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The Editions, Superstates, and States of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting*

THOMAS EBREY

During the first third of the seventeenth century the Chinese publisher Hu Zhengyan (1584–1674) produced one the very first examples of color woodblock printing.¹ His publication was perhaps the most beautiful set of prints ever made, the *Shuzhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting).² The *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* consists of a pair of fascicles (*ce*) for each of eight subjects, with ten pictures in most fascicles; for seven of the eight subjects each picture is accompanied by a matching poem written out by a master calligrapher. The collection also includes additional leaves illustrating painting motifs, a general introduction to the whole work, as well as a preface to each subject. Altogether there are 186 pictures, 140 poems and 30 text pages for a total of 356 folio pages (i.e. double pages), usually bound into either eight double or sixteen single fascicles.³ Although one of the poems was dated 1619 and others 1622, 1624, 1625, and 1627, the publication date usually given for the first edition of this book is 1633, the date of its general introduction.⁴

This article raises issues in the connoisseurship of the prints in the various versions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. Many museums and libraries have prints from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* and pages from their copies have frequently been reproduced, often without any effort to distinguish between early, original and late, inferior versions of the work. Indeed, many serious students of Chinese art have probably never seen an early printing from the original blocks. Moreover, since many collectors and museums have separated leaves or incomplete sets, it is often difficult for them to determine what edition they have in front of

themselves. In order to help museums, libraries, and collectors determine exactly what edition of the prints they have in their collections, I have undertaken a close study of the editions of these prints.

The subjects of the eight volumes are “Birds,” “Scholar’s Rocks,” “Fruit,” “Round Designs” (figure 1a), “Plums” (figure 2), “Bamboo” (figure 3), “Orchids,” plus an eighth set of pictures comprised of examples from most of the above categories plus several flower leaves.⁵ This last volume was probably meant as the introductory volume since in most exemplars of the book this volume contained the general introduction to the whole work.⁶ Leafing through the whole collection is almost like wandering through a Chinese garden at various times during the year and making an album of pictures of what one encounters. Each picture leaf was so skillfully cut and printed that it looks much like a painted album leaf. And in some ways each fascicle resembled a traditional Chinese painting album of ten leaves except that the thin paper of the book is not backed with stiff paper as is the case in the album-format binding.⁷ Like paintings, many of the leaves have seals and inscriptions. There is a pattern followed on the use of inscriptions and seals on the leaves beginning with early impressions of the blocks. Pictures in the “Introductory,” “Round Design” (figure 1a), “Plum” (figure 2), and “Bamboo” (figure 3) volumes have artist’s seals, and some have signatures and/or inscriptions, while the “Orchid” pictures have inscriptions but no seals, “Scholar’s Rocks” and “Birds” have only seals, and the “Fruit” volume has neither inscriptions nor seals.⁸ Each of the poems has a signature and seal of the poet/calligrapher (e.g. figure 1b).

The round pictorial image illustrated in figure 1a, from a set of leaves in the Berlin Museum of Asian Art, is one of the earliest impressions of the original blocks.⁹ The touches of color at the base of the magnolia blossoms, sparkle of a red color for the crabapple flowers, and the nesting together of the two types of flowers to fill in a natural way the circular format make for a very successful print.¹⁰ This leaf is signed by the artist, Gao You (*fl. ca. 1625*), and is followed by one of his seals, “Gao You zhi yin.” Gao You was one of the major contributors of pictures for the collection. The “Plum” leaf (figure 2) is from a very early impression of the prints in the “Plum” volume, a treasure in the collection of the Muban Educational Trust. It is of exceptional beauty in which the use of color is eschewed and the “color of ink” is enough to make a bold, striking leaf. There is a hint of perhaps an almost silver color dabbed on some of the flowers that almost no reproduction is able to present properly. The artist’s inscription is a phrase from

the poem on the following page.¹¹ It is followed by the artist's signature, Zhao Bei (fl. late Ming dynasty), and his seal giving his style name Xiangdao ren. Zhao also contributed other leaves found in the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. Another example is a leaf from the "Bamboo" volume (figure 3) with the title inscribed, "Jiyun" (Stored-Up Clouds). Note that for this leaf, as with the previous one, the calligraphy used in the title is in an archaic style. It is signed by the artist, Ge Zhongxuan (fl. 1630), followed by his seal, Zhongxuan, a seal also found on several other leaves in the complete set. In this print the only color used is in a blue sky, which sets off a band of clouds in the middle of the leaf; the blue dissolves as the sky moves away from the clouds so that by the top and bottom of the print there is almost no trace of color. The waviness of the cloud forms and the bamboos combine to make this an enchanting print.

It is something of a puzzle whether the eight volumes were published one by one from the earliest dated leaf of 1619 till 1633, the date of the general introduction, or whether they all appeared at once as part of a complete set. On the one hand, it is difficult to believe that if the blocks for a single volume had been completed, that they were not immediately used to print and sell sets of the twenty pictures and their accompanying poems. However, it may be that the originals of the pictures and poems were assembled over a number of years and the cutting of blocks delayed till all or most of the images had been gathered. At present there is no way to tell when the very first sets of images appeared. If some leaves were published soon after 1619, then these would be the first known example of true color printing (i.e. multiple-color printing done with more than one wood block and requiring careful registration of successive impressions) in East Asia; if the pictures did not appear till the date of the general introduction, 1633, then they were preceded by at least one other beautiful set of designs printed in color, the *Luoxuan biangu jianpu* (Letterpapers from the Trumpetvine Studio), published in 1626. Reflecting the great scarcity of all of the early color-woodblock printed books, only two copies of the *Trumpetvine Studio* (one of which is incomplete) are known.¹²

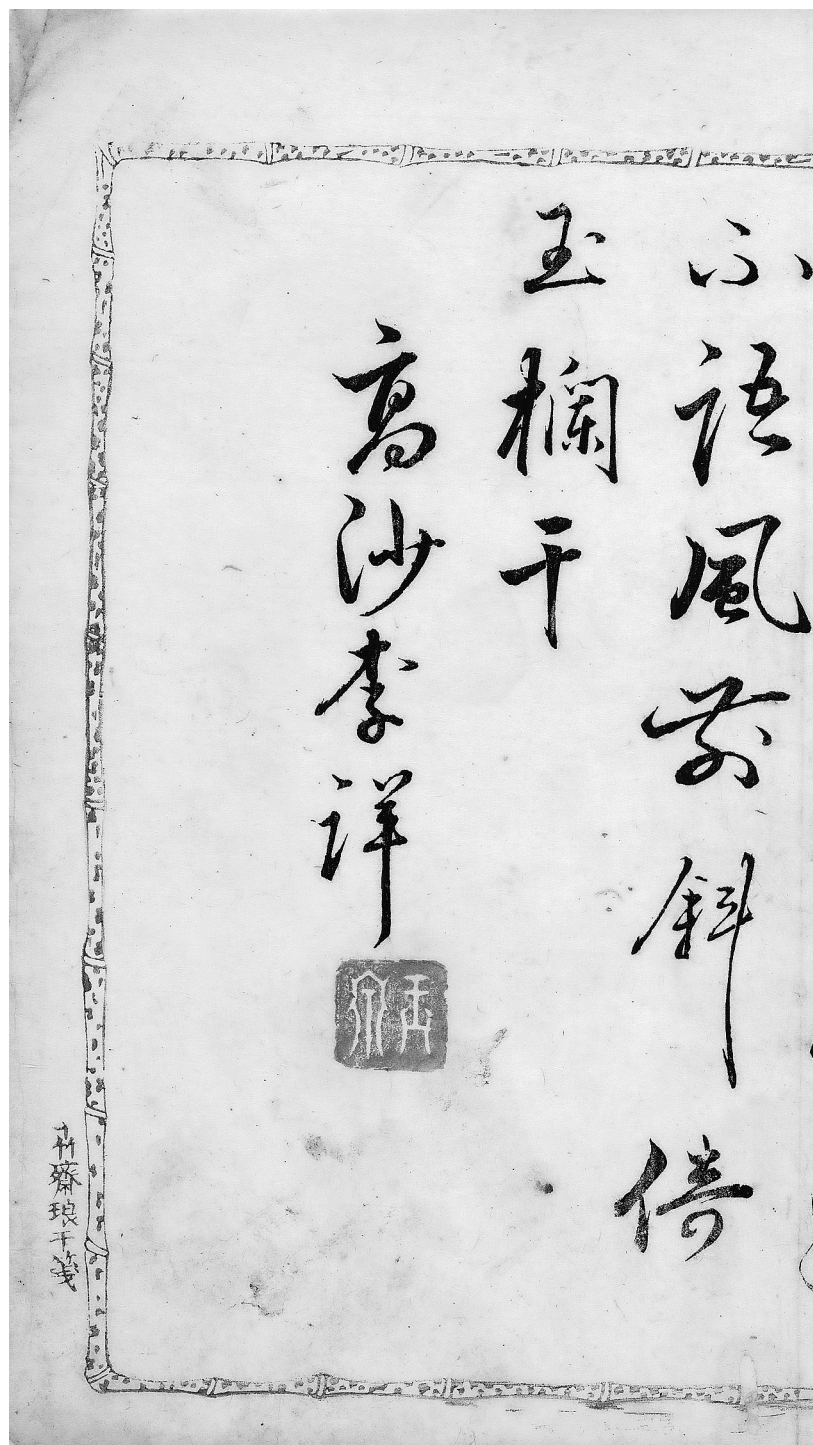
The emergence of color printing in China is rightly hailed as the crowning achievement of Chinese printing and another indication of the extraordinary quality of printing in the late Ming. It is not yet possible to trace clearly the beginnings of pictorial color printing in China.¹³ Books of such technical brilliance and artistic flair as the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* and the *Luoxuan biangu jianpu* (Letterpapers from the Trumpetvine Studio) designs cannot have been the first

1A. "Magnolia and Crabapple," *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, "Round Design" volume, pl.V-1, first edition, first superstate. Exemplar in the Berlin Museum of Asian Art.





1B. Poem leaf that accompanies "Magnolia and Crabapple," *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, "Round Design" volume, pl. V-1, first edition first superstate. Exemplar in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photograph courtesy of and copyrighted by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 2008.



題玉崇

鮮雲曠之珮珊

煙起名花醉後

看舞罷霓裳嬌



2. "Plum Branching Downward as from Over a Wall," *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, "Plum" volume, pl. IV-II, first edition, first superstate. Exemplar in the collection of the Muban Educational Trust, London.

efforts at color printing, but so far few credible precursors are known.¹⁴ There are several examples that suggest early interests in printing of pictures in colors at about this time. The earliest dated example is a magnificent set of designs for ink cakes, the *Chengshi moyuan* (*Cheng's Ink Garden*), published in 1606.¹⁵ For some exemplars of this book a small number of the prints are in color. But these do not yet represent true color printing. Rather a single block with the entire design is cut; for the actual printing it is inked by painting each line of the block with the color meant for that part of the image, and then this single block is printed onto the paper. This process, called “*yiban duo tao*” (dolly printing), does not address the crucial problem in true color printing, that of the registration of the different colors, each on different blocks.¹⁶ Chinese artistic printers developed a method of using multiple blocks, *douban* (literally “bean[-sized] blocks), a process that is unique to China. (See below for further discussion of this technique.) This, and the accompanying registration technique, made the creation of the spectacular *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* possible. Note also that some of the most beautiful of the prints in the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* are monochrome prints, but these prints also take advantage of multiple-block printing since it allows much more modulation in shading and overlapping of forms than could be done with single-block printing. The “Plum” leaf illustrated in figure 2 is a good example of multiblock monochrome printing. A major innovation of Hu Zhengyan's *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* was the modulation of the intensity of the ink (and colors) from one end of a block to the other when printing some of the blocks. This was done by wiping off, in a graduated way, some of the ink from the block before it was printed.¹⁷ Because of this and other techniques used by master printers, no two copies of such a printed leaf are ever exactly the same. There is much artistry in the printing of each leaf.

Besides the *Chengshi moyuan* (Cheng's Ink Garden) and *Luoxuan biangu jianpu* (Letterpapers from the Trumpetvine Studio), four other very beautiful sets of color prints can be plausibly dated to the late Ming and are also as rare as copies of these books. Two of these sets are represented by a single surviving copy. They are twenty illustrations of a well-known story, the *Xixiang ji* (Romance of the Western Chamber); a set of landscape prints, *Wushan shijing mingmu* (Ten Views of Mt. Wu.)¹⁸ In addition, what probably is a set of embroidery designs, *Jianxia ji* (Collection of Scattered Red Clouds) is known by one complete and one partial exemplar.¹⁹ The final example of color printing in the Ming appeared in 1644, at the very end of the dynasty. Hu Zhengyan, the creator of the *Ten Bamboo Studio*

3A. "Stored-Up Clouds,"
Ten Bamboo Studio Collection,
"Bamboo" volume, pl. III-5.
First edition, first superstate,
early impression. Exemplar in
the British Museum, London.





片霖

音也





3B. First edition, second superstate, early impression. Exemplar in Private Collection, set #5.



3C. First edition, second superstate, late impression. Exemplar in the Harvard-Yenching Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.



3D. First edition, third superstate. Exemplar in the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.



3E. First edition, fourth superstate, [1879b edition]. Exemplar in the Harvard-Yenching Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Collection of Calligraphy and Painting, produced another spectacular color-printed book, the *Shizhuzhai jianpu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Letterpaper). Unlike the *Collection of Calligraphy and Painting*, the blocks for this book seem not to have survived much past the fall of the Ming for only a very few copies of the book exist, mostly in a partial state, but these designs were copied and used to popularize the prints again in the early twentieth century when print shops in Beijing recut the blocks and reissued single sheets of the letterpaper.²⁰ When a complete copy of the book was found in the 1940s, the entire book was recut. This later edition (1952) was hailed by Jan Tschichold in 1970 as “an incomparably perfect facsimile; the best book of modern times anywhere.”²¹

The color print, like those in the *Ten Bamboo Studio* set, is not a well developed category in Chinese art history and collecting. Such books of prints were most often sought after by rare book collectors, not by art connoisseurs. Many of the extant early copies of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* were collected by Westerners with a fondness for and a tradition of collecting prints, and today copies of the book are found in many Western museums and libraries. Some museums in the West with major Chinese art collections have early leaves from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, while others have only late, inferior copies. In East Asia neither the Palace Museums in Taipei and Beijing nor the Shanghai Museum has early copies.²² This anomalous situation is not found for any of the other more-standard categories of Chinese art such as paintings, bronzes, ceramics, lacquer, ivory, or jade. This lack of attention has given rise to an interesting set of connoisseurial challenges, which this article will attempt to address in a preliminary way. Very late, very poor prints from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* are all too commonly published today in books where publishing a similar poor example of a Song painting or Zhou bronze would be unacceptable.

The physical construction of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* set of prints depends on the particular edition and whether it has been remounted or not. That in turn often depends on whether it is held by a museum or a library. Most commonly the leaves in each of the sixteen fascicles originally were bound butterfly style, which means that each page, pictorial and calligraphic, was folded in half with the printed surfaces facing each other. They were then gathered into a fascicle in groups of ten pictures and ten poems, each picture followed by its accompanying poem leaf. Each of the eight subjects has a one to five page preface. An example of a poetry leaf from the “Round Design” volume is shown in figure 1b. Each set of twenty leaves was pasted on the folded edge to form the “spine”

of a fascicle (*ce*), and then a thin, usually light blue, cover was wrapped around the leaves and pasted on at the spine.²³ This binding format produced sixteen fascicles, except when both parts of each of the subject categories were bound together, producing a total of eight fascicles.

As a rule, when *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* prints are held by a library, a great effort was made to keep the leaves as a “book.” For instance, the entire set of early prints in the British Library’s collection is bound as a single volume, Western style.²⁴ In contrast, most museums have emphasized the pictures as prints and so have treated them as traditional Western or Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints. That is, the volumes are taken apart and the pictures matted. There are a few exceptions; the set in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is bound as four string-bound, Chinese book volumes, but the original butterfly binding has been dismantled and the pages laid flat and backed. Indeed, the only early exemplars I know of where the original, butterfly bindings are preserved are two sets of prints in the National Library of China. One is an amazing, mostly complete set, and the other is a partial set of only two volumes.²⁵

All serious study of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* must start from the pioneering work of Robert T. Paine in the 1950s. What he accomplished was remarkable.²⁶ Paine compared several different copies of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* whose prints, he argued, were all from the original blocks because the images were artistically better than sets printed from other blocks. Those other sets he established as later editions. In many cases the sets of prints printed from different blocks had distinct cover pages and sometimes publication dates and so were easy to establish as later editions. Paine proposed that three sets of prints were early impressions of the first edition based on a set of four common features that disappeared with copies most of which were printed using the same set of blocks but which were regarded as later impressions (see below). Paine was careful to point out that none of these first-edition sets had to have been among the very first printed however. The exemplars identified by Paine as fairly early impressions of the first edition were a set he had recently acquired for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a set in the Fogg Museum (transferred later to the Sackler Museum) at Harvard, and a set belonging at the time to Laurence Sickman and now in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City.

In working on this project I came across an unexpected difficulty with nomenclature.²⁷ Even though the work continued to be printed for a long time, mostly with the original blocks, there are major printing changes in sets of the

Ten Bamboo Studio Collection prints. I had assumed that printings incorporating these major changes could be called different editions. But the firmly established practice in Chinese bibliography is that as long as the text is printed with some of the original blocks, then that exemplar is to be regarded as a first edition. Portions of the original blocks of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* were used for over two hundred fifty years (see below) and at the end of their use were so worn that, without very close inspection, no one would ever suspect that some original blocks were used. Although such a late exemplar must be called a first edition, it seemed that some additional nomenclature should be introduced to distinguish between early impressions of the original blocks and later printings when major parts of the blocks and seals have been changed. This new nomenclature is also necessary because of the several different components that make up an illustrated Chinese book such as the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*: pictures, text, poems, and seals. I propose to call each of four easily distinguishable groups of printings that use all or some of the original blocks, “superstates.” Within the superstates, one can find additional minor variations in the copies that give rise to “states.” Below I give many examples of states of both superstates and of later, newly cut editions. I am privileging the original blocks, and only for them will I assign exemplars to one or the other of the four superstates. Although one can refer to an exemplar as a “first edition, second superstate,” I will often contract this by just dropping the designation as first edition, and call the exemplar a “second superstate,” since only the first edition has superstates.

