大學出版社, 1994), comprehensively analysing the questions of society's need for printing, its material basis in paper and so on, and the formation of printing techniques, demonstrates that printing began at the beginning of the Tang dynasty. For the debate regarding the era when the printing industry began in China, see the articles included in the *Shanghai Xinsijun lishi yanjiuhui* 上海新四軍歷史研究會 *Yinshua yincho fenhui* 印刷印鈔分會 ed., *Diaobanyinshua yuanliu: Zhongguo yinshua shiliao xuanji zhi yi* 雕版印刷源流中國印刷史料選輯之一 (The Origins of Wood Block Printing: Selected Historical Sources on Printing in China) (Yinshua Gongye Chubanshe 印刷工業出版社, 1990). See also Su Bai 宿白, "Tang Wudai shichi diaobanyinshua shougongyedi fazhan 唐五代時期雕版印刷手工業的發展 (The Development of the Craft Industry of Wood Block Printing in the Tang and Five Dynasties Periods)," *Wenwu* 文物 1981:5.
- 3) For articles by Chen Zuolong 陳祚龍 on printing in Chang'an, see his "Guanyu Dunhuang gu chao Li Tang Cuishi furen xun nü wen 關於敦煌古鈔李唐「崔氏夫人訓女文」 (Regarding the ancient copy of the Tang work *Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter*)" (in Chen Zuolong, *Dunhuang xuehai tan zhu* 敦煌學海探珠, vol. 1, Taipei 臺北, Commercial Press of Taiwan 臺灣商務印書館, 1979, originally published in *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌, Second Series, 9/2, 1975); and his "Guanyu woguo shixing diaoban yinshupindi lao wenti 關於我國始行雕版印刷品的「老」問題 (Regarding the question of 'age' of the earliest printed items in China)" (in Chen Zuolong, *Dunhuang jiance dingcun* 敦煌簡策訂存, Taipei, Commercial Press of Taiwan, 1983, originally published in *Min zhu chao* 民主潮 23/6, 1973).
 - 4) Su Bai, "Sui Tang Chang'an cheng he Luoyangcheng 隋唐長安城和洛陽城 (The Sui and Tang cities of Chang'an and Luoyang)," *Kaogu* 考古 1978(6), p. 417.
 - 5) Weng Tongwen 翁同文, "Shijieshi shang zuizaodi zhong wan Tang jian Chang'an chuban shang 世界史上最早的中晚唐間長安出版商 (The world's earliest printing business in mid to late Tang Chang'an)," (in *Tangdai yanjiu lunji* 唐代研究論集, fourth compilation, Taipei, Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1992, originally published in *Zhongguo wenzi* 中國文字 New Series 111, Special issue in memory of Yan Yiping 嚴一萍先生逝世週年紀念特刊, 1987).
 - 6) Seo Tatsuhiko 妹尾達彦, "Todai Choan no sakariba 唐代長安的盛り場 (上) (The busiest quarters of Tang dynasty Chang'an, Part I)" (*Shiryu* 史流 27, 1986), p. 42, and "Todai Choan no tempo ritchi to gaisei no chifudan 唐代長安の店舗立地と街西の致富譚 (The location of shops and the success story of a merchant in the West Market in Tang Chang'an) (in *Nunome Chofu hakase koki kinen ronshu: Higashi Ajiya no ho to shakai* 布目潮瀾 博士古稀記念論集 東アジアの法と社會, Tokyo 東京, Kyuko Shoin 汲古書院, 1990, p. 120).
 - 7) Lu Shen 魯深, "Shanxi diaoban yuanliu kao 陝西雕版源流考 (A study of the origins of Shaanxi wood block printing)," (*Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 1985/4), and "Shanxi dui Zhongguo gudai chuban shiyedi gongxian 陝西對中國古代出版事業的貢獻 (The contribution of Shaanxi to China's ancient printing industry)," (*Shanxi shifan daxue xuebao* (Zhexue shehui kexue ban) 「陝西師範大學學報」哲學社會科學版 22/1, 1993).
 - 8) Shu Xue 舒學, "Dunhuang hanwen yishuzhong diaobanyinshua ziliao zongxu 敦煌漢文遺書中雕版印刷資料綜敘 (Collected block printed materials from the Dunhuang legacy of Chinese documents)," (Zhongguo Dunhuang Tulufan xuehui Yuyan wenxue fenhui edited 中國敦煌吐魯蕃學會—語言文學分會編纂, *Dunhuang yuyan wenxue yanjiu* 敦煌語言文學研究, Beijing, Beijing University Press 北京大學出版社,