Besides establishing these first-superstate exemplars, Paine did many other things in his two articles. He noted that there were other sets that were probably also first-superstate exemplars although he had not been able to study them personally. These were the sets of prints in Walter Bondy’s collection, the British Museum (London), the Berlin Museum, and the Musée Cernuschi (Paris).²⁸ (See Table 1.) Further, Paine started to describe some later versions of the prints, such as those I have called the “third superstate,” as well as the 1817 and one of the 1879 editions (discussed below). He also made the first comprehensive list of all the pictures in the complete set and devised a method so that each picture would have a unique number. First he gave a Roman numeral to each of the eight volumes and then numbered the pictures in each volume from 1 to 20 (or more in the volumes with extra instructional leaves). Thus, the first picture in the “Plum” volume (volume IV) is IV-1, “Plum and Wild Chrysanthemum.” Paine also read the seals and signatures on all the pictorial leaves, noting where there

were variations in the three exemplars he was comparing. Paine discussed ways to order printings within the sets of the first superstate by following changes in the frames for the general introduction and the prefaces and in the bamboo frames for the poems that accompany the “Round Design” picture leaves.

My research on the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* has proceeded in three stages. First, I sought to locate and obtain photographs or published pictures of leaves from as many partial or complete exemplars of the first and second superstates of the first edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* as possible. I wanted to sort out which prints were from the original blocks and therefore were more reflective of the original artist’s vision than later, recut editions. I also wanted to gather material to be used eventually for an exhibition of the best exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* prints. The hope was also to initiate a debate on the connoisseurship of Chinese prints.²⁹ I originally looked only for early printings from the original blocks. However, by documenting every set of leaves located, I could tackle another problem: How many different editions of the book were there? It has frequently been said that there are an almost endless number of editions of this work. Was this true? Thus the second stage of the research involved seeing if each set of the prints belonged to a known edition or if it required the positing of a new edition or superstate. The third stage, related to the other two, was to devise a way, mostly by noting differences in the seals used, to determine to which superstate—first, second, or third,—any given leaf printed from the original blocks belonged, even if the leaf was without any accompanying poems or text.

I compiled my working list of exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* with a relatively thorough search for the exemplars in the United States, Europe, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Australia, as well as those in several of the major institutions in China, such as the National Library and the Palace Museum in Beijing. I initially relied on the pioneering work of Jan Tschichold, Robert Paine, and Jean Fribourg.³⁰ I followed up on the references given in Tschichold, which incorporated most of what was cited in Paine and Fribourg as well as what was in Tschichold’s earlier publications.³¹ Bibliographies in Edith Dittrich’s and Phillip Hu’s catalogues, as well as the T. L. Yuan bibliography on Chinese art, provided additional leads.³² Since the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* is a book, I expected to find copies in libraries as well as museums. Many library holdings can be accessed by the OCLC World Catalogue database by checking all possible spellings of *Shizhu-zhai shuhuapu*. The RLIN (now incorporated into OCLC) library database led to no

additional exemplars. I then checked the online catalogue of each of the library records found in the OCLC search to see how a given copy of the book had been catalogued. In a few cases the libraries did not have the exemplars listed in OCLC; in several cases when I actually saw a library's copy of the book, the cataloging turned out to be in error. I surveyed several online library databases in China, Japan, and Taiwan and wrote to most of the museums in the United States and Europe that were known to have major East Asian art collections, inquiring if they had the title. I asked art historians and museum curators in China for information about prints from the book that they had seen, and I found a few other leads on the internet. Finally, I looked through books on Chinese art for illustrations of *Ten Bamboo Studio* prints that were taken from collections unfamiliar to me.

Table 1 lists all the exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* that I have found to date, while Table 2 lists all published illustrations of leaves from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, again, that I have found to date. The list excludes twentieth century reproductions of the entire set of prints; these are listed and discussed in Appendix 1.

Table 1 lists over two hundred sixty "entries" for exemplars of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, from complete copies through sets of a hundred or more matted prints to a single picture in a book. However, most entries in the table are for complete sets of the prints. In a few cases a holding comprised only a small number of leaves. For example, the well-published British Museum set consists of just twenty-two pictorial leaves from the first superstate, bought sporadically from 1930 to 1970 and so having several different accession numbers, but many are thought to come from the same broken up set.³³ I am sure that I have overlooked some (but hopefully few) first-edition, first- or second-superstate exemplars in museums, libraries and private collections in China and Japan. And I also am sure I am missing many exemplars of later editions from these same collections. However, the group of over 260 exemplars listed in Table 1 should be large enough to determine how many distinct editions and superstates of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting* exist.

To summarize my results, for the first edition, first superstate, I have located sixteen substantial sets (each with more than 100 of the pictorial 186 leaves), ten sets of between ten and sixty prints, and four additional sets with from two to seven prints. I have delineated four distinct superstates that used all or at least some of the original blocks but for which some significant differences in seals

and in some blocks can be easily discerned. Some of these original blocks were used for over 250 years, from 1633 to after 1879. After the original blocks were cut in the seventeenth century, the entire set of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* pictures and poems was newly cut only six times till near the end of the twentieth century.³⁴ The first recutting probably took place in the late eighteenth century in Japan with five more recuttings in the nineteenth century. Two of these totally new editions were Chinese (1817 and 1879a) and four were definitely Japanese (Late Eighteenth, 1831, 1878/1888, and 1882). So altogether there are seven editions, the first with four superstates, and so ten distinct “versions” of the book. I was able to match every entry in Table 1 for which I have an image to one of these ten versions.³⁵

A summary description of the four superstates of the first edition and of each of the six recut editions might be useful at this point. The points of difference are summarized in Table 3.

First edition, first superstate. Printed from 1633 to ca. 1703. Distinguished by a distinct set of seals on most leaves, the pattern of wear of the blocks, the frames surrounding some of the poem leaves (see figure 1b), and the 1633 date on the last page of the general introduction, and signature used in the general introduction, which serves as the publisher’s colophon.

First edition, second superstate. Printed from 1703 to ca. 1775. Distinguished by a set of seals different from but similar to the set of seals found in the first superstate and by the pattern of wear of the blocks; a date and signature in the general introduction different from the first superstate, and distinctive frames around the text and poem leaves. The text leaves are newly cut, and, in the index to the “Plum” volume, a taboo character in the name of the Kangxi emperor has been replaced with a substitute. The general introduction continues to serve as a “publisher’s colophon” although the publisher is no longer Hu Zhengyan’s firm.

First edition, third superstate. Printed from ca. 1790 to ca. 1879. Bears a set of seals entirely different from and unrelated to those on the first or second superstates and the blocks are more worn. Many exemplars have a cover page that lacks information on date or place of publication. New cutting of the text leaves retains the character that

replaced the Kangxi taboo character in the index to the “Plum” volume. The date and signature on the general introduction follows that of the second superstate.

First edition, fourth superstate (1879b). The cover page is dated 1879. Many blocks are very worn, many blocks are missing, many blocks are newly cut. I also called this the 1879b edition to distinguish it from a different 1879 edition (see below).

“Late Eighteenth Century” [1760?] edition. Printed from a completely new set of blocks, almost certainly in Japan. First printed between *ca.* 1750 and 1795. Some copies were probably imported into China. Good evidence exists that this edition was first published in 1760, but further evidence is needed to confirm this date definitively.

The *1817 edition.* This Chinese edition was printed from a completely new set of blocks. Cover page bears the date and the name of the publisher, Jieziyuan (Mustard Seed Garden). No exemplar has seals on any picture leaves.

The *1831 edition.* Printed from a completely new set of blocks, This new Japanese edition was published originally in Kyoto by Hishiya Magobē. This is the only later edition to copy the date of the first superstate and the signature in the general introduction, but it copies some features of the second superstate such as the use of the taboo replacement character. Not all exemplars have a publisher’s colophon, and of those that do, I have found only two that also have a date (1831).

The *1878/1888 edition.* This new Japanese edition, printed from a completely new set of blocks, was published in Osaka by Maekawa Zenbē, who tried to copy carefully the 1817 Chinese edition, including reproducing the cover page with the 1817 date. Most exemplars of this edition have a printer’s colophon at the end of one of the volumes that gives date and place of publication.

The *1879a edition.* This Chinese edition, printed from a completely new set of blocks, has a dated cover page that was sometimes also used for the 1879b (fourth-superstate) sets giving rise to a confusing situation. Note there are two distinct editions/superstates dated 1879.

The *1882 edition.* This Japanese edition, printed from a completely new

set of blocks and published in 1882 in Osaka by Akashi Chūgadō, is a fairly rare edition. Most of the leaves are about two-thirds the size of the original and most recut editions. However, the leaves of the “Introduction” (volume I) and of the “Round Design” (volume V) are the normal size. There is no circle around the pictures in volume V. The date appears at the end of the “Scholar’s Rocks” volume.

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY IMPRESSIONS OF THE ORIGINAL BLOCKS

Paine developed four criteria for distinguishing first-superstate sets of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* prints from those of later superstates that used mostly the same blocks.³⁶ Most of these criteria depended upon there being a fairly complete set of leaves of the book including the general introduction, prefaces, indices, and poems as well as the pictures. Paine’s criteria cannot be used to date loose leaves or many incomplete copies of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* in which the calligraphy leaves have been lost. In differentiating between the first and second superstates, both of which use the original picture and poem blocks, Paine first noted that there were two sets of dates given in the various versions of the general introduction of the book, 1633 and “1643,” and that these general introductions were signed by different people, Xingtian for 1633 and Lanqi for the so-called “1643.” It is important to note that these dates are not absolute dates but dates from the sixty-year-cycle calendar. The question of the precise dates will be discussed below. The third difference Paine noted was that the texts of the general introduction, prefaces, and indices (but not the pictures or poems) had been recut for the exemplars bearing the later date. Finally Paine cited Hummel, who had pointed out that a taboo character for the Kangxi exemplar had been replaced in the “1643” superstate and so these copies had to have been printed after 1662, when the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722) took the throne and the character became taboo.³⁷ These same picture and poem blocks were much later used to print other sets of prints. But, in addition, in the “1643” superstate there were dramatic changes in seals used as well as much increased wear of the blocks of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* prints. I have pointed out these changes below.³⁸

To Paine’s four differences between the first and the second superstates, I would add a fifth, i.e., namely that, compared with the 1633 superstate, all of the

exemplars of the later impressions of the original blocks that have the characteristics of the “1643” superstate also have an almost completely recut set of seals for the pictures and the poems. As noted above, all volumes except for the “Orchid” and “Fruit” volumes have artist’s seals on the pictures, while all volumes except the “Orchid” volume have a poem accompanying each picture that is signed and sealed. In most cases, the new seals used on the exemplars of the “1643” superstate were close, but not exact, copies of the earlier seals. I could find only one case where possibly either the same seal was used on both the first and second superstates, or more likely, the recarving of the seal was so close to the original that it is impossible to distinguish them. Thus, in most cases, matching the seal of a picture leaf to a seal used in a given superstate allows identification of the leaf as being from the first or the second superstate. Following Paine I have summarized these differences in Table 3.

Paine used an additional criterion to distinguish earlier from later impressions of some leaves of the early printings—the appearance of cracks or chips in the blocks as well as occasionally missing impressions, presumably because the blocks were lost or badly damaged. However, in most cases, there are only small differences between the blocks used to print the first and those used to print second superstates.

In view of these differences between the 1633 and the “1643” superstates, I will call the exemplars with prints made from the original blocks and the 1633 preface the “first edition, first superstate.” I suggest that those sets of prints with the same, original-picture and -poem blocks but which have the alternative set of the five distinguishing properties—date, signature, recutting of the text leaves (general introduction, etc.), substitution of taboo character for Kangxi, and the new set of seals—be called the “first edition, second superstate.” Note that it is now possible to use the seals present to assign most early impressions of the prints made from the original blocks to either the first or second superstate.³⁹ The pictures in the “Orchid” and “Fruit” volumes lack seals, and so it is more difficult to assign one of these pictures to a specific superstate. In some cases, especially for the “Orchid” volume, the superstates can be distinguished by comparing the appearance of cracks and chips in the blocks in known first- and second-superstate exemplars. These chips and cracks are more marked in the “Orchid” volume than any of the other seven volumes.

CONSTRUCTING A DATABASE OF IMAGES FROM ALL THE DIFFERENT EDITIONS AND
SUPERSTATES OF THE *TEN BAMBOO STUDIO COLLECTION*.

In order to compare leaves from an unidentified version of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* with the comparable leaves from known editions and their superstates, I assembled database of complete copies of all the leaves (pictures, poems, and text) for each edition. Whenever I identified a new, unique edition, I added photographs of that set. Many museums, libraries, and collectors kindly allowed me to take photographs of leaves in their collections in the process of gathering knowledge of the extant exemplars. This project could only have been possible with the technical advances of the past few years. A digital camera yields high resolution photographs using ambient illumination (no flash) alone. And advances in color ink jet printers allow the printing of large, 8" by 10", color photographs of each image at high resolution quickly and at a relatively modest cost.

Among the most pleasant and unexpected rewards of this project was the uncovering of six hitherto unpublished large sets of first-edition, first-superstate prints—National Library of China (#18117), Russian State Library, Kuboso Museum, Sackler Museum—Harvard set #2 (1976.65.1–6), and two in a private collection in the United States—and, as well, identifying other small sets of first-superstate leaves. I also tracked down one of the key second-superstate sets that Paine used in his study—“Metzger 1715”—and identified five new large sets of second-superstate prints—Harvard–Yenching; University of California, Berkeley; Hamburg Museum of Art; British Museum; and United States private collection set #5.

*The Database of Images for the First and Second Superstates of the
Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*

The database includes images of all of the leaves from most of the first- and second-superstate exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* book in Western and Japanese collections. For the first superstate, I took photographs of almost all the leaves of the substantial sets (more than one hundred pictorial leaves) at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the British Library, the Berlin Museum of East Asian Art, the Nelson–Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Kuboso Museum, and in a private collection (two sets). The Sackler Museum at Harvard provided low-resolution photographs of one of its two sets, and I was able to compare the actual leaves of both of its sets with photographs

I had taken of other first-superstate leaves. I made a similar comparison of my photographs with the leaves of the Nanjing Library set as well as with the leaves of a late printing of the first superstate that I found in the ordinary old-book section of the National Library of China. The Russian National Library in Moscow provided me with a full set of high resolution photographs of its wonderful leaves. In addition I saw and compared photographs of first-superstate leaves with leaves from two almost complete and three fragmentary sets of beautiful, early examples in the rare book room of the National Library of China.⁴⁰ I obtained photographs of forty of the seals used in these exemplars. A few of these leaves have been published, but in most cases the specific National Library exemplar from which each leaf was taken was not specified.⁴¹ I was able to take a full set of photographs at the Liaoning Provincial Museum. To these were added smaller groups of first-superstate leaves from the British Museum, those published from Walter Bondy's now-missing copy (ten published from a group of sixty-seven leaves), a group of about sixty leaves in the Peking University Rare Book Room, and two smaller sets in a private collection. Another partial set was the extremely beautiful group of prints from the "Plum" volume in the Muban Foundation collection in London, as well as another set of ten early prints. In the Winzinger collection in the Regensburg Museum there is a group of eighty-seven prints from several different editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. Published images show that two are from the first superstate and seven others are from the second superstate. Finally I obtained photographs of the small sets of first-superstate prints in the National Library of China rare book collection, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Musée Cernuschi in Paris, and the Collection Baur in Geneva. I have studied at close hand all of the large sets of first-superstate prints, except for the copy in the Russian National Library, and most of the smaller sets, except for the prints in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Regensburg Museum, and the Collection Baur. Other first-superstate prints have been published (see Tables 1 and 2), but in several cases I cannot find where they are held or the number of prints in the set. It is likely that in some cases these unspecified prints are from one of the institutions that I have identified as having a set.

None of the first-edition, first-superstate exemplars that I have identified is complete; that is, none have all of the pictorial images, let alone all of the poem and text leaves. The Kansas City set comes the closest to being complete as it is missing only two pictorial leaves, I-9, "Bird eating a cherry," and II-29, "Orchid," "Ink study, five examples of single blossoms." Some large sets, like Berlin's, the

National Library of China's set 17768, and Private Collection Set #3, are missing whole volumes, while the Moscow set is missing one of two fascicles for the "Round Design" volume. Several exemplars of the first-superstate prints have no poem or text leaves, just pictures. Two large sets—Berlin's and one of the Sackler sets—and several of the smaller ones, such as the British Museum's prints, are mostly without the accompanying calligraphic leaves. These sets were identified as being first-superstate prints because they were early impressions of the original blocks and usually had the same seals used on the other first-superstate exemplars.

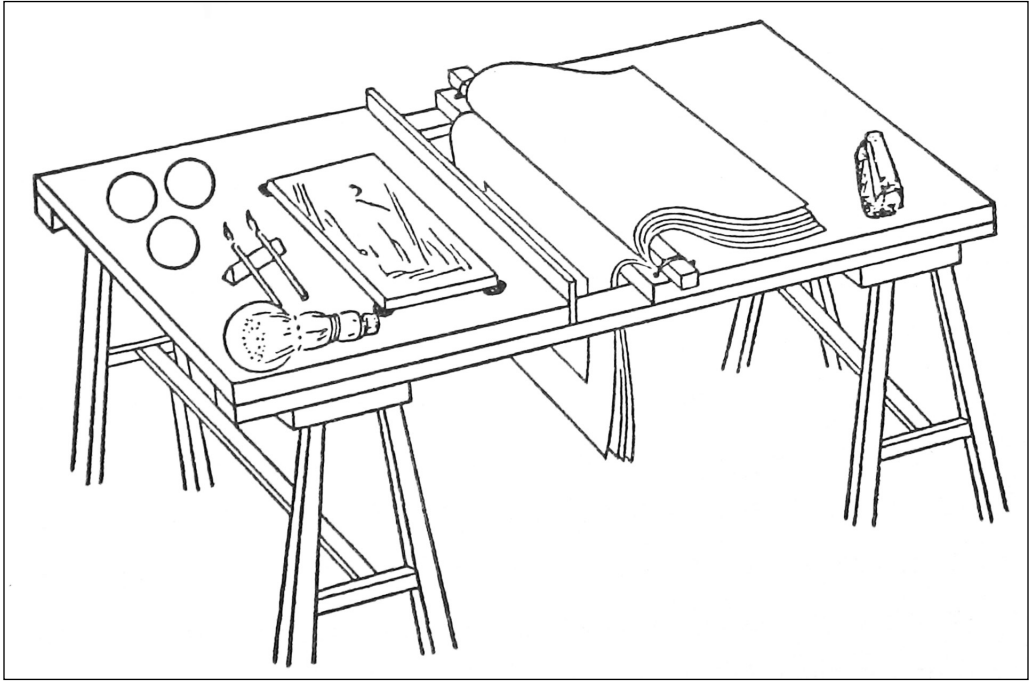
For the second-superstate database I had photographs of the half set (4 of the 8 volumes) at the University of California, Berkeley, East Asian Library; the 31 leaves from Tschichold's collection published in full size in his earlier books; 11 images from the Library of Congress's exemplar; 47 leaves from a private collection; a set at the British Museum; and all of the late and almost complete sets from the Harvard-Yenching Library (the "1715" set) and from the San Diego Museum of Art (Paine's "Metzgar 1715" edition).⁴² These sets of photographs provided at least one image of each of the pictures and of most of the calligraphy and text pages. I have examined all of these except for the Library of Congress and Tschichold sets. One or the other of these sets contains all the leaves found in the first superstate.

For all of the later editions and superstates, several complete, bound sets of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* prints are available. They will be discussed below.

THE CREATION OF STATES OF SUPERSATES AND EDITIONS OF CHINESE COLOR-PRINTED BOOKS

It is useful to pause briefly here to spell out how that woodblock printed books probably were produced in premodern China in order to begin to understand how different states of an edition or superstate might have arisen.

In the Chinese color-woodblock printing method, a sheaf of paper, all leaves of which are to be printed with the same image, is clamped onto the printing table.⁴³ (See figure 4.) The sheaf of paper for the print run might typically contain 100 sheets.⁴⁴ For each picture one or more blocks are cut for each color used; some blocks are large, others small. The Chinese printer attaches these blocks to the printing table with wax, adjusting their placement to get the correct registration with respect to previously applied blocks.⁴⁵ Water-based black ink or colored pigment is applied to the blocks, in many cases in a graded



4. Chinese color-printer's work table. The sheaf of pages to be printed is clamped to the table. Each printed page is dropped through the slot, and the next page is printed. From Jan Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio* New York: 1972, p. 43.

manner, which depends on the skill of the master printer and is one of the factors leading to the great beauty of many of the prints. A sheet from the sheaf of papers is drawn over the inked blocks, and the paper pressed against the blocks with a flexible pad (Chinese: *malian*, Japanese: *baren*). The page printed with this block is then dropped through a slot in the table, the blocks are reinked, and the next sheet is drawn from its free edge over the blocks. Since the paper is thin, great pressure cannot be applied to the paper and block with the pad, and as a result deep penetration of the color (“bleed through”) is usually not seen in Chinese prints. On the other hand, this light application of pressure may have enabled Chinese printers to make many more images from a block than Japanese printers were able to make.⁴⁶ In the Chinese system of printing, after one whole sheaf of pages was printed in one color, the blocks on the printing table were replaced with those for the new color, and the entire sheaf printed with that new color.

For a picture of a branch of pink flowers, there could first be a block for

the branch printed in brown. After printing the branch on all one hundred sheets that are clamped to the table, the block is removed and several small blocks, each for a different flower are stuck into place on the surface of the printing table. The new set of flower blocks are inked with the pink color, all the sheets printed, and then these blocks are removed and replaced with the next set of small blocks, say for the yellow pistils of the flowers. Once printed onto each sheet, these pistil blocks are replaced and the sheets of paper printed in turn with blocks for the green leaves and then blocks for the black veins of the leaves, and so on. When all groups of blocks, each group printing a different ink or color had been applied to all one hundred prints in the sheaf, the print was complete and the whole sheaf of completed prints was then removed from the printing table and trimmed.⁴⁷ This method is quite different from the Japanese color-woodblock printing “kento” system in which a full-sized block for each color is cut with a pair of ridges (*kento*) in the margins that allows each loose page to be precisely aligned on the block, one at a time through the entire set of blocks needed to apply all of the colors to complete the print.⁴⁸ In this system it is advantageous to use thicker paper, and Japanese prints are often on much thicker paper than that used for Chinese printing.

In the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* the separate woodblock that carries the signature and/or inscription for a picture, for example, like those found on every leaf in the “Plum” volume in the first-superstate prints, was positioned by hand for each print, so that its exact location on the print would vary from print to print. (See figure 2.) The seals, made of wood as judged by how fast they chipped and wore out, were also positioned by hand, again without trying for strict registration with the rest of the print. Unlike all the other colors on the print which were water based, the red seal inks sometimes were oil based and for this reason one can sometimes see “halos” of the oil from the oil in the ink offsetting onto facing pages.

One reason for the use of such thin paper for Chinese, multiblock printing may be that its transparency facilitates the placement of the blocks to ensure proper registration. Another reason for using such thin paper for printing was to allow a large printing run by having this sheaf of paper hold 50 to 400 sheets. With thick paper, the printing table clamp could not hold as many sheets. (See figure 4.) The size of a print run was also determined by the number of copies the publisher thought he could sell in the next year or so. The size of a standard print run was probably on the order of 20 to 400 copies of the book.⁴⁹

In preparing for this print run, a master printer gathered together the paper, all of which was probably cut to exactly the same size by the paper supplier; after being printed and removed from the printing table, the pages had to be trimmed on the margin that had been held in the clamp. The pigments used would depend on what was available, the prices at the time of the printing, and what the printer was used to or preferred. When the next run of the book was printed at a later date, the paper might be a slightly different size, one or more of the pigments might differ, and the skill and taste of the master printer might be different. The printer might also have some flexibility in what seal to use on a given page, perhaps because the seal normally used had been lost or damaged or because he thought that a different seal with a similar legend would be better.

Although the goal was to make the copies of a run completely identical and uniform, the new print run could easily differ from the previous print run in small details, such as a change in the particular seal used on a few of the picture leaves or a change in the color used for a particular flower, etc. In addition, some blocks possibly wore out much faster than others, as Paine pointed out (see below), and had to be recut. These small differences give rise to the different states of each superstate or edition. Below I will make a preliminary survey of what states I have found for each edition.

States of the First Editions, First Superstate

Several kinds of variation are evident in copies of the first-superstate sets leading to the identification of multiple states of that superstate. Paine pointed out that the bamboo-like frame (see figure 1b; the lower left corner of the frame is shown in figure 5b) around the poems in the “Round Design” volumes (20 pages of poems) and the thin-lined frame surrounding the text to the prefaces and indices (26 pages) were used 20 and 26 times respectively every time a complete version of the book was printed. So these blocks should wear out about 20–26 times faster than most of the other blocks and so had to be replaced before the other blocks.⁵⁰ In addition blocks for inscriptions and signatures were occasionally replaced, it seems mostly one at a time.

For fourteen of the first-superstate sets of prints in Table 1, I have photographs of one or more of the poems for the “Round Design” pictures. With these fourteen exemplars, five distinct bamboo frames can be identified. All three of the National Library of China (NLC) sets in its rare book collection that have the “Round Design” poem leaves (Catalog numbers 01467a, 16999, and 17768) have

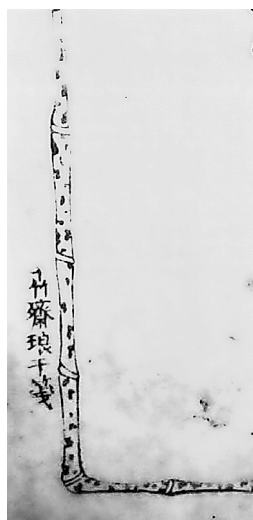
the same type of frame. (See figure 5a for NLC#16999.) The Muban Educational Trust small (ten-leaf) set and the Liaoning Provincial Museum also have this frame. The Boston, Moscow, Kuboso Museum, British Library, and original Sackler sets all have a second, recut, type of bamboo frame (figure 5b), while the Kansas City and the Beijing University exemplars represent a third type of bamboo frame (figure 5c).⁵¹ Finally, the Cleveland and Private Collection #4 exemplars have a fourth and fifth type of frame. (See figures 5d and 5e, respectively.) This change of frame gives rise to five different states of the first superstate. The last frame type (figure 5e) seems to have been used until its initial image can scarcely be recognized.

Changes in the seals used on some picture leaves led to variations from copy to copy. I have examined the seals on the first-superstate prints listed in Table 1. In the thirteen exemplars of first-superstate prints where I have photographs or other ways of comparing seals that were on sets of at least twenty leaves, I have found that, with one exception, each set of seals represents a distinct state of that superstate with respect to the seals used.⁵² Otherwise, no two sets had identical seals for all leaves that I compared. It is important to understand that only a few of the seals were different. Most of the time the seals on a given leaf were identical; e.g. all eleven exemplars that had a copy of the first leaf in the “Bamboo” volume had the same seal. And that seal was quite different from the one appearing on second-superstate exemplars. But inevitably I would find a leaf in one set that had a seal different from the seal on this same leaf in another set. Almost always the variant seal on that leaf had been used elsewhere in the set of prints and was an alternate seal used by the same artist.⁵³ In short, I hypothesize that every time the complete set of blocks is used for a printing run, it is likely that a new state of the book is created due to small changes in seal usage. So I would say that there are at least twelve different states of the first superstate, each state differing in the use of a few out of a total of up to 120 seals used on the picture leaves. These twelve states can be grouped into five clusters according to the blocks used for the bamboo frame of the “Round Design” poems.

Another variable giving rise to different states is the colors used on the prints. This was pointed out by Fribourg in the first publication on the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* to make extensive use of color reproductions of prints from different collections.⁵⁴ I assume that when, for example, 100 copies of an image were printed consecutively they would all have the same colors applied for the same features in each of the 100 leaves. Again, in comparing leaves from two sets



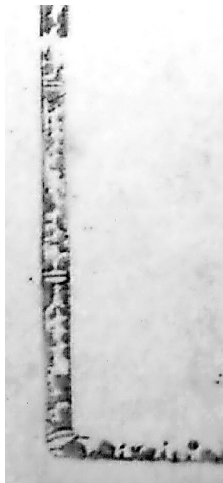
5A. First edition, first superstate, early impression. (National Library of China, Beijing, accession # 16999.)



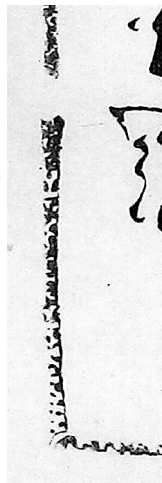
5B. First edition, first superstate, intermediate impression. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



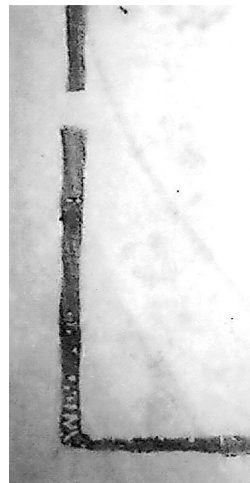
5C. First edition, first superstate, late impression. (Beijing University Library, Rare Book Collection.)



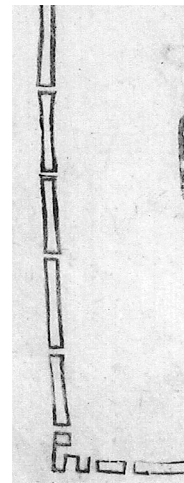
5D. First edition, first superstate, late impression. (Cleveland Museum of Art.)



5E. First edition, first superstate, very late impression. (Private Collection Set #4.)

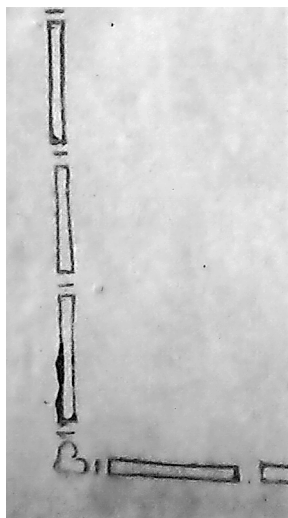


5F. First edition, second superstate, early impression. (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)



5G. First edition, second superstate, intermediate impression. (Private Collection #5.)

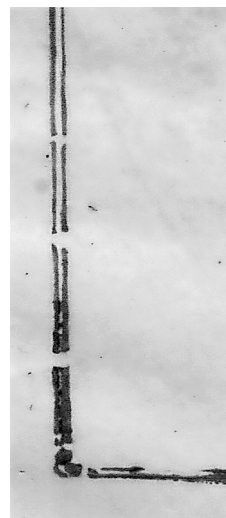
5. Details of the different types of frames surrounding the poems that accompany the



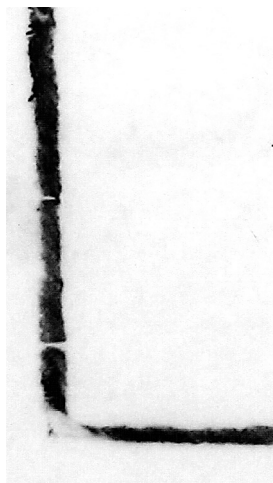
5H. First edition, second superstate, late impression. (Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)



5I. Late 18th Century edition. (Private Collection Set #18.)



5J. First edition, third superstate. (Rietberg Museum, Zurich.)



5K. First edition, third superstate. (Murray Warner Collection, Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.)



5L. 1817 edition. (Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)



5M. 1817 edition. (UCLA Library, Los Angeles, Calif.)

“Round Design” volume of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.

one often finds differences in the color of some corresponding leaves in the two sets. However, although I have not studied this comprehensively, I did notice that the colors on almost all of the Berlin leaves were quite close to those on one of the National Library of China's sets (catalog number 16999). Moreover, most of the seals are the same in these two sets. However, the two sets are not identical for absolutely every leaf.

Another source of variation giving rise to new states of the first superstate is the recutting of some of the inscriptions on the leaves of the "Orchid" volume (fourteen of thirty-five leaves with inscriptions) sometime between when the Sackler set #1 was printed and when the Cleveland set was printed.

*Other Characteristics Sometimes Seen With Sets of the Ten Bamboo Studio
Collection of Calligraphy and Paintings Prints*

Sets of leaves of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* prints may not be homogenous, that is, not all may be from the same printing of the blocks. First, one must always be on the alert that any given copy thought to be a first superstate may contain some non-first-superstate leaves added to make a set complete. For example, the original Sackler Museum first-superstate set (1940.165) has seven leaves from the 1817 edition scattered through the set, and these have even been published, although they are inferior to the leaves from the original blocks. I have found several other examples of such interpolation, even in later editions. This replacement of a missing print with another from a different set is a classic case of what the Chinese have called "fish eyes among the pearls," a substitution of an inferior example in a set of quality objects. A second possible occurrence, which is more difficult to detect, is the mixing of two different printings of the first-superstate blocks. These can only be detected by carefully looking for differences in wear, seal use, and dimensions of all the prints in the set. For example, although six of the British Museum's "Fruit"-volume prints have seals, a seventh print does not. Also, two of the "Bird"-volume prints in this group are much more worn than the other "Bird" prints. All of these "nonconforming" prints are a centimeter wider than the other prints in the set. This strongly suggests that these three prints are later impressions from the blocks than the other nineteen prints in the set.

Date of Publication of the First Edition, Second Superstate

The discussion so far has focused on how to distinguish between first and second superstates and the range of states that exist for the first superstate. First let me

address the question of the publication date of the second, “1643,” superstate. As the reader has probably noticed, I have always given this date in quotation marks, signaling that I am not comfortable with this commonly accepted date. As noted above, the dates in the general introduction to the *Ten Bamboo Studio* are dates from the sixty-year-cycle calendar, not absolute dates derived from a reign period date. For the first superstate, assigning 1633 for the date for the cyclic year *guiyu* is firm, consistent with what is known about the flouriate dates of the publisher, Hu Zhengyan (d. 1674). But the “1643” date could also designate 1703 or even 1763. The 1643 date was first used, as far as I can tell, by Siren in 1938 and seems to have been accepted since then by many writing about this superstate.⁵⁵ I know of no argument for the 1643 date but do have three arguments against 1643 and for a 1703 date. First, if the second superstate were first published in 1643, then only ten years would have elapsed between the first and second superstates. The second-superstate blocks are significantly worn suggesting that there were a fairly large number of printings of the first superstate. (Compare figure 3a with figures 3b and 3c, noting especially the seals.) If 50–200 copies were printed twice every year for ten years (1633 to 1643) and each of these printings gave rise to new states of the first superstate, then this small number of printings could not explain the existence of the large number of states of the first superstate (over thirteen) that was discussed above.⁵⁶ It seems more plausible that the large number of states found for the first superstate occurred because the blocks were used many times over a time period of seventy years, not ten years. Second, as Paine pointed out, if the second superstate were first printed in 1643, then there should be some copies of the second superstate printed between 1643 and 1662 using the original character that became taboo in 1662 when the Kangxi emperor took the throne.⁵⁷ But no such copy of the second superstate has ever been found. Rather they all use a replacement for the taboo character. All six of the second-superstate exemplars with the index page present (the Berkeley, Library of Congress, Harvard-Yenching “1715,” Tschichold, British Museum, and San Diego Museum of Art exemplars) have the replacement for the Kangxi taboo character and so would have to have been printed after 1662. But if the second superstate were first printed in 1703 when the character was already taboo, then there is no inconsistency.⁵⁸ Finding and evaluating additional copies of the second superstate would be useful to solidify this argument. Third, it seems less than plausible that the general introduction of a 1643 superstate would be signed by a person different from the one who signed the general introduction just ten years earlier. After all, Hu Zhengyan was still alive

and actively publishing in 1643. However, after seventy years, when Hu Zhengyan was no longer living, the appearance of a new name on the general introduction makes sense. (I have not yet been able to identify Lanqi, the person who signed the general introduction in the 1703 copy, to help confirm that date.) Thus, since there is no evidence for the 1643 date and three kinds of evidence against it, I will tentatively assume that the second superstate was initially printed in 1703.