- 1988).
- 9) Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* 中國印刷史 (The history of printing in China), (Shanghai 上海, Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1989), pp. 24-25.
 - 10) Lin Congming 林聰明, *Dunhuangxue daolun congkan yi: Dunhuang wenshuxue* 敦煌學導論叢刊——敦煌文書學 (Miscellany of guides to Dunhuang studies 1: Dunhuang literary studies), (Taipei, Xin Wen Feng Chuban 新文豐出版, 1991), pp. 31-50.
 - 11) Luo Shubao 羅樹寶 edited, *Zhongguo gudai yinshua shi* 中國古代印刷史 (The history of printing in ancient China), (Beijing, Yinshua Gongye Chubanshe, 1993), p. 96.
 - 12) Yan Wenru and Yan Wanjun 閻文儒/閻萬鈞, *Liangjing chengfang kaobu* 兩京城坊考補 (Supplementary studies on the wards of the two capitals), (Zhengzhou 鄭州, Henan Renmin Chubanshe 河南人民出版社, 1992), p. 418.
 - 13) Zhao Jianxiong 趙健雄, "Dunhuang xieben *Xin ji bei ji jiu jing chu tan* 敦煌寫本新集備急灸經初探 (Preliminary investigation of the Dunhuang draft of *Xin ji bei ji jiu jing*)," *Zhongguo zhenjiu* 中國針灸 1986/1.
 - 14) See also Ma Jixing 馬繼興, "Dunhuang chutudi gu zhenjiutu 敦煌出土的古針灸圖 (Ancient charts for acupuncture and moxibustion unearthed at Dunhuang)," *Zhongguo zhenjiu* 1985/5.
 - 15) There is also a simple analysis of *Cuishi xun nü wen* in Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, "Dunhuang wenxianzhongdi guanggao wenxue 敦煌文獻中的廣告文學 (Publicity literature among the Dunhuang documents)," (in *Shan niao xia ting shi, Yan hua luo jiuzhong: Tangdai wenxue luncong* 山鳥下聽事, 簷花落酒中—唐代文學論叢, Guoli Zhongzheng daxue *Zhongguo wenxue* 國立中正大學中國文學系, 1998), pp. 659-661.
 - 16) Xiang Chu 項楚, *Dunhuang shige daolun* 敦煌詩歌導論 (Guide to Poetry and Lyrics from Dunhuang), (Taipei, Xin Wenfeng Chuban 新文豐出版, 1993), pp. 201-203.
 - 17) Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, *Dunhuang hunyin wenhua* 敦煌婚姻文化 (Dunhuang Marriage Culture), (Lanzhou 蘭州, Gansu Renmin Chubanshe 甘肅人民出版社, 1993), pp. 18-21.
 - 18) Of almanacs among the Dunhuang documents, almost all are transcribed in Deng Wenkuan 鄧文寬 *Dunhuang tianwen lifa wenxian jijiao* 敦煌天文曆法文獻輯校 (Compilation of Documents on Astronomy and Calendar Lore from Dunhuang), (Nanjing 南京, Nanjing Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 南京江蘇古籍出版社, 1996), but the "big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market 上都東市大刁家大印" is not included. Besides, for the "annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year (877) 丁酉年 (乾符四年〈八七七〉) 具注曆日," while the upper part with the calendar is included (*ibid.*, pp. 198-231 being a transcription with interpretation and notes), the annotations to the calendar in the lower section are not transcribed.
 - 19) Giles' bibliography No. 8101 (L. Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, London, 1967, p. 280) gives it as "Fragment of a calendar (lower left-hand corner) probably printed in the 9th cent. At and: *Shang du dongshi da Dao* (sic) *jia da yin* 上都東市大刁家大印 'Large print of the Great Sword family in the East Market of Shang-tu [i.e. Ch'ang-an].' 17x7 cm. P.12." Photographs of the three printed calendars are included in Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Historical Research 中國社會科學院歷史研究所, edited, *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian (Hanwen Fojiao yiwai bufen)* 英藏敦煌文獻 (漢文佛教以外部份) (Dunhuang Documents Held in Britain (Section of Materials in Chinese Other Than Buddhist Works) vol. 14, (Chengdu 成都, Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1995).
 - 20) In general, as regards the designation of #1 as "da Diao family 大刁家" of the eastern

market, it is thought that the character *da* was attached to the individual printer's name, like #3, the "Fan Shang family 樊賞家" of Chengdu and the "Li family 李家" of the eastern market who printed the *Xin ji beiji jiu jing* 新集備急灸經 and the "Li family" of Chang'an who printed *Cuishu xun nu wen*. It has, however, also been explained as a general designation, "the printer of the large and well-established firm of the major Diao family 大刁家." For the latter explanation, see She Xue, "Dunhuang hanwen yishuzhong diaoban yinshua ziliao zongxu," p. 289.