Date of the Advertisement in Late Printings of the Second Superstate

A further question about the date of the second superstate is the date of an extra page, an “advertisement,” that Paine found in Metzgar’s “1715” second-superstate exemplar.⁵⁹ In the advertisement the publisher complains about copies of a *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* edition from another publisher: “they fraudulently assumed this shop’s name, schemed, and sought for profit. . . . All . . . should purchase at the shop of the Ten Bamboo Studio.” The advertisement was accompanied by the cyclical date *yiwei* which Paine took to be 1715. However, it is certainly possible that this could instead be sixty years later, 1775, a date I consider more likely. Beside the Metzgar copy, which is now in the San Diego Museum of Art, there are exemplars with this advertisement in the Hamburg Museum of Art and the Harvard-Yenching Library that resemble the Metzgar copy in another way, in that both were printed with very worn blocks used for the second superstate.⁶⁰ In addition, Siren talked about a copy that seems to have had this advertisement and that was printed with quite worn blocks, making it sound very much like the Metzgar “1715” and Harvard-Yenching copies.⁶¹

Two pieces of evidence point to the 1775 date. First, as noted, compared with other second-superstate impressions, the blocks used to make these impressions are so worn that it is clear that these impressions were made a fairly long time after 1703, the time of the first printing of the second superstate. If these prints were made in 1715, a mere twelve years would have passed between printings, but a 1775 printing would have been seventy-two years later.

The second kind of evidence for the 1775 date is based upon asking the question that the advertisement demands: What could this competing, “fraudulent” edition be? As I mentioned above in the summary of the results of examining all the copies of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* found in Table 1, I have been able to identify only ten distinct editions and superstates of the book. By elimination, there is only one candidate for the competing edition. The competing edition cannot be any of the four superstates of the first edition printed with the original

blocks—first, second, third, or fourth (1879b)—because those blocks are what the writers of the advertisement are using to print their copies. In addition, there are no dated recut editions published before 1817. The six later, recut editions are—the Chinese 1817 edition; the Japanese 1831, 1878/1888, and 1882 editions; and two different Chinese editions from 1879 (one of these is the 1879b, fourth superstate in which some of the blocks are original but many have been recut). All of these are printed much later than the Metzgar variant of the second superstate bearing the advertisement, dated possibly either 1715 or 1775. The only edition that is unaccounted for is a tentatively undated one, which must be the competing edition mentioned in the advertisement. I have called it the “Late Eighteenth Century (1760?)” edition in Table 1 because the evidence requires that the first printing of this edition be dated to the latter half of the eighteenth century and probably in 1760 (see below).⁶² This approximate publication date for the competing edition requires that the advertisement’s cyclical date be taken as 1775 rather than 1715. Thus, the second superstate was published over the period from 1703 to after *ca.* 1775.

States of the First Edition, Second Superstate

An important distinguishing characteristic of states of the first superstate is the border around the poems to the “Round Design” volume. Of the six exemplars of the second superstate of which I have images for these leaves, three different frame types can be discerned. (Compare figure 5f, figure 5g, and figure 5h). Surprisingly the earliest second-superstate frame, used in the Berkeley and Library of Congress sets (figure 5f), seems to be the same frame that was used on the last exemplar of the first-superstate printings (figure 5e), except that it is now more worn in the second superstate (figure 5f). The decision to keep using this considerably worn frame while recutting the text leaves and the seals for pictorial and poem leaves is puzzling. The second type of frame used is that seen on Private Collection Set #5 (figure 5g) while the three examples with the 1775 advertisement share a third type (figure 5h.).

The set of seals found on the pictorial leaves of any exemplar of the second superstate of the first edition is similar to, but different from the seals found in any other exemplar of this superstate. And as with the seals used in the first-superstate exemplars, there were exceptions in which the same leaf from two different sets would have a different seal. Thus, this variation gives rise to multiple states of the second superstate.

Errors in the Second Superstate

Paine states that there are several errors in the second superstate (his 1643 edition) and in later editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.⁶³ However, he only mentions one, the substitution of seals for Gao Yang with those for Gao You in the “Scholar’s Rocks” volume. In fact, a second error occurs in the preface to the “Bird” volume. This preface is four pages long in all the first-superstate exemplars I have examined. However, in the second-superstate exemplars and in all later editions, this preface is only three pages long, one page having been accidentally omitted. All recut editions also perpetuate the missing page error, as well as the seal substitution error, suggesting that the recut editions were indeed copied from second-superstate exemplars. (See Table 3.)

THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1760) JAPANESE EDITION

The next earliest edition is the first totally recut edition, probably printed in the last half of the eighteenth century in Japan. In Table 1, I have called it the “Late Eighteenth Century” edition and below discuss the evidence for its date and place of publication.

For my database of this “Late Eighteenth Century” edition, I started with a high-quality, halftone photoreproduction set in sixteen volumes done by a Japanese publisher in 1936–1937 (see Appendix 1) and photographs of three complete sets in private collections (sets #18, #19, and #26). In addition I took extensive photographs (about eighty each) of two exemplars of this edition in the Columbia University Library and of two in the Art Institute of Chicago, in addition to a few leaves from the Bibliothèque Nationale exemplar.

Since there is no publisher’s colophon nor any explicit indication of the date, name of publisher, or place of publication in any of the exemplars of this edition I have examined (see Table 1), evidence for the publication date must be found elsewhere.⁶⁴ First, this edition copies the date and the variant signature as given in the general introduction to the second superstate and as well uses the substitutions for the Kangxi taboo character, also characteristics of the second superstate. In addition this is the only recut set that tries to match fairly closely, but usually not exactly, almost all of the seals of the second superstate. So the printing of this edition can be dated to some significant length of time after 1703, when the printing of the second superstate began, and 1795, the latest possible date the

printing of this edition could have begun. Cohen and Monnet report that the exemplar of this edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale had to have been printed before 1795 because this library's copy was given to a French official by a Chinese merchant who died in 1795.⁶⁵ Additional evidence discussed below brackets its date of publication even further, to between *ca.* 1750 to 1795 and most likely to the year 1760. I will tentatively call this the "Late Eighteenth Century edition."

Evidence that the edition was printed in Japan is indirect.⁶⁶ An advertisement on the colophon page of a Japanese edition of another color woodblock-printed book first published in China, the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual), states that its Kyoto publisher Hishiya Magobē (also Romanized Magobei) had also published an edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.⁶⁷ (See figure 6.) This colophon page was dated 1812 so there had to have been a Japanese copy of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* published before this date.⁶⁸ Second, a Japanese bookseller's catalog dated 1772 offers an edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* for sale, implying that there was a Japanese edition published by 1772.⁶⁹ Finally the important publisher's colophon on the 1831 edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* states that Hishiya Magobē had published an earlier edition of this book in 1760 (the tenth year of Hōreki). (See figure 7a.) The only unaccounted for edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, that is, the only one of the six editions not printed from the original blocks and for which we have neither a date nor a publisher is the Late Eighteenth Century edition. This must be the Japanese edition advertised in the 1812 book, mentioned in the 1772 booksellers' catalog, and cited in the 1831 colophon for another edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* as previously having been published in 1760. So, this edition must have been published between *ca.* 1750 and 1772, and probably in 1760. The only piece of evidence lacking to prevent stating without doubt that the Late Eighteenth Century edition was first published in 1760 is an example of this edition with a publisher's colophon dated to that year. But such a colophon may never have existed.

Additional evidence for this edition's being published after 1750 comes from an examination of the history of early, color woodblock printing in Japan. Hishiya Magobē was one of the first Japanese publishers to master color woodblock printing. After another Kyoto publisher printed the first Japanese edition of the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual) in color between 1748 and 1753, Hishiya Magobē published the second Japanese edition in 1776, followed by another, yet again recut, color edition in 1780.⁷⁰ Another very early

6. Advertisement in *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual), Japanese edition published by Hishiya Magobē, listing other books by this publisher. The second column from the left on the bottom half page of text inside the grid announces the availability of its edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting*. This page also states that the blocks for this edition of the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* were cut in 1780 and this copy printed in 1812. Exemplar in Private Collection.

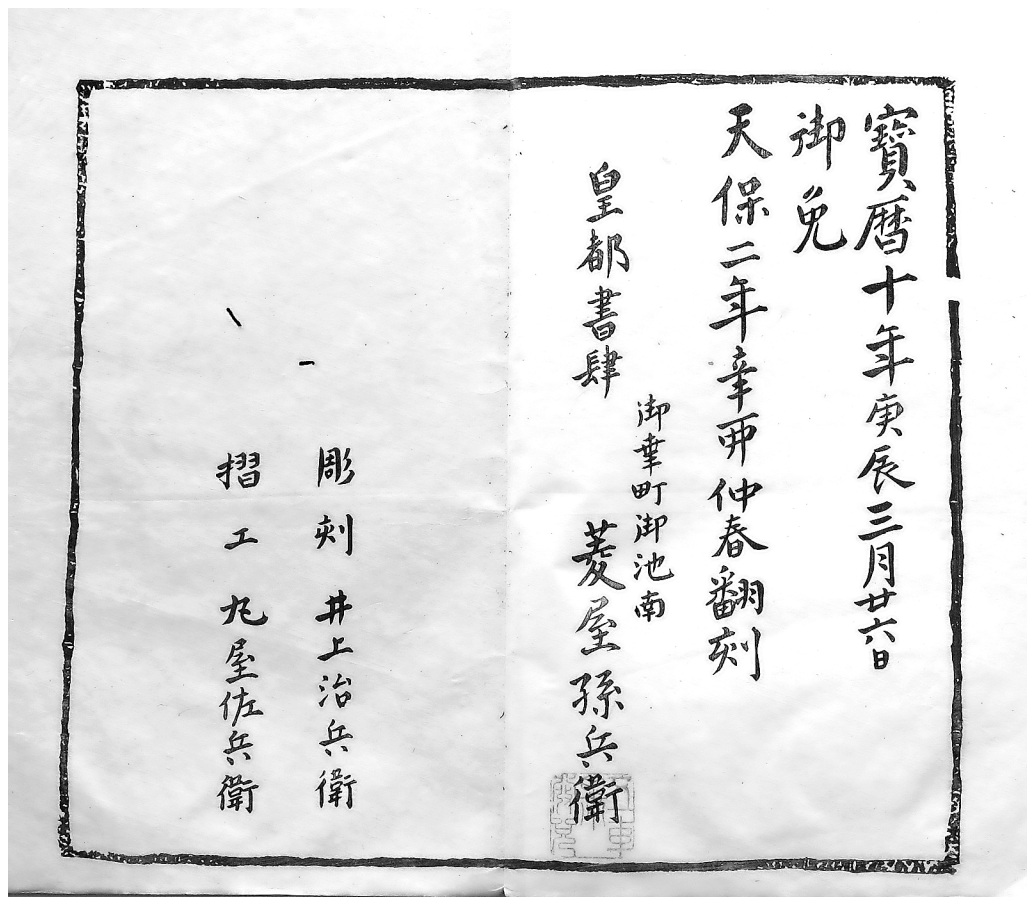
皇都五車樓畫譜類藏版略書目													
芥子園畫傳		李笠翁先生論定 唐本繙刻		山水之部		全五冊 出來		花鳥之部		全六冊 出來			
蘭竹梅菊之部		并人物樓閣式		同畫傳考		全一冊		杜氏徵古畫傳		松篁著 全三冊			
列僊圖贊		月僊畫 全三冊		安永九年 庚子正月刻成		文化九年 壬申初冬求版		皇都書肆					
漢畫指南		山水人物 蘭竹梅菊 文鳳畫		全一冊		同 二編		全三冊		金波園畫譜		全一冊	
竹洞山水畫稿		全二冊		同蘭竹梅菊之部		二冊		融齋畫譜		花鳥之部		一冊	
譯本芥子園		三冊		十竹齋畫譜		古渡翻刻		十六冊		晚笑堂		唐本翻刻 三冊	
藏版				御幸町姉小路上町		菱屋孫兵衛							

example of Japanese color woodblock printing is *Minchō seidō gaen* (The Living Garden of Ming Painting), first published in Japan in 1746 and reissued in an expanded version by this same publisher, Hishiya Magobē, in 1780.⁷¹ These two titles constitute the first extensive color woodblock printed books in Japan.⁷² Thus, this Japanese version of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* must have been published after this time, that is, no earlier than around 1750 because the methods for color printing were not available in Japan till this time.⁷³

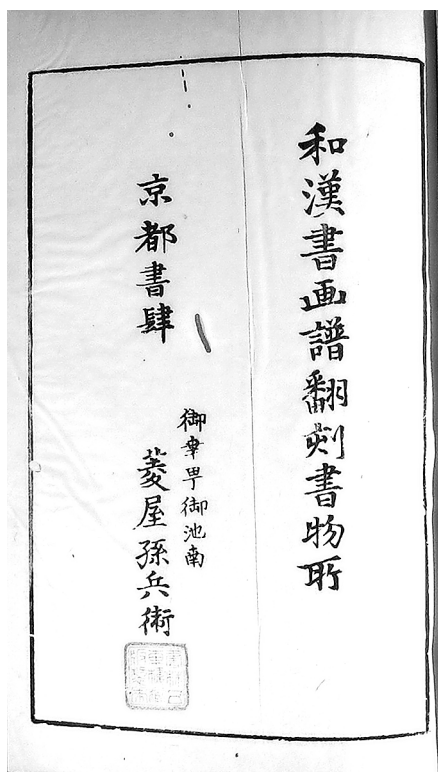
I have found several states of the “Late Eighteenth Century” edition and have identified only three variations of bamboo frame for the poems that accompany the “Round Design” volume in this edition. Most of the exemplars are quite similar with respect to colors and seals used, in contrast to the first- and second-superstate exemplars discussed above. However, there are at least two states in which seal use differed from the majority of the copies I examined. Two other states are found in an exemplar in the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City and one exhibited at the Machida Museum of Graphic Art (1990), both of which have no seals on any of the pictorial leaves. Moreover, in the latter exemplar the bamboo border, normally seen on the poem leaves accompanying the pictures in “Round Designs,” was now placed surrounding the picture leaves from the “Bird” volume. (See e.g. figures 1b and 5i.) Finally, one of the leaves from the “Bamboo” volume of this exemplar illustrated in the Machida catalog is shown with the circle usually found surrounding only the twenty picture leaves of the “Round Design” volumes.

Two exemplars of this edition are bound in sixteen fascicles with the pages in a modified butterfly style in which the pages are held with paste in the spines and the pairs of outside edges of the last half of a pictorial page and the first half of the following poem pages, found free in traditional butterfly binding, are here glued together on the unprinted sides. Several other exemplars have been remounted so each page lies flat, usually on much heavier paper although it is clear that the pages had at one time been folded. I have seen just one exemplar in a butterfly binding in which the pages had not been backed with stiff paper. Although any given exemplar inevitably is missing a few pages, I have been able to find all 186 pictorial leaves in one Late Eighteenth Century exemplar or another.

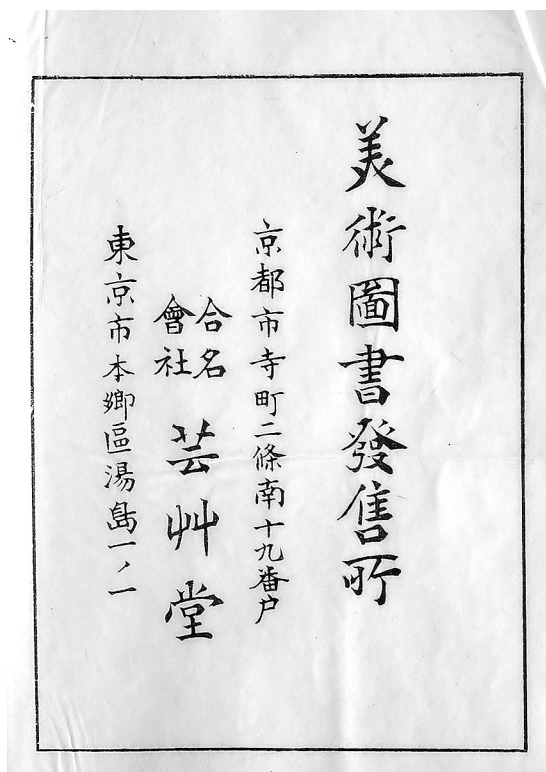
The Late Eighteenth Century set of prints is somewhat unusual in that while most of the leaves are quite handsome, a few are shockingly poor, especially in the “Fruit” volume where the subtle stippling of several of the fruits



7A. First exemplar of a publisher's colophon for the 1831 edition of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. Publisher is Hishiya Magobē, Kyoto, colophon is dated 1831 (Private Collection set #31).



7B. Second exemplar of a publisher's colophon for the 1831 edition of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. Publisher is Hishiya Magobē, Kyoto, no date given (New York University Institute of Fine Arts Library, New York).



7C. Third exemplar of a publisher's colophon for the 1831 edition of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. Publisher is Unsōdō, Kyoto, no date given (University of Washington East Asian Library, Seattle, Washington).

was replaced by ugly, repetitive dots and squiggles. Possibly there were different block cutters for different volumes in the set. This volume is changed the most in Hishiya Magobē's 1831 recutting of these blocks.

THE THIRD SUPERSTATE

There is a large group of exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* that continued to be printed using most of the original blocks but whose appearance is quite different from the pictures of the second superstate. These changes are so significant that I have called these sets of prints the "third superstate." Importantly none of the second edition seals are used or even copied. And the pattern of seal use in particular volumes is quite different from any known exemplar of the first or second superstates. All exemplars of the third superstate retain the date and signature found in the general introduction to the second superstate; however, the blocks for the text pages have been recut. The publisher must have supplied an example of the second superstate for his text cutters to follow since they left out one of the pages in the preface to the "Bird" volume, as noted above for all the second-superstate exemplars. (See Table 3 for a summary.) And, in contrast to the second superstate, for quite a few of the pictorial leaves in the third superstate, some of the printing blocks have been lost or damaged beyond usability. (Compare figure 8a with figure 8b; all the flower blocks are lost in the latter figure.)⁷⁴ One might expect a discernible, slow, steady set of changes in the blocks as they are continuously used, but there seems to be a discontinuity between the second and third superstates. One possible explanation is that the blocks were stored under poor conditions for some time, causing the many cracks and chips found on the blocks and the extreme damage to or loss of other blocks.

Paine introduced two exemplars of the third superstate: the "Hart" set at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Metzgar "post-1715" set. Although the Metzgar exemplar cannot now be located, many other exemplars of the third superstate can be found. For my database, besides photographs of about half of the Hart set at the Art Institute of Chicago, I used complete sets in the University of Oregon Schnitzer Museum of Art and the University of California, C.V. Starr Berkeley East Asian Library, a private collection (#30), and a partial set (6 of 8 volumes) in a private collection (set #6). In addition, 24 leaves from a set in the National Central Library in Taipei have been published in large format.⁷⁵ And I was also able to examine and photograph several other copies. (See Table 1.)

A distinguishing characteristic of many exemplars of this third superstate is the addition of a cover page. (See figure 9.) The third superstate and the 1817 edition are the earliest ones known to have cover pages. I have found cover pages on the Oxford, Art Institute of Chicago, and Berkeley exemplars, but not on the Private Collection Sets #5 and #30, Kansas City, or Harvard-Yenching exemplars. The cover page gives no information on the date of publication nor on the name and location of the publisher. Each of the sixteen fascicles in three sets (Berkeley, Chicago, and Chinese University of Hong Kong) has a light brown wrapper bearing a label printed with the title of the particular volume. Other exemplars have light blue wraps. I assume these all are the original wraps. Further three sets (Art Institute of Chicago, Kansas City, and Harvard-Yenching) had all their fascicles encased in identical dark blue wrapped covers (*tao*) with a “cover illustration” of a portion of the general introduction printed on a sheet pasted on the front of the *tao*. Again I assume these are the original wrap-around cases, at least for some sets of the third superstate. Finally, the printing of the third superstate is complete, that is, all of the 186 leaves found in the first and second superstates could be found in one exemplar or the other of the third superstate that I examined.

Different states arise both from the patterns of seal use for a particular volume of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* set and from the seals used on a particular leaf. The pattern of placing seals on pictures in the different volumes is greatly altered from the practice for any of the first- and second-superstate exemplars. Specifically, many of the third-superstate sets have seals on the “Orchid” pictures, while no first- or second-superstate exemplar does. Also, in most copies of the third superstate most pictures in the Introduction and the “Round Design” volumes do not have seals, unlike in the second superstate. However, the Taipei copy seems to have seals only on the “Round Design” and “Plum” pictures. With respect to the seal used on a particular page, one has the impression of almost random placement of a particular seal on a particular page. The seal legends (i.e. the text on the seals) have no relationship to the seal legends used in the first and second superstate.

Another source of variation is the frame around the poems in the “Round Design” volume. All third-superstate exemplars have a very worn frame around these poems; only in what is probably the earliest example in this group, that at the Reitberg Museum in Zurich, can faint traces of bamboo segments be discerned. (See figure 5j.) In most exemplars the frame is almost nothing more than a slightly crooked rectangle without any detail. (See figure 5k.) In some of the

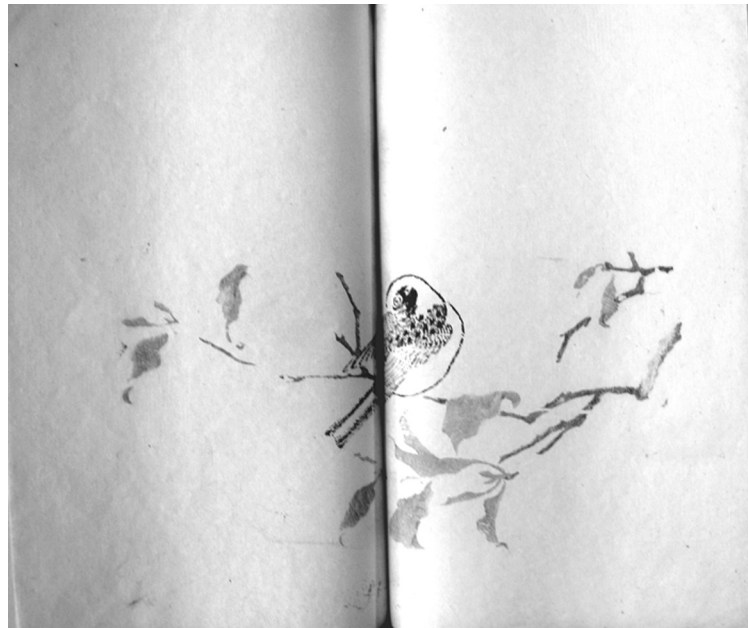


8A. First edition, second superstate, late impression. (San Diego Museum of Art, Museum purchase through the Alice Klauber Memorial Fund of the Asian Arts Council, San Diego, Calif.)

8A-c. "Bird and Sweet Olive Blossoms," *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, "Bird" volume, pl.VIII-14.



8B. First edition,
third superstate.
(Murray Warner
Collection, Jordan
Schnitzer Museum
of Art, University
of Oregon, Eugene,
Ore.)



8C. First edition,
fourth superstate
[1879b]. (Harvard-
Yenching Library,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.)

是傳名人翰墨圖繪陸離畫中有詩詩
中有畫臨摹精神濃淡奇妙費率
糜工鑄成大觀原板珍藏素遜真
賞近有効顰恐混魚目善價沽者
毋虛藻鑑

海陽胡正言曰從氏識於十竹齋



(Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 26781. Photograph by Robert Lifson, Art Institute of Chicago.)

later exemplars (Art Institute of Chicago, Berkeley, Hong Kong), this “Round Design” poem frame is also used as the frame for all the text leaves even though it doesn’t fit properly and leaves the last column of text outside the frame. In this and many other ways, it seems that little care was taken in printing the third superstate.

There is no firm information on when the third superstate was first published, but it must be some time after the last known date the second superstate was printed, thus significantly after 1775. The third superstate was then printed up to 1879 when the fourth superstate was first issued.

THE 1817 CHINESE EDITION

The next edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* was published in 1817, issued by the Jieziyuan (Mustard Seed Garden) publishing house. This publisher is probably unrelated to the publishers in Nanjing that produced the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting) in 1679 and 1701.⁷⁶ This completely recut edition has a cover page, usually printed on bright golden-yellow paper, which bears its 1817 date of publication and the name of the publisher. (For the date and the publisher’s name, see the last column on the left in figure 10.) A few exemplars have a dark red cover page. This is the first dated edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* since the second superstate of 1703. Of course, prints using these blocks were no doubt produced for many years after 1817.

My reference sets for the 1817 edition are photographs of the exemplar in the UCLA library and of the Private Collection Set #26 exemplar, supplemented by photographs of about two thirds of a set in the Seattle Art Museum, images of about one hundred leaves from the New York Public Library copy, and the 94 leaves published in a book by Francois Reubi.⁷⁷ I also used photographs of two partial copies in two private collections (sets #20 and 21). Some variations giving rise to different states are also noted below in exemplars in the Art Institute of Chicago, Columbia University Library, and the Shanghai Library.

The 1817 edition copies the features of the general introduction of the second superstate with respect to the date, *guiwei* (1703), and the signature, Lanqi, and also continues that edition’s avoidance of the Kangxi taboo character in the “Plum” volume index. It also omits the page of the preface to the “Bird” volume as noted above. The most striking change is that there are no seals on any of the

pictorial leaves of any exemplar. This lack of seals of course eliminates the differentiation of copies into different states according to the seals used. However, different states emerge when seal use on the poem and text leaves is considered. Most exemplars have seals on the poem leaves of all the volumes but two do not (Private Collection Sets #20 and #25). In addition, several exemplars have seals at the ends of the general introduction and prefaces but others do not. Another variation that gives rise to different states is the bamboo frame around the poems in the “Round Design” fascicles. Some exemplars have a border of thin branches of bamboo with leaves sprouting from them (Harvard-Yenching and Shanghai Library) while others have repetitively segmented stalks of bamboo (UCLA and New York Public Library). (See figures 5l and 5m, respectively.) Paine pointed out this last type, which he called a “fisheye,” in the pearls of the Sackler (ex-Fogg) first-superstate set.⁷⁸ No doubt this poem leaf came along with the 1817 picture leaf, “Round Design”V-14, which was incorporated into that set.⁷⁹ Several exemplars have one large and two small seals on their cover pages (UCLA, NYPL, Columbia University, Shanghai Library, and Harvard-Yenching Library; see figure 10) while others do not (Art Institute of Chicago, and Seattle Art Museum).

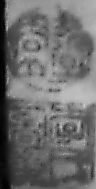
The 1817 edition has a few deviations from the standard set of 186 pictures. Only a few pictorial leaves that carry signatures and/or inscriptions in the first-superstate exemplars have these signatures and/or inscriptions on the corresponding 1817 leaves. The complete set of 186 pictorial leaves was printed for this edition and can be found in one exemplar or the other with two exceptions.⁸⁰ Paine pointed out that one of the bird images (VIII-5, Bird on Rosebush) had been replaced by an entirely new image.⁸¹ In addition, there has been a radical reworking of another bird image (VIII-16, Bird on Rock, Rosebush), in which the bird’s head, instead of facing forward, is twisted around so that it faces toward the back. (Compare figure 11a with figure 11b.) These two changes are carried through in three of the five later editions: the Japanese 1878/1888 edition and the Chinese 1879a and 1879b editions, which suggests that these later editions must have, at least partially, copied the 1817 edition rather than a first- or second-superstate exemplar. Many other pictures have been simplified, for example, the mist in the “Bamboos in Mist” (III-5) is missing in the 1817 edition.

As always, there are caveats in using only the cover page to identify the whole exemplar. I found a set of prints in the Art Institute of Chicago in which the first two volumes, including the cover page, were from the 1817 edition but

是集前賢苦心搜輯海內盛行其中花卉翎
毛竹石書法諸體詳備誠畫學之金針亦書
家之寶筏也原板歲久模糊神韻盡失致使
學者望洋而歎深為可惜幸本園家藏原譜
歷歷可觀茲特詳加考訂重付棗梨俾廬山
面目不淆溷於雲烟是亦前賢嘉惠後學之
心也夫爰綴數言書之卷首

嘉慶丁丑花朝日

芥子園謹識



海陽胡曰從摹古
江寧張學畊重校



十竹齋書畫譜

書畫

墨華

果譜

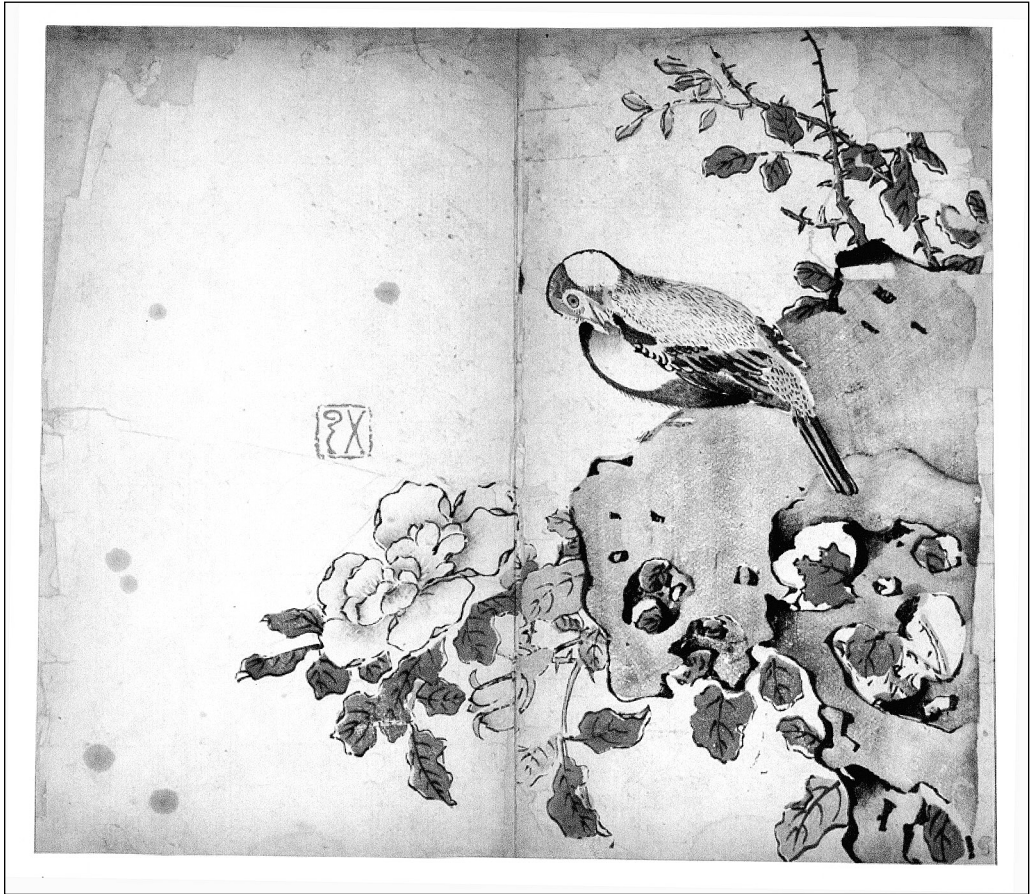
翎毛

蘭譜

竹譜

梅譜

石譜



11A. "Bird on Rock, Rosebush," *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, "Bird" volume, pl. VIII-16. First edition, second superstate. (San Diego Museum of Art, Museum purchase through the Alice Klauber Memorial Fund of the Asian Arts Council, San Diego, California).



11B. "Bird on Rock, Rosebush," *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, "Bird" volume, pl.VIII-16. 1817 edition. (Private Collection Set #25.)

the other six volumes were from the Late Eighteenth Century edition. In addition, the 1878/1888 Japanese version replicates the cover page of the 1817 edition very closely (see below), so it is necessary to look beyond the cover page to identify the edition.⁸²

THE 1831 JAPANESE EDITION

This Japanese edition was first published in Kyoto in 1831 (Tempō 2). For the database I used photographs of the exemplar in the Occidental College (Los Angeles) rare book collection, an exemplar in the University of Washington East Asian Library rare book room, an exemplar in the New York University's Institute of Fine Arts Library, three exemplars in a private collection (sets #13, #29, and #31), along with a modern black and white lithographic reproduction copy published in Japan in 1977. (For this last exemplar see the appendix on modern editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.) Each of the seven almost complete sets was missing a few pictures, and often the pictures were not in standard order, but there were only two pictures/poems missing from all seven "complete" sets. Using Paine's numbering system, the missing pages are VII-18 "Three Oranges in a Knotted Stand," and VII-19 "Snake Gourd Vine," both from the "Fruit" volume.

Of the seven complete exemplars, five—three in private collections, the New York University exemplar, and the University of Washington exemplar—have a publisher's colophon. One of the private collection exemplars has a colophon from the publisher Hishiya Magobē, which, most importantly, gives a publication date of 1831 (Tempō 2).⁸³ The colophons from the other four exemplars are undated; one is also from Hishiya Mogobē, while the other three are from a different publisher, Unsōdō. The transfer of blocks from one publisher to another is fairly common in Japanese publishing practices.⁸⁴ Hishiya Magobē was the same firm that published early Japanese editions of the picture books *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* and the *Living Garden of the Ming* and that, I have proposed, did the Late Eighteenth Century edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. A firm with the name Hishiya Magobē was active from the latter half of the eighteenth century through much of the nineteenth century, publishing at least until 1874.⁸⁵ (For the undated Hishiya Magobē colophon, see figure 7b, and for the colophon by Unsōdō, see figure 7c.) All exemplars have identical picture, poem, and text leaves. Comparing the copies, all of which are good crisp exemplars, shows that the copy with the 1831 date was printed the earliest, followed by the undated

Magobē exemplar, and then the Unsōdō exemplars. The *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* exemplars with the Unsōdō colophon had to have been published after 1891, the year this publishing house was founded. It is thus likely that Hishiya's blocks were sold or somehow transferred to Unsōdō, which continued to use them.⁸⁶ Unsōdō is still an active publisher today in Kyoto and used these same blocks to produce another printing of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* with its publisher's colophon dated 1973. (See Appendix 1.)⁸⁷ This new publication, available for purchase from the firm today, was printed on much whiter, thicker, and higher quality paper than the nineteenth century copies.