- 21) Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, "Tonko rekijitsufu 敦煌曆日譜 (A record of almanacs from Dunhuang)," *Toho gakuho* 東方學報 (Kyoto 京都) 45, 1973, p. 395; Yan Dunjie 嚴敦傑 "Ba Dunhuang Tang Qianfu sinian lishu 跋敦煌唐乾符四年曆書 (Colophon to the almanac from Dunhuang dated fourth year of Qianfu under the Tang)," *Zhongguo gudai tianwen wenwu lunji* 中國古代天文文物論集, Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1989.
- 22) Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, "Tonko rekijitsufu 敦煌曆日譜," p. 395.
- 23) Indicating that *Tianzei* 天賊 represents an inauspicious direction and inauspicious day, the imperial compilation of the fourth year of the Qianlong period of the Qing dynasty 清·乾隆四年奉敕撰 (1739), *Xie ji bian fang shu* 協紀辨方書 6, *Yili* 儀例 4, *Tianzei* (quoted in Li Ling 李零 edited, *Siguo fangshu gaiguan* 四國方術概觀 (An Introduction to Divination Skills from Throughout China), Beijing, Renmin Zhongguo Chubanshe 人民中國出版社, 1993, p. 235) gives: "The *Shen shu jing* (Classic of Sacred Cardinal Points) states that *Tianzei* is a robber spirit on the Moon. His day is to be avoided for travelling long distance 神樞經曰, 天賊者, 月中盜神也。其日忌遠行." Furthermore, this is to be understood from *Xie ji bian fang shu* 協紀辨方書 10, *Yiji* 宜忌, *Tianzei* (*Siguo fangshu gaiguan* 四國方術概觀, p. 348), which states: "It is counterindicated for staging happy events, for repairing storehouses, opening storehouses, or disposing of goods and assets 忌行幸, 遣使, 修倉庫, 開倉庫, 出貨財. The significance of *Tianmen* 天門, *Tianyang* 天陽, *Tianyin* 天陰 and so on is unclear, but like *Tianzei*, they seem to indicate lucky or unlucky directions.
- 24) The differences between #1, the "almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market 上都東市大刁家大印曆日" and #2, the "annotated almanac of the *dingyou* year" comprise: 2. (i) differences in arrangement of the calendar annotations; (ii) differences in content of descriptions; and (iii) whether or not the location of printing and the printer is recorded. Therein, in terms of (ii), differences in content of descriptions, over the question of the harvest of the five grains when the wind blows from the Wood Gate 木門, they differ in that #1 gives "successful" and #2 "unsuccessful." There is also the question of the sequence of noting the positions. The sequence of the *bagua* 八卦 in #1 is *tian* 天, *shui* 水, *gu* 鬼, (because of the damage the sequence is unclear) *mu* 木, *huo* 火, *feng* 風, *shi* 石, *jin* 金, while in #2 it is *tian*, *shui*, *gui*, *mu*, *feng*, *huo*, *shi*, *jin*.
- 25) For divination from winds in ancient China, see Sakade Joshin 坂出祥伸, "Kaze no kannen to kaze uranai: Chugoku kodai no gijikagaku 風の概念と風占い—中國古代の擬似科學 (The concept of wind and prognostication from winds: An ancient Chinese pseudo-science)," (in *Chugoku kodai no senpo* 中國古代の占法, Tokyo 東京, Kenbun Shuppan 研文出版, 1991, originally published in 1986), and Zhang Han 張漢, "Feng lun 風論 (On wind)," (in *Yixue qimen ti* 易學啓門題, Harbin 哈爾濱, Beifang Wenyi Chubanshe 北方文藝出版社, 1993). Although no diagram resembling that *bagua* directional diagram in #1, the "almanac in big print from the major Diao family of the metropolitan eastern market" has yet appeared in other historical materials, *Kaiyuan zhan jing* 開元占經 (Classic of Divination of the Kaiyuan Period) 91, on prognostica-