An unusual feature of the 1831 edition is that this and the closely related 1882 edition were the only recut editions that copy the general introduction of the first superstate. And these are the only nineteenth-century editions that do not make the two changes to the “Bird”-volume leaves that the other editions [1817, 1878/1888, 1879a, and fourth superstate (1879b)] have made. However, it does make the two mistakes found in the second superstate—a change in the seals in the “Scholar's Rocks” volume and the dropping of a page from the preface to the “Bird” volume—and so has copied those errors from a second superstate exemplar. All other nineteenth century recut editions copy the general introduction from the second superstate.

LATER NINETEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS AND SUPERSTATES

Up to this point, a completely new set of blocks of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* had been cut three times since 1633—for the Late Eighteenth Century edition and 1831 Japanese editions and for the 1817 Chinese edition. The last four recut editions/superstates amazingly all first appeared over a few years near the end of the nineteenth century, from 1878 to 1882.

The 1878/1888 Japanese Edition

Maekawa Zenbē (also Romanized “Zenbei”) published the first of these recut editions in Osaka in 1878. It was reprinted with a redated printer's colophon in 1888, and so I have called it the “1878/1888 edition.” Its preface states that it is copying the 1817 Chinese edition. As mentioned above, its cover page (figure 12) is a close copy of the cover page printed on yellow paper found in the 1817 edition (figure 10), and so one could be misled into identifying a given exemplar as the 1817 edition, that is until the publisher's colophon (figure 13) is encountered

是集前賢苦心搜輯海內盛行其中花卉翎
毛竹石書法諸體詳備誠畫學之金針亦書
家之寶筏也原板歲久模糊神韻盡失致使
學者望洋而歎深為可惜幸本園家藏原譜
歷歷可觀茲特詳加考訂重付棗梨俾廬山
面目不淆溷於雲烟是亦前賢嘉惠後學之
心也夫爰綴數言書之卷首

嘉慶丁丑花朝日

芥子園謹識

海陽胡曰從摹古
江寧張學畊重校



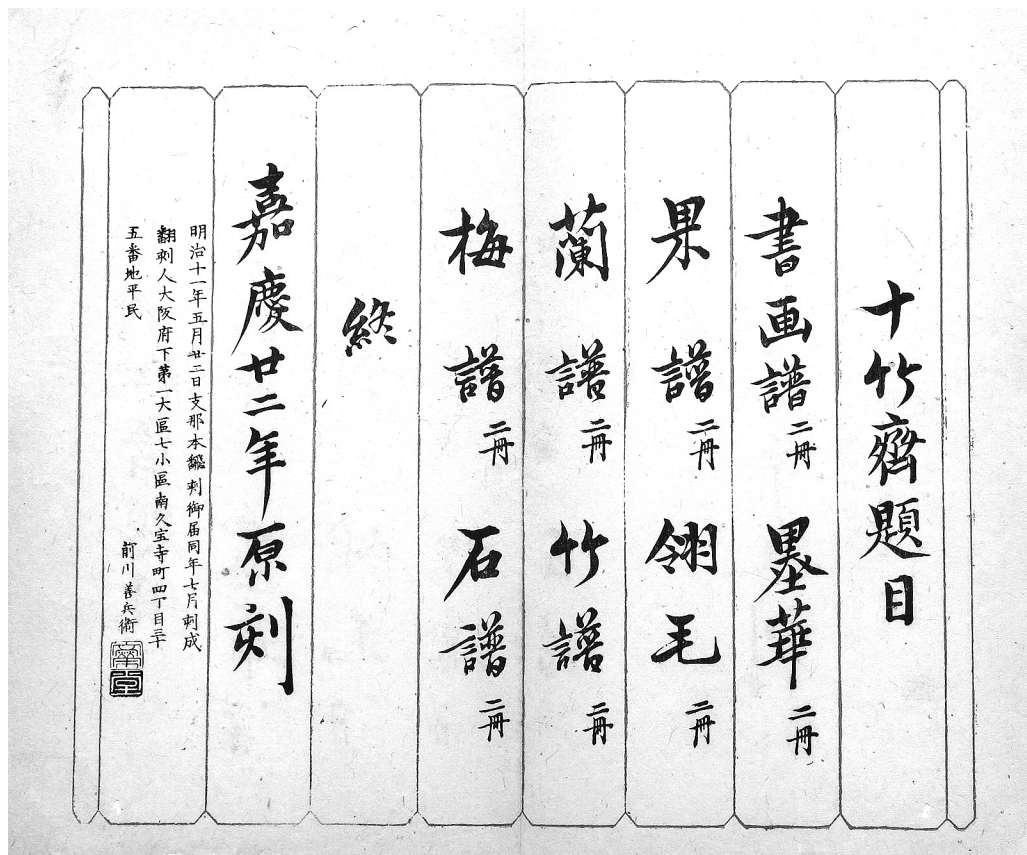
十竹齋書畫譜

書畫
蘭譜

墨華
竹譜

果譜
梅譜

翎毛
石譜



13. Publisher's colophon for the 1878/1888 Japanese edition, *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. (Private Collection #14.) The publisher is Maekawa Zenbē from Osaka.

at the end the “Scholar’s Rocks” volume. (As might be expected, the blocks for the 1878/1888 Japanese edition do not match exactly those of the 1817 edition.) For the database I used three complete exemplars in private collections (sets #14, #15, and #16); these were supplemented by some photographs from the Harvard-Yenching exemplar. All exemplars I have seen are physically the same in that they are printed on medium-weight brownish paper and bound true butterfly style in 16 fascicles, each covered in light-brown paper wraps each with a printed fascicle label.

Besides the cover page, other features are identical with the 1817 Chinese edition: all of the pictorial leaves lack seals, “Bird” leaf VII-5 has been replaced with a new image, and another bird leaf is recut so that the bird is facing a new direction. (See figure 11.) The bamboo border for each poem that accompanies a “Round Design” picture is the sprouting bamboo option found in the 1817 edition. (See figure 51.) In addition, like the 1817 edition, the 1878 edition follows the second superstate in using the date of *guiwei* (1703), is signed by Lanqi in the general introduction, and continues the replacement of the taboo character, a replacement that was necessary only during the Kangxi emperor’s reign. (See Table 3 for a summary.)

One major divergence from the 1817 edition is that none of the poem leaves in the 1878 Japanese edition bear seals. Indeed, the only seals in the whole set are the publisher’s seal at the end of the colophon page and what is probably his seal on the cover page. (See figures 13 and 12, respectively.) As a consequence, all of the 1878 exemplars that I have seen seem to be identical in every way, except that each is missing a few leaves, probably due to either careless collation of the leaves at the time of binding or to the distracting tendency of butterfly bindings to be done so poorly that the adhesive in the spine fails to hold the leaves securely in place. An extreme example was a copy in which absolutely none of the leaves were connected to their brown wraps at the spine. Nevertheless, except for the random missing leaves, at last we have multiple copies of an edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* book that are identical.

The 1879a Chinese Edition

Two distinct sets of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* prints are dated 1879 (the *jimao* year of the Guangxu reign period), and both are accompanied by golden-yellow cover pages and in many cases also by the name of one or the other of two bookstores or publishers. Both were printed in China, and both have sometimes

been catalogued as coming from Shanghai.⁸⁸ I have not determined whether the bookstores were simply the marketing end of the publishing business or whether they also did printing. One of the 1879 editions is a completely new cutting of the entire set of prints, which I have designated the “1879a edition.” The brightness of the colors used varies considerably from exemplar to exemplar and a quick examination of two such exemplars could lead one to assume they were from different editions, unless one put aside colors and looked only at the impressions made by the blocks.

I have compared closely four exemplars of this edition, as well as checking several other exemplars, to see if they were from similar states. The exemplars compared were three in private collections (sets #8, #9, and #11) and a high-quality full-size, color-lithographic reproduction copy printed in Beijing in 1982. (See Appendix 1 for a full reference to this last edition.) I compared these four sets using photographs of exemplars at the British Library, the University of Hong Kong, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the Harvard-Yenching Library.

With two exceptions, one or the other of the exemplars included an example of each of the 186 pictorial leaves. Like the 1878/1888 Japanese edition, which copied the 1817 Chinese edition, the 1879a edition also replaces bird leaf, VIII-5, with the new image used in the 1817 edition, and drastically recuts another bird image, VIII-16.⁸⁹ These changes suggest strongly that this edition also is a copy of the 1817 edition, rather than being a copy of an early set printed from the original blocks.

The story of the cover pages used for the 1879 edition is complicated. There are at least three states of the cover page, and the same cover page is sometimes used for both of the 1879 editions, even though the prints in these two editions are quite different. For the most common type of cover page, a printed inscription, Yuanhe Qiu Ruilin Yufu fu [Qiu Ruilin, a.k.a. Yufu, of Yuanhe (i.e. Suzhou)], designates the name of editor or the publisher. (See figure 14a.) The alternative cover page has the wording Jiaojing shanfang Huailu zhuren printed in the same place at the end of the text on the right half of the cover page. (See figure 14b.) Huailu zhuren (Master of Acacia/Locust Tree Hall) is the book collector and book dealer Zhu Jirong of Wuxian, i.e. in the Suzhou vicinity. Zhu built a study and place for his book collection called Huailu in Songjiang, where he lived in the Guangxu era. Among the several series of books he edited and published were ones named Huailu congshu and Jiaojing shanfang congshu. Zhu Jirong clearly used the name Jiaojing shanfang to identify himself on some of his

publishing ventures, as he did on the cover page of this 1879 edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.

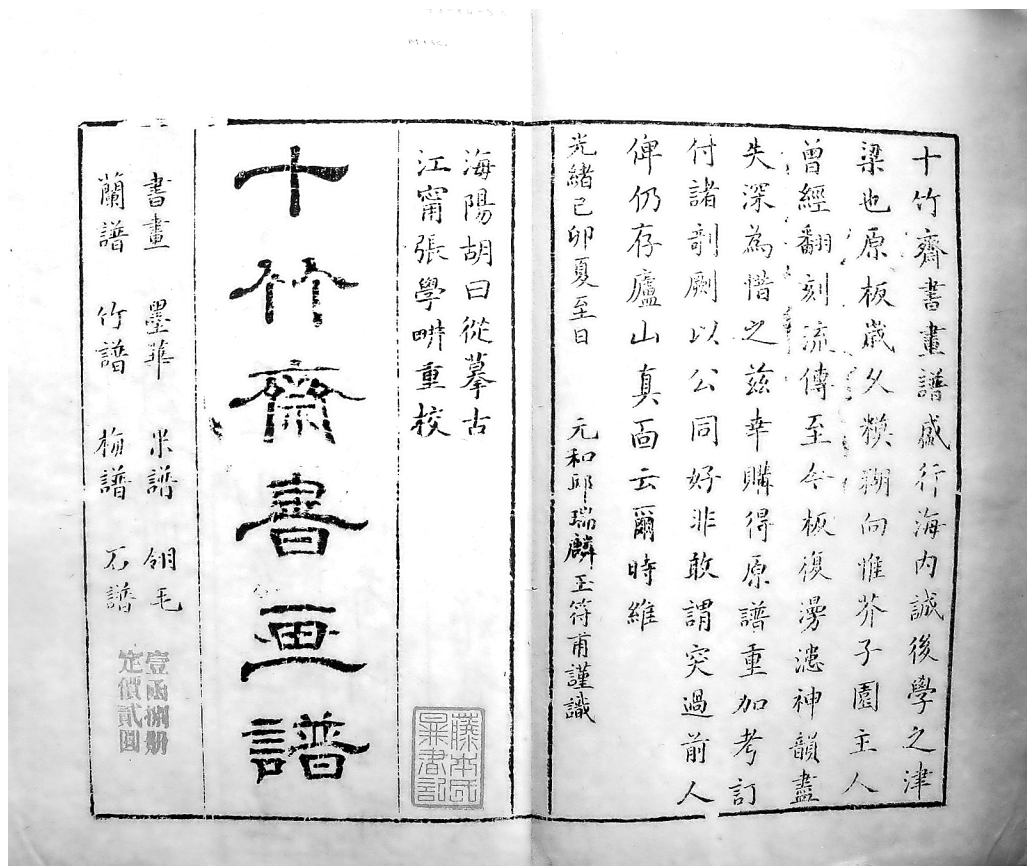
Of nine exemplars of the 1879a for which I have documentation of cover pages, six have the Yuanhe title page (figure 14a) and three have the Jiaojing cover page (figure 14b). I can find no differences in the text, poems, or pictures of exemplars with these two different cover pages. Most interestingly the selling price is printed on three of the copies: 2 yuan (British Library; figure 14a), 2 yuan overprinted with an 8 for a new price of 8 yuan (University of Hong Kong), and 5 foreign [i.e. Mexican] dollars (Private Collection Set #11).

Based on the binding and seal usage, at least three versions of the 1879a edition can be identified. One state has the leaves folded like a butterfly binding but it is thread bound at the fold into four fascicles, each containing two of the volumes of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. This set in a private collection has seals on all the poems and all the pictures, including those that normally do not have seals, the “Orchid” and “Fruit” volumes. The seals are totally unrelated to any of the seals seen on the first or second superstates. A second state of the 1879a edition is butterfly bound into 8 fascicles and has no seals on any of the poems or pictures. In the third state, the leaves are not folded down the center but rather left flat and then thread bound on the left margin; it has no seals on the pictures but does have seals on the poems. Among the 1879a exemplars that I have examined, no two in similar bindings have exactly the same seals, although there is some commonality in their use.

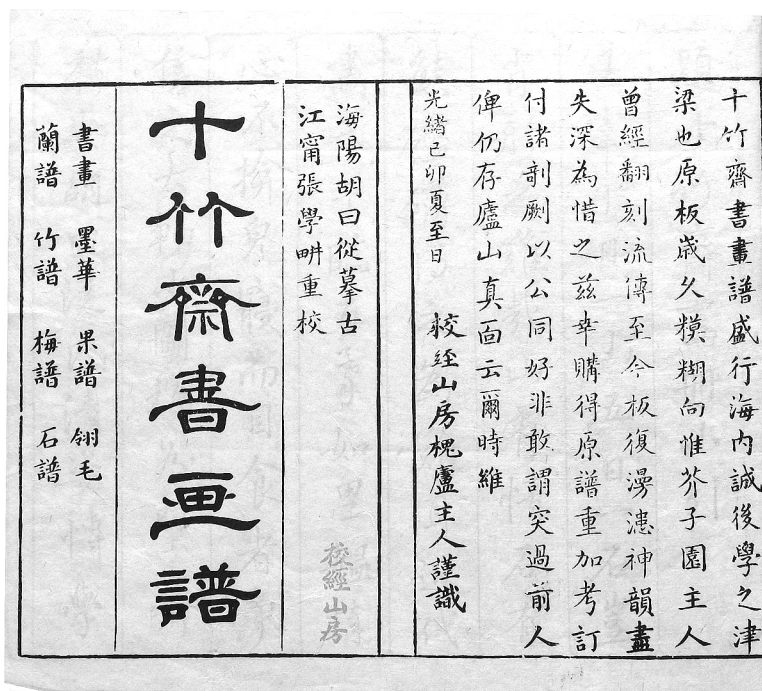
The 1879b (Fourth-Superstate) Edition

Tschichold boldly proclaimed that the original edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* was “perhaps the finest book ever printed in colors.”⁹⁰ The 1879b edition, which uses some of these original blocks, may be the worst book ever printed in colors.⁹¹ Many, many blocks are missing; others are badly worn. (Compare figure 8b with figure 8c.) Many other leaves are from newly cut blocks. (Compare figure 3d with figure 3e.) In almost all cases, the colors used in the 1879b edition are garish and unappealing to modern sensibilities. It took much looking before I realized that these were often the original blocks. However, some of the pictures are entirely recut, so one could be misled by looking at only one or two leaves.

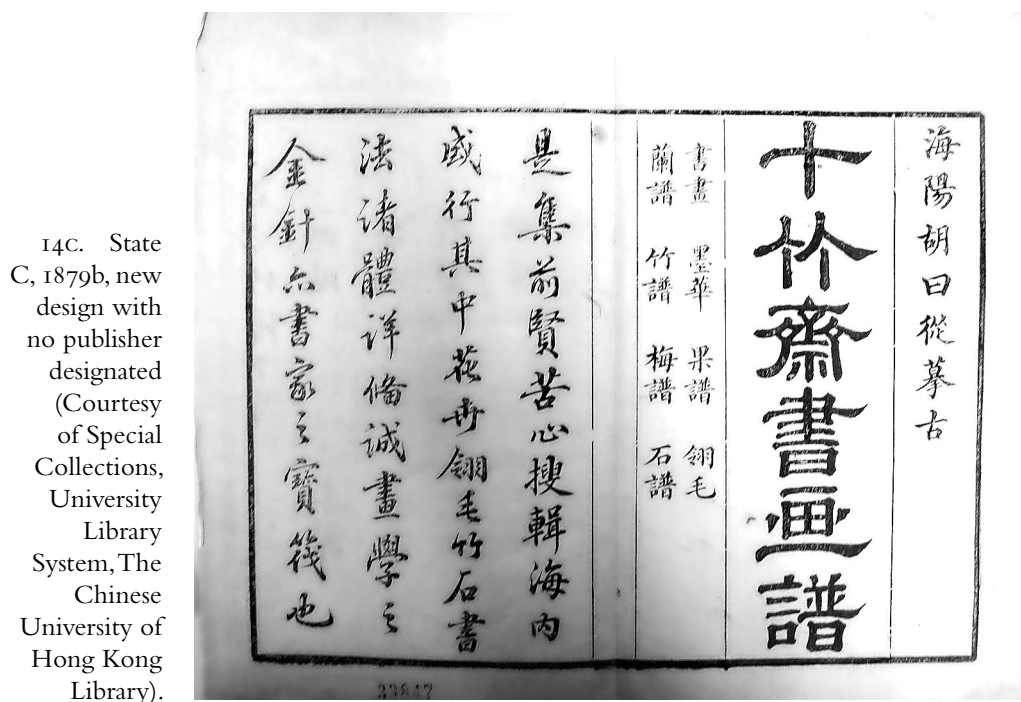
I carefully compared exemplars in a private collection (set #12), photographs of the copies in the Stanford Art Library, and in the Harvard-Yenching Library along with a few additional photographs from the Columbia University



14A. Three different cover pages found on the 1879a and 1879b editions, *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. State A, Yuanhe Qiu Ruilin, 1879a (London, British Library).

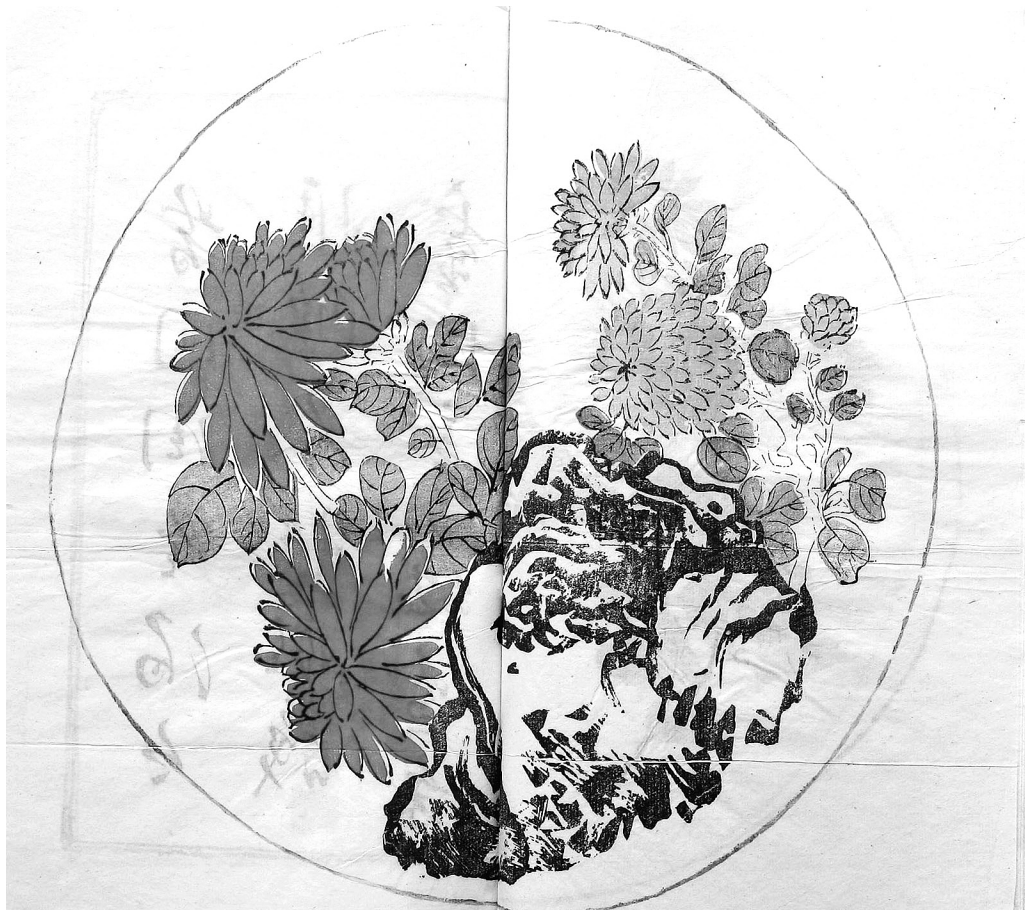


I4B. State B,
Jiaojing shanfang,
1879a (Private
Collection Set #8).





15A. Addition of a butterfly to pictorial leaf I-7, in the printing of the fourth superstate (1879b), *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* (Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts).



15B. New leaf inserted into Volume V, "Round Designs," in the printing of the fourth superstate (1879b), *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* (Harvard Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts).

Library and Chinese University of Hong Kong exemplars. One or the other of these exemplars has all 186 pictorial leaves. Again the two major changes in the “Bird” leaves that started in 1817 are copied here. Thus it was the 1817 edition, not a first or second superstate, that was copied in making new leaves for the 1879b edition. In addition another leaf, I-7, has had the dramatic addition of a butterfly (figure 15a) and an entirely new, extra leaf (figure 15b), has been added to the “Round Design” volume.

Of the 187 pictorial leaves in the 1879b edition, about one hundred are newly cut and about eighty-seven use at least some parts of the original blocks.⁹² These images are very poor. The text pages and, for the first time since the first superstate, the poems have been newly cut. All of these changes are summarized in Table 3.

As noted above in the discussion of the cover pages used in the other edition dated 1879 (1879a), sometimes one of the same cover pages with the name of the firm Jiaojing shanfang is also used for this edition. (See figure 14b.) In addition to these two types of cover pages, an entirely new one is used for the Chinese University of Hong Kong exemplar. (See figure 14c.)

The 1882 Japanese Edition

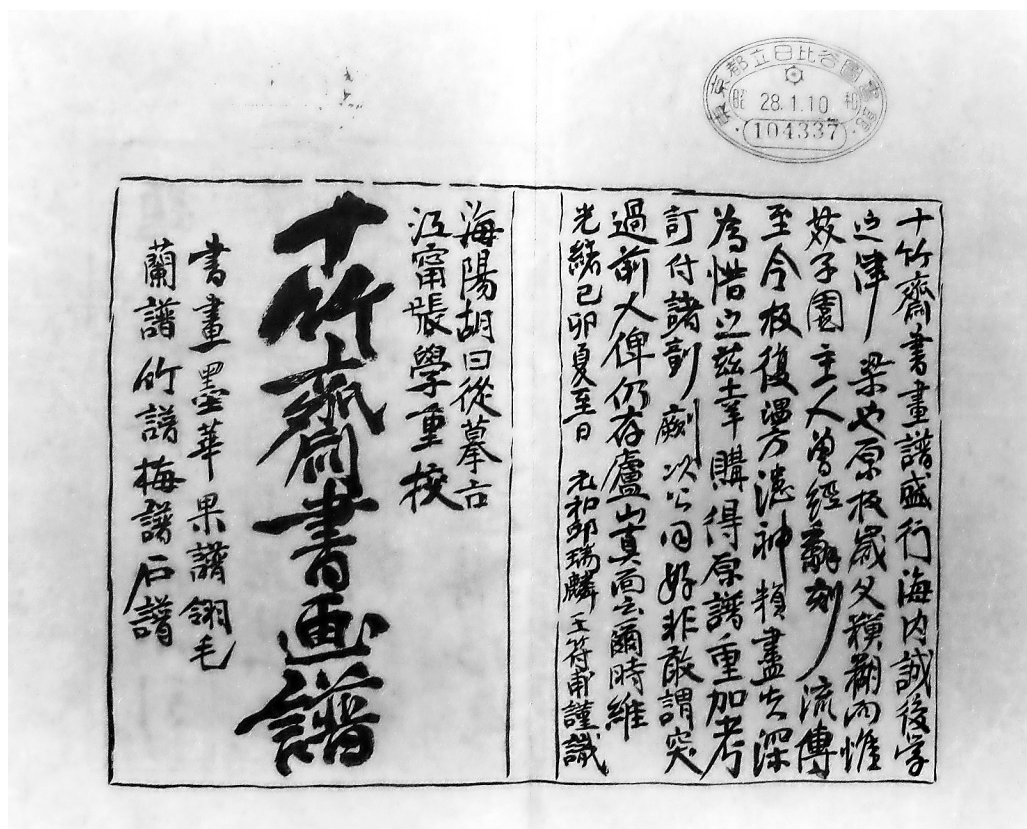
The edition, published in 1882 (Meiji 15) is both rare and mysterious. I have been able to locate only three exemplars.⁹³ One exemplar is in the National Diet Library in Tokyo, a second in the Tokyo Metropolitan Library, and a third partial copy (6 of 8 volumes, missing volumes I and V) is in a private collection (#32). From these three exemplars, I can sum up the following features. Published in eight (National Diet Library and Private Collection set #32) or sixteen fascicles (Tokyo Metropolitan Library), all exemplars contain a publisher’s colophon at the end of volume VI, “Scholar’s Rocks.” The cover page (figure 16) copies the text of the cover page of the 1879a Chinese edition, but it is totally recut in a very different calligraphy and printed on red paper, thus reducing confusion with the other 1879 editions. The publisher’s colophon identifies the publisher as Akashi Chūgadō of Osaka and the publication date as 1882 (Meiji 15). (See figure 17.) The blocks and the seals fairly closely follow the Late Eighteenth Century and the 1831 Japanese editions. However, most of the pictures are reduced to about two-thirds of the size of those in other editions. Except for volume five, the eight-fascicle state is published on generously large paper (26 cm high), while the sixteen-fascicle state is printed on small paper (19 cm high). Since the char-

acters in the prefaces are cut at about the same size as for other editions, though the pages are smaller, there is no longer a page to page correspondence with the prefaces of other editions and superstates.

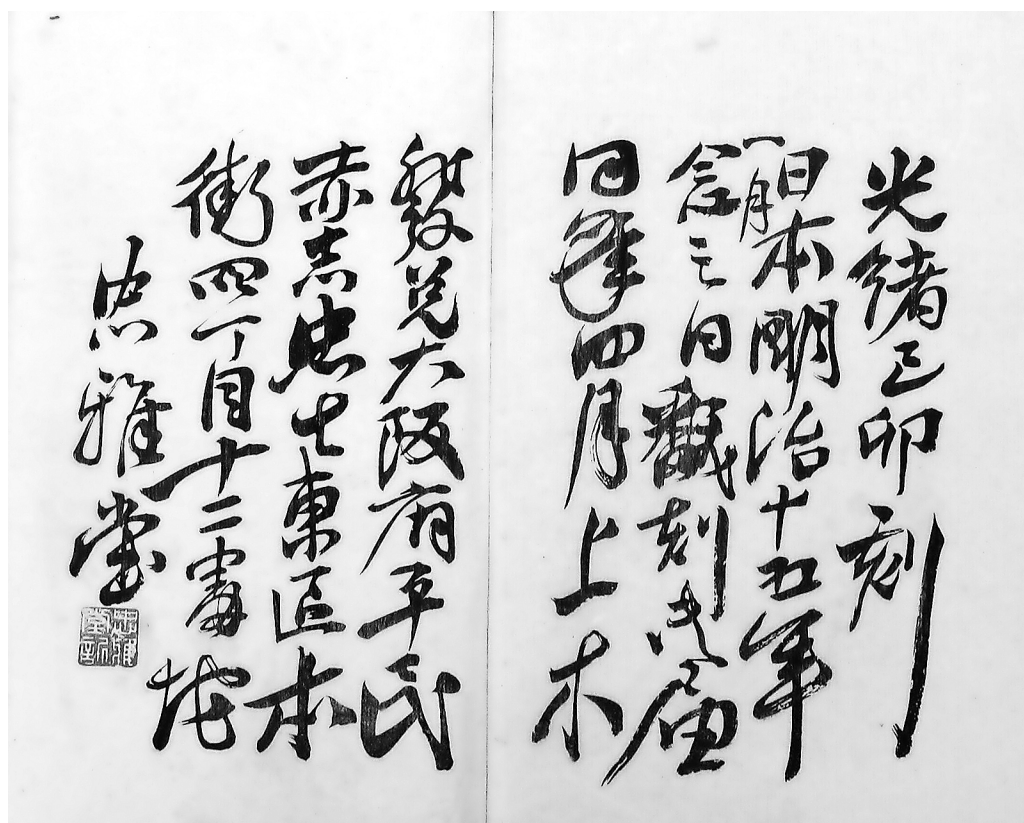
As with the 1831 edition, the 1882 edition is missing leaves VII-18, “Three Oranges in a Knotted Stand,” and VII-19 “Snake Gourd Vine.” About 90% of the seals follow the 1831 edition. Quite distinctively, about half of the “Round Design” images have circles around the images and half do not. Further, about half of the “Round Design” images in the National Diet Library exemplar are almost full size. I can find only one other book listed in OCLC published by Akashi Chūgadō, which suggests that he was not a major publishing figure.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF BOOKS THAT INCLUDE A FEW *TEN BAMBOO STUDIO COLLECTION* LEAVES

Besides the complete editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* discussed above, smaller sets of leaves from the book have been often been recut. The most extensive I have found is a two-volume selection from *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* prints by the well-known Nagoya publishing firm Eirakuya Tōshirō in Meiji 14 (1881). (See figure 18.) The title on the cover page is the same as that given to the whole set. (See figure 19.) Fifty leaves were selected from five of the original eight volumes—volume I, “Introduction,” ten leaves; volume III, “Bamboo,” eleven leaves; volume IV, “Plum,” seven leaves; volume VI, “Scholar’s Rocks,” six leaves; and volume VII, “Fruit,” sixteen leaves. The poems that normally follow each leaf were inscribed on the leaves themselves, giving a much different feeling to these pictures. (See figure 20.) To squeeze most of the poems onto the pictorial pages, the size of the characters had to be reduced, in some cases to less than half of the size of the original characters. Those “Fruit”-volume leaves that had no seals in the first superstate now have a seal with the accompanying poem. And the other pictorial leaves which had a seal in the first superstate now have two seals, the second being from the poem. Neither the pictorial leaves nor the poems are close copies of these leaves in either the Late Eighteenth Century or 1831 Japanese editions. But almost all the seals, from both the pictures and the poems, are extremely close copies of the seals used on the Late Eighteenth Century edition. It seems possible that the publisher had obtained the seals used in the Late Eighteenth Century edition and, after touching them up a little, used them on this edition. On the front of each fascicle is a slightly different title, *Jūchikusai shogafu*



16. Cover page for the 1882 Japanese edition, *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. The oval seal in the upper margin reads Tōkyō toritsu Hibiya toshokan, (Tokyo Metropolitan Hibiya Library).



17. Publisher's colophon for the 1882 Japanese edition, *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* in the Tokyo Metropolitan Library. The publisher is Akashi Chūgadū of Osaka.

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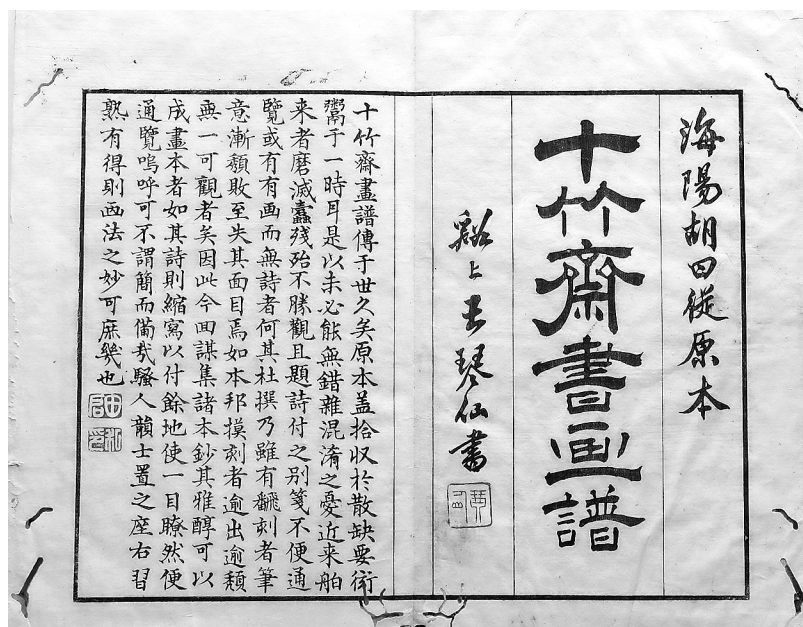
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18. Publisher's colophon for the 1881 Japanese greatly abridged edition, *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. The publisher is Eirakuya Tōshirō from Nagoya. (Private Collection.)



19. Cover page for the 1881 greatly abridged edition, *Tén Bamboo Studio Collection* (Private Collection).

20. "Bamboo, Orchid" at right, from the "Introductory" volume, I-1 from the 1881 greatly abridged edition, *Tén Bamboo Studio Collection* (Private Collection), showing pictures and poems placed on the same page.



shōhon (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting, Abridged), presumably emphasizing the new calligraphy of the poems now included on each pictorial leaf.

This work has an extremely interesting Preface (Fig. 19):

The *Ten Bamboo Painting Collection* has been in circulation for a long time. The original edition probably was intended for sale in its day and put together from scattered and incomplete materials, and so could not avoid errors and confusion. Ones that have recently arrived by ship are from over-worn blocks or worm-eaten, hardly worth looking at. Moreover, to have the poems on separate sheets makes viewing inconvenient. Sometimes there are versions with pictures but no poems, trumped up in any fashion. Thus, even when it is recut, the idea behind the brush is gradually destroyed, even to the point where it loses attractiveness. As for those in our country who have cut versions, the more that appear, the worse they get; none are worth looking at. Because of this, this time I planned to gather together the purest and most refined versions to form a volume of pictures. As for the poems, they are reduced in size to fit in the left-over space, so that [the poem and the picture] can be seen in a single glance, making reading more convenient. Alas! Can it not be called simple and complete? Poets should put this by their seats to get familiar with it and gain something of the marvelousness of painting.