- tion from winds, and in 10, "Yisi zhan 乙巳占," prognostication from the tempests of the eight directions, are essays with relevance to this calendar.
- 26) Richard J. Smith, *Chinese Almanacs*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
 - 27) Kudo Motoo 工藤元男, *Suikochi Shinkan yori mita Shindai no kokka to shakai* 睡虎地秦簡よりみた秦代の國家と社會 (Qin dynasty state and society as seen in the Qin slips from Shuihudi), (Tokyo, Sobunsha 創文社, 1998).
 - 28) See Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅, "Sodai tenkenron no seiji rinen 宋代天譴論の政治理念 (The political concept of the debate on heavenly censure in the Song dynasty)," *Toyo bunka kenkyujo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 107, 1988; Mizoguchi Yuzo 溝口雄三, "Tenrikan no seiritu ni tsuite 天理觀の成立について (On the establishment of the concept of heavenly principle)," *Toho gaku* 東方學 86, 1993; Kinoshita Tetsuya 木下鐵矢, "Chi yori ri e: Rikushi, Oaneki, Shuki 「治」より「理」へ—陸贄・王安石・朱熹— (From rule to principle; Lu Zhi 陸贄, Wang Anshi 王安石, and Zhu Xi 朱熹)," *Toyoshi kenkyu* 東洋史研究 55/3, 1996.
 - 29) For the political significance in China of distribution of the official calendar and the history of the rivalry between official and folk calendars, see Yabuuchi Kiyoshi 藪内清, *Zui To rekihoshi no kenkyu* 隋唐曆法史の研究 (A Study of the History of Calendar Making in the Sui and Tang), (Tokyo, Sanseido 三省堂, 1944), pp. 47-49; Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒, *Fujireki e no michi: Chugoku chusei no kagaku to kokka* 授時曆への道—中國中世の科學と國家 (The Road to the Officially Conferred Calendar: Medieval Chinese Science and the State), (Tokyo, Misuzu Shobo みすず書房, 1980), pp. 76-91.
 - 30) Smith, *Chinese Almanacs*.
 - 31) Ma Jixing, *Dunhuang yi guji kaoshi* 敦煌古醫籍考釋, (Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi Kexue Chubanshe 江西科學出版社, 1988), p. 442.
 - 32) Even today, similar publications are produced to meet crisis situations, as in Ran Jinli 冉金麗 and Chi Haiming 郗海銘 edited, *Beiji zhen jiu* 備急針灸 (First Aid Acupuncture and Moxibustion), (Beijing, Renmin Weisheng Chubanshe 人民衛生出版社, 1997, p. 636). They outline: (i) symptoms, (ii) names of points, (iii) techniques of acupuncture and moxibustion, and (iv) effectiveness of acupuncture and moxibustion.
 - 33) For an analysis of the moxibustion contraindications recorded on the reverse, see Lin Zhaogeng 林昭庚 and Yan Liang 鄒良, *Zhen jiu yixue shi* 針灸醫學史 (A History of the Medical Disciplines of Acupuncture and Moxibustion), (Beijing, Zhongguo zhongyiyao Chubanshe 中國中醫藥出版社, 1995), pp. 154-55.
 - 34) Naba Toshisada 那波利貞, "Tocho seifu no iryo kiko to minsho no shippei ni taisuru kyusai hoho ni tsukite no shoko 唐朝政府の醫療機構と民庶の疾病に對する救濟方法に就きての小攷 (A brief study of Tang dynasty government medical institutions and commoner methods of relief from disease)," *Shiso* 史窗 combined issue 17-18, 1960, p. 120.
 - 35) Miyashita Saburo 宮下三郎, "Tonkohon no honzo isho 敦煌本の本草醫書 (Pharmacopoeias and medical books from Dunhuang)," (in Ikeda On 池田溫, *Koza Tonko* 講座敦煌 6: *Tonko kanbun bunken* 敦煌漢文文獻, Tokyo, Daito Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1992), pp. 502-503.
 - 36) Miki Sakae 三木榮, "Seiki shutsudo iyaku kankei bunken sogo kaisetsu mokuroku 西域出土醫藥關係文獻綜合解說目錄 (Annotated joint bibliography of works regarding medicine unearthed in the Western Regions)," *Toyo gakuho* 東洋學報 47/1, 1964, p. 11.
 - 37) Ma Jixing, "Tang ren xiehui jiufa tu canjuan kao 唐人寫繪灸法圖殘卷考 (A study of extant moxibustion chart scrolls drawn up by Tang authors)," *Wenwu* 1964/6. For the

- history of acupuncture and moxibustion in China, see Lu Gwei-djen 魯桂珍 and Joseph Needham, *Celestial Lancets: A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa*, Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- 38) Naba Toshisada, "tocho seifu no iryo kiko to minsho no shippei ni taisuru kyusai hoho ni tsukite no shoko;" Miyashita Saburo, "Zui To jidai no iryo 隋唐時代の醫療 (Medical treatment in the Sui and Tang dynasties)," *Chugoku chusei kagakugijutsushi no kenkyu* 中國中世科學技術史の研究 (Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1963); Seo Tatsuhiko, "Todai Choan no sakariba (Part I)," pp. 33-36.
- 39) Ma Jixing, "Tang ren xiehui jiu fa tu canjuan kao," p. 26. For new medical thought from the mid Tang onward, that is from the emergence of theories of *yunqi* (cyclical motion of qi), see Ishida Hidemi 石田秀美, *Chugoku igaku shisoshi: mo hitotsu no igaku* 中國醫學思想史—もう一つの醫學 (A History of Chinese Medical Thought: An Alternative Medicine), (Tokyo, Tokyo University Press 東京大學出版會, 1992).
- 40) See the preface to Ikeda On, *Chugoku kodai shahon shikigo shuroku* 中國古代寫本識語集錄 (Collected Colophons of Ancient Chinese Manuscripts), (Tokyo Daigaku Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo 東京大學東洋文化研究所, 1990).
- 41) Ito Mieko 伊藤美重子, "Tonko shahon Saishi fujin kunjobun ni tsuite 敦煌寫本「崔氏夫人訓女文」について," *Toyama Daigaku Jibungakubu kiyō* 富山大學人文學部紀要 26, 1997, pp. 3-4.
- 42) *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 43) Since in Song dynasty Kaifeng 開封 and Lin'an 臨安, one private printer would produce a multiplicity of printed items, the possibility is high. On this point, see Su Bai, "Bei Song Bianliang diaoban yinshua kaolue 北宋汴梁雕版印刷考略 (A study of wood block printing in Bianliang 汴梁 (Kaifeng 開封) in Northern Song)," *Kaoguxue yanjiu* 考古學研究 1, 1992.
- 44) In interpreting this text, special attention has been paid to Zheng Acai 鄭阿財's "Dunhuang xieben Cuishi furen xun nü wen yanjiu 敦煌寫本「崔氏夫人訓女文」研究," and Ito Mieko's "Tonko shahon Saishi fujin kunjobun ni tsuite." For *Cuishi furen xun nü wen*, besides the works cited in this paper, brief analyses are given in Gao Guofan 高國藩, *Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liu bian* 敦煌古俗與民俗流變 (Old stories and folk tales from Dunhuang), (Nanjing 南京, Hehai Daxue Chuban 河海大學出版, 1989), Ch.18, pp. 462-71, "Dunhuang xieben Cuishi furen xun nü wen ji qi fengsu 敦煌寫本「崔氏夫人訓女文」及其風俗 (The handwritten copy of *Madam Cui's Instructions to her Daughter* and the customs it reflects)."
- 45) Yamazaki Jun'ichi 山崎純一. *Kyoiku kara mita Chugoku joseishi shiryō no kenkyū* 教育から見た中國女性史資料の研究 (A study of material on the history of Chinese women seen from education), (Tokyo, Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1986); Shimomi Takao 下見隆雄, *Jukyo shakai to bōsei: bōsei no iryoku no kanten de miru Kan Gi Shin Chugoku joseishi* 儒教社會と母性—母性の威力の観点でみる漢魏晉中國女性史 (Motherhood in Confucian society: The history of Chinese women in the Han, Wei and Jin dynasties seen from the attitude to the power of motherhood), (Tokyo, Kenbun Shuppan 研文出版, 1994).
- 46) See Xu Zi 徐梓 chief editor, edited and annotated by Zhang Fuqing 張福清, *Nüjie: nüxingdi jiasuo* 女誡—女性的枷鎖 (Admonitions for women: A straitjacket for women), (Beijing, Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe 中央民族大學出版社, 1996).
- 47) Zhang Hongwei 章宏偉, "Sui Tang Wudai chubanye kaoshu 隋唐五代出版業考述 (On the publishing industry of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties)," *Chubanshi yanjiu* 出版史研究 5, 1997.
- 48) Bao Quan 保全, "Shijie zui zaodi yinshuapin: Xi'an Tang mu chutu yinben Tuoluoni

jing zhou 世界最早的印刷品—西安唐墓出土印本陀羅尼經咒 (The world's oldest printed artifacts: Printed Dharani sutra mantras excavated from Tang tombs in Chang'an)," *Zhongguo kaoguxue yanjiu lunji: jinian Xia Nai xiansheng kaogu wushi zhou nian* 中國考古學研究論集—紀念夏鼐先生考古五十周年 (Xi'an 西安, San Qin Chubanshe 三秦出版社, 1987).

- 49) Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi*, p. 25. Now, from the outskirts of what was the Latter Han capital, Luoyang, a printed artifact thought to be a Dharani sutra has been excavated. See *Wenwu* 1992/3, Map 8, "A Tang hand block printed sutra mantra excavated in Luoyang 洛陽出土唐雕印經咒."
- 50) See Seo Tatsuhiko, "Todai Choan no sakariba (Part I)" and "Todai Choan no tempo ritchi to gaisei no chifutan."
- 51) Roger Chartier, "Gutenberg Revisited from the East," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 17, no. 1 (June 1996) is representative of this research trend.
- 52) Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso: London, 1983).

Postscript I

This article is a revision of the draft presented as a paper at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Ancient Chinese Capital Cities held in November 1995 in Yanshi 偃師 city, Henan 河南. (The abstract of this paper is included in *Zhongguo gudu xuehui* edited, *Zhongguo gudu yanjiu* 中國古都研究 11, Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe 陝西人民出版社, 1998.) After the draft was completed, the contents were presented at the Wei 魏, Jin 晉, Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝, Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 History Sectional Meeting of the Preparatory Conference for the International Congress on Chinese Historical Studies (February 19, 1998, at Waseda 早稻田 University). Having received all kinds of suggestions from the chairperson, Osawa Masaaki 大澤正昭, the discussant, Kaneko Shuichi 金子修一, and also from Watanabe Shinichiro 渡邊信一郎, Sekio Shiro 關尾史郎, and Maruyama Hiroshi 丸山宏, I revised part of the content. I take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to the persons named here.

Postscript II

After publication of the Japanese article which forms the basis of this article, Professor Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 sent me his article "Wudai Luoyang minjian yinshuaye yi pie" "五代洛陽民間印刷業一瞥 (A glance at the private printing industry in Luoyang in the Five Dynasties), from which I came to know of the existence of the fragment of the end of the *Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經 (Maitreya Incarnation Sutra) presumed to have been printed in Luoyang 洛陽 in the Latter Tang 後唐 dynasty (923-936) of the Five Dynasties. This printed item separately noted the names of the printer and the binder, from which it may be understood that by the Five Dynasties period, printing and binding were already separate industries. I take this opportunity to express my profound thanks to Professor Rong Xinjiang. Furthermore, with the publication of Su Bai's "Tang Song shiqidi diaoban yinshua" 唐宋時代的雕版印刷 (Block printing in the Tang and Song periods), (Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1999), Professor Su Bai's total contribution to research on printing has become clear.

Postscript III

After this article was published in Japanese in 1999 (Seo, "Todai Choan toshi no Insatsu gyo" 唐代長安東市の印刷業 in Todaishi Kenkyukai 唐代史研究會 ed., Higashi Ajia ni okeru Kokka to Chiiki 東アジアにおける國家と地域 (*States and Regions in the East Asia*),

(Tokyo: Tosui shobo 刀水書房, 1999)), I received corrections to the interpretation of the annotated almanac, Stein P.12, quoted in this article (pp. 4-14) from Dr. Huang Zhengjian 黃正建, who conducts research into Tang dynasty divination at the Historical Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (*Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 6, December 2000, pp. 461-463). Dr. Huang pointed out that the annotated almanac Stein P.12 corresponds to the "sacred tortoise method of deducing the whereabouts of left and lost" and the "bountiful harvest, eight "heavens," going on journeys chart," so I made the necessary corrections to my article. This time, having received Dr. Huang's corrections, I am publishing the translation incorporating the fresh corrections to my interpretation. Now since the annotated almanac Stein P.12 touches on many questions surrounding Tang divination, I should like to take up again questions concerning Tang calendars and divination, with this almanac as starting point, in another article.