Images from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* have been recycled in a couple of ways. In putting together illustrated books, *ehon*, some Japanese artists reworked or copied leaves from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. One example is *Chikutō kachō gafu* by Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776–1853), which has two leaves based on the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*: the “Bird Splashing” (VII–11), and on a combination of “Lotus Pods and Root, Two Water-Caltrop” (I–15) and “Two Lotus Pods, Four Water-Caltrop” (VII–5).⁹⁴

Finally, a number of painting manuals (*huapu* in Chinese, *gafu* in Japanese) often contained reworked or closely copied leaves from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, especially from the “Orchid,” “Bamboo,” and “Plum” volumes. Examples are two Japanese books, *Meijin ranchiku gafu* (Painting Manual of Orchids and Bamboo By Famous Painters) and *Kanga Hayamanabi* (Primer on Chinese Painting).⁹⁵ Most examples seem to copy only a couple of pages and so would not be identified as a completely new edition, but an odd leaf from one of these might

turn up in a pile of loose *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* leaves otherwise gathered from various editions.

CONCLUSIONS

There is good evidence that only ten distinct editions/superstates of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting*.⁹⁶ And of these ten, four are associated with the original blocks—first, second, third, and fourth (1879b) superstates. The other six were complete recuttings of the original blocks—two Chinese editions (1817 and 1879a, although the 1879b also had many of its blocks recut) and four Japanese editions (Late Eighteenth Century, 1831, 1878/1888, and 1882).

The color-woodblock-printed book *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting) is made up of four distinct components—the pictures; the accompanying poems; the texts pages of the general introduction, prefaces, and indices; and the seals. Three times there are distinct discontinuities in the printings using the original blocks because the seals were completely changed and the text pages were recut. These discontinuities have led me to propose the term “superstate” for the four groups of sets printed from these blocks. The first superstate was printed from 1633 to about 1703, and the second from 1703 through 1775 when a one-page advertisement was appended to printings. The third superstate was printed from around 1790 to 1879, and finally the fourth superstate appeared with a cover page bearing the date 1879. Based on the pristine condition of some of the fourth-superstate exemplars, at least one dealer dated their printing to the 1950s. This determination stretches the block’s longevity to over 300 years, and it is even possible the blocks may be extant somewhere in China today.

States are marked by minor alterations in a book; in Western books these alterations include such things as a change in the color of the book cover or a typographic error that is corrected in subsequent printings. For the *Ten Bamboo Studio*, the states of an edition/superstate are most commonly exemplars with a slightly different appearance due to such things as minor changes in the seals used, a different palette of color used to print the leaves, or an alternative way of binding the leaves into volumes. For the first superstate, each exemplar of the dozen available for study represents a distinct state of the book; this is at least partly due to the small number of copies made in each printing and the freedom that a master printer had in applying the seals freehand to the leaves after they

were block printed. Thus although there are a small number of superstates/editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, there are a very large number of states of most of these superstates/editions. It is probably this profusion of states which has caused some to think incorrectly that there are a large number of distinct editions of the book.

My large database (Table 1) contains edition assignments for about 260 exemplars. It was heartening that there are at least sixteen large sets of the first edition, first-superstate prints in existence. Distinguishing the use of different sets of seals extends Paine's criteria for distinguishing between the first and second superstate. I have also provided evidence that the second superstate was first published in 1703, not 1643 as previously proposed, and that it was printed up to at least 1775 when a dated advertisement was appended to the book. A third superstate was published beginning soon after this date until 1879.

The second superstate holds a special place in that most of the new, recut editions followed its special characteristics: date and signature in the general introduction, substitution for the taboo character in the index of the "Plum" volume, and having a truncated version of the preface to the "Bird" volume. The first of these totally new editions was one done in Japan in the last half of the eighteenth century (probably 1760), followed by a Chinese edition in 1817, and then a Japanese edition in 1831. The next new editions all were done in the late nineteenth century starting with a Japanese edition of 1878—which closely follows the 1817 Chinese edition—, a new Chinese version and a new superstate, both dated 1879, and finally a Japanese version first printed in 1882. The first, second, and third of these follow not only the characteristics of the second superstate but also the eccentricities of the 1817 edition by making two substitutions of leaves in the "Bird" volume.

What can we say about the quality of the many exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* that I have studied? Of the two hundred and sixty entries in Table 1 for which I can assign an edition or superstate, thirty-six are for sets of first superstate prints.⁹⁷ However, many of the leaves that have been published since Paine's 1951 article (see Table 2 and Appendix 1) are not from these first-edition, first-superstate prints, or even from second-superstate prints. The inferiority of these later printings has long been recognized. The preface to the 1881 abridged, Japanese recutting of the prints laments that prints from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* "that have recently arrived by ship are from over-worn blocks or are worm-eaten, hardly worth looking at. . . . As for those in our country who have

cut versions, the more that appear, the worse they get; none are worth looking at.” This assessment is undoubtedly too negative because particular leaves that are later impressions from the original blocks, especially the second superstate, don’t show too much wear and are quite attractive. And some of the recut editions also have attractive leaves. Still, examples of the early printings of the first edition, first superstate deserve closer attention by all those interested in the history of woodblock printing. It is there that the exceptional artistry of the creators the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting* comes through most beautifully.

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APPENDIX I TWENTIETH-CENTURY EDITIONS OF THE *SHIZHUSHAI SHUHUAPU* (TEN BAMBOO STUDIO COLLECTION)

1. Shanghai, n.d. (“1879”). 8 flat (pages not folded), stab bound volumes. Published by Jiangdong shuju in Shanghai. This is a poor quality reduced-size collotype halftone reproduction of the 1879a edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Paintings*. This bookstore published books from ca. 1912 to ca. 1933, and this reprint probably dates from the 1920s to 1930s. It has been catalogued by some libraries as if it were a true 1879 edition, but it certainly is not. Incredibly, forty-seven of these late, poor images were reproduced in the compendium of woodblock prints published by Shandong meishu chubanshe in 2000.

2. Tokyo, 1936–1937. 16 volumes, each of stiff paper, each with its own sleeve. Halftone photographic reproduction. Folded paper binding. Published by Tokyo Atoriesha: Hatsubaisho Fukuyama Shoten. This is a high-quality reproduction of the Late Eighteenth Century edition. Beware that a few of the leaves in the “Scholar’s Rocks” volumes are from the third superstate of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Paintings*, not the Late Eighteenth Century edition. These deviate leaves are immediately recognizable by their lacking artists’ seals.

3. Kyoto, 1973. 8 volumes. Woodblock printed. Folded-page binding. Published by Unsōdō, an old Kyoto publisher. This woodblock edition is printed from the blocks used to print the 1831 Japanese edition. The blocks were taken out of storage after about seventy years and printed on new paper that is whiter and thicker than what was originally used. Strangely this new printing adds the title page of the 1879a edition but does not make the changes in the “Bird” volume that the 1879a edition makes. It also has added the two missing leaves from the “Fruit” volume.

4. Kyoto, 1977. 1 volume. 691 pages. Western-style binding. Published by Kyoto Shoin. Japanese title *Jūchikusai gafu taizen*. This is an inexpensive, somewhat

murky, black-and-white lithographic reproduction of the 1831 Japanese edition, but in an unusual state with seals on many of the pictorial leaves.

5. Beijing, 1982. 1 paperback, Western-style volume. Very, very inexpensive black-and-white, reduced-size lithographic edition, copying the 1879a edition. Published by Beijing shi Zhongguo shudian. It originally sold for 2.60 Yuan.

6. Shanghai, 1985. 8 album-bound volumes (deluxe edition) or 16 butterfly-bound volumes. Woodblock printed. Published by Duoyunxuan, the well-known Shanghai traditional woodblock-print shop. This is a marvelous set, copying quite accurately an assembly of first-edition prints. Most of the prints were from one or the other of the two almost complete first-edition copies in the National Library of China. Others were taken from a set in the Liaoning Provincial Museum. One print came from the exemplar in the Nanjing Library. However, some seals appear that are not on any of these exemplars and so must have come from some other set. Blocks were cut quite accurately and made with great skill and care. Only the colors on the leaves do not quite reflect the color in genuine first-edition copies. Perhaps in 300 years the prints will also look this way.

7. Taipei, 1987. Published in 4 volumes. It is a luxurious color-photolithographic copy of the third superstate that is in the National Central Library, Taipei. This reproduction set is quite scarce.

8. Beijing, 1991. 4 string-bound volumes. Published by Zhongguo shudian. Full-size color-lithographic edition copying the 1879a edition. Uses the harsh colors seen in some exemplars of this edition. Nicely done, but it is unfortunate that the publisher did not choose to duplicate a better edition.

9. Jinan, 2000. 1 volume, bound Western style. Published by Shandong meishu chubanshe, as volume 8 in a 22-volume series on Chinese woodblock prints. Along with many other prints there are two versions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting* in this volume. First is a black-and-white lithographic reproduction of an 1879a edition. The second reproduced, mostly in color, 48 leaves from the faux 1879 edition, the first item in this list of twentieth-century editions of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting*.

TABLE 1.

IDENTIFICATION OF EDITIONS AND SUPERSTATES OF THE *SHIZHUZHAI SHUHUAPU*
(TEN BAMBOO STUDIO COLLECTION OF CALLIGRAPHY AND PAINTING) FOUND IN
MUSEUMS, LIBRARIES, AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

CITY OR COLLECTION. Exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting* listed in this chart are arranged alphabetically by the city in which the collection is held. For illustrations of leaves from exemplars of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* that appear in publications and for which the collection is not known, the exemplar is listed by the name of the author—in italics—of the publication in which the leaves appear. Bibliographic data for the published images are given at the end of Table 2.

INSTITUTION. The name of the institution or the collection in which the exemplar is held is specified. If the leaves have been published but the source of the published images is not given in the publication, the notation “Collection unknown” is used.

IDENTIFICATION NUMBER. The identification number or name used by the respective institution is listed. Identification numbers for known private collections are distinguished by assignment of consecutive Arabic numerals. “Unknown” indicates that no identification number is known.

PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED). “(P)” indicates that I have been able to obtain a few photographs of the pictorial leaves extant in a given exemplar. “(P★)” indicates that I have a full set of photographs of pictorial leaves extant in a given exemplar. “# illust.” specifies the number of leaves illustrated in a published source. The sources of the published illustrations are given in Table 2. A question mark, “?,” indicates that nothing is known about the number of the pictorial leaves in a given exemplar.

POEM LEAVES. “Yes” and “no” indicate the presence or absence of poem leaves in a given exemplar. “Most” and “some” indicate the relative number of poem leaves extant. A question mark, “?,” indicates that nothing is known about the existence of the poem leaves in a given exemplar.

SUPERSTATE OR EDITION. Sets are identified as a superstate of the first edition or by the date of other editions. At least some of the original blocks (and thus designated as a first edition) were used to produce four distinct superstates: first, second, third, and fourth. The first superstate was printed from 1633 to *ca.* 1703; the second superstate from 1703 to after 1775, when a dated page was added to the set of prints; the third superstate from after 1775 to *ca.* 1879; and the fourth superstate from 1879 (date on cover page) to perhaps the middle of the twentieth century. See the text of my article for descriptions of the various superstates and other editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting*.

When I have actually seen the set of prints, the edition or superstate assignment appears set in roman. If the addition assignment is based solely on published or unpublished images, the edition designation is set in *italics*. When I have used the edition assignment given by an institution and have not been able to confirm this assignment with any visual evidence, the edition name is placed in quotation marks.

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
Akita, Japan	Akita Prefectural Library	72/xxx /1201	?	?	“1878/1888” ¹
Ann Arbor, Mich.	University of Michigan Library	ND 1260. H893	8 of 8 vols.	?	“late”
—	—	ND 1040. H835	16 of 16 vols.	?	“late”
Beijing	National Library of China ²	16999	152 of 186 leaves (P)	yes	first
—	—	01467a ³	39 leaves (P)	yes	first
—	—	01467b	7 leaves (P)	yes	first
—	—	17768	151 of 186 leaves ⁴ (P)	yes	first
—	—	17000	“Rocks” (P)	yes	first
—	—	17001 ⁵	“Orchid”	no	first
—	—	338–330	5 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
—	—	59688	7 of 8 vols.	yes	1879x ⁶
—	—	18117	8 of 8 vols.	yes	first ⁷
—	—	60327	8 of 8 vols.	yes	1879a
—	—	18116	16 of 16 vols.	yes	1817
—	—	60260	8 of 8 vols.	yes	1879x
—	—	18118	8 of 8 vols.	yes	1817
—	—	58848	16 of 16 vols.	yes	third
—	—	60360	complete ⁸	yes	third
—	—	59267	8 of 8 vols.	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	58750	2 (of 8?) vols.	?	“Ming” ⁹
—	—	XD1593	3 (of 8?) vols.	?	“Ming”
—	—	XD1522	8 of 8 vols.	?	“Ming”
—	—	XD1565	16 of 16 vols.	?	“Ming”
—	—	60753	16 of 16 vols.	?	“1817”
—	—	18119	8 of 8 vols.	?	“1879”
—	—	XD1521 ¹⁰	2 (of 8?) vols.	?	“Mingguo”
—	—	59217	4 (of 8?) vols.	?	“Mingguo”

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	Capitol Library	unknown	1 illust.	yes	<i>third</i>
—	Peking University Library	737.1 4805	1 illust. ¹¹ (P)	most	first
—	Palace Museum	Copy #1	9 illust.	yes	third
—	—	Copy #2	7 illust.	yes	fourth (1879b) ¹²
Berkeley, Calif.	University of Calif., East Asian Library	6351.421	4 of 8 vols. (P★)	yes	second
—	—	6351.421 1817	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	6351.4210 1880	complete (P★)	yes	third
Berlin	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst	6400-6416, 27.81	128 of 186 leaves (P★)	no	first
—	State Art Library (?) ¹³	—	1 leaf (P★)	?	late 18th
—	—	—	1 illust.	no	<i>second</i>
<i>Bernoulli</i>	Private Collection (German?)	—	2 illust.	?	<i>third</i>
<i>Bondy</i>	Private Collection	present loc. unknown	11 illust. ¹⁴	?	<i>first</i>
Boston, Mass.	Museum of Fine Art	50.552-50. 649	127 of 186 leaves(P★)	most	first
—	—	unknown	3 leaves (P★)	no	1879a
—	—	Chinese 21-8-A	1 leaf (P★)	no	second
Budapest	Ferenc Hopp Museum of Art	unknown	1 illust.	?	<i>late 18th</i>
Cambridge, U.K.	Cambridge University	FH.910. 83-98	16 of 16 vols.	yes	second
Cambridge, Mass.	Harvard, Sackler Museum	1940.165. 1-123	132 of 186 leaves(P★)	yes	first ¹⁵
—	—	1976. 65.1-6	126 of 186 leaves(P)	no	first
—	—	1984.287. 1-16	complete	yes	late ¹⁶
—	—	TL 28260.117	complete?	yes	??

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	Harvard-Yenching Library	T6158 4210	complete (P)	yes	third
—	—	T6158 4210a, '1715' ¹⁷	176 of 186 leaves (P★)	yes	second
—	—	T6158 4210b	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	T6158 4210c	complete (P)	yes	1878/1888
—	—	T6158 4210d	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	T6158 4210f	complete (P★)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	T6158 4210e	complete (P)	yes	1831★ ¹⁸
Canberra	National Library of Australia	OC 6178 4262	complete (P)	yes	<i>fourth (1879b)</i>
—	—	OC 6178 4262A	3 vols. (P)	?	1879a
Chicago, Ill.	Art Institute	761.951, S55 (Hart)	complete (P)	yes	third ¹⁹
—	—	761.951, S55, c.2	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th , 1817 ²⁰
—	—	1933.331-	60 leaves (P★)	?	late 18 th , 1831 ²¹
—	—	761.952 S55a	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th , 1817 ²²
—	University of Chicago Library	T6177 4210	complete (P)	?	late 18 th
—	—	T6177 4210B, missing	7 of 8 vols.	?	"1817"
<i>Chūgoku Min Shin no Ehon</i> ²³	Private Collection (Japan?)	—	1 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
Cincinnati, Ohio	University of Cincinnati Library	NE1237. S48	complete (P)	yes	<i>fourth (1879b)</i>
Claremont, Calif.	Pfizer College	—	3 leaves (P)	no	1879a
Cleveland, Ohio	Museum of Art	1984.45	172 of 186 leaves (P★)	yes	first
Hanover, N.H.	Dartmouth College Library	726.4 H86s	complete (P)	yes	1879a
Dubosc	Private Collection Copy 1	—	3 illust.	?	late 18 th

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	Private Collection Copy 2	—	1 illust.	?	1817
Eugene, <i>Feng</i> ²⁴	Univ. of Oregon Collection unknown (China?)	MWCH51: —	complete (P★) 1 illust.	yes ?	third <i>first</i>
<i>Fischer</i>	Private Collection (Germany)	—	9 illust.	?	<i>third</i> , 1817
Geneva	Collection Baur	—	3 leaves (P★)	no	<i>first</i>
<i>Goepper</i>	Private Collection #2	—	1 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
—	Private Collection #1	—	1 illust.	?	<i>third</i>
<i>Gu Yin Hai</i>	Collection unknown (China)	—	2 illust.	?	<i>late 18th</i>
Hamburg	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe	1951.52	70 leaves (P)	some	<i>second</i>
<i>Hasler</i>	Private Collection	—	1 illust.	?	<i>third</i>
<i>Hejzlar</i>	Private Collection	—	1 illust.	?	<i>third</i>
<i>Higushi</i>	Private Collection (Japan?)	—	2 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
Hong Kong	University of Hong Kong Library	941.861 47-1	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	Chinese University of HK Library	ND1049. H763A4	complete (P)	yes	third
—	—	Same, 1879	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Same, 1910x	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	Same, 1800x	6 of 8 vols. (P)	yes	1879a
—	Chinese Univ. of HK Art Museum	?	40 leaves (P★)	yes	first, mixed ²⁵
Indianapolis, Ind.	Museum of Art	58.48 A-H	complete (P)	yes	1817
Izumi, Japan	Kuboso Memorial Museum of Art	S-016	150 of 185 leaves (P★)	yes	first
—	—	S-016	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	#214	complete (P)	yes	late 18th
Kansas City, Kans.	Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art	74-34	184 of 186 leaves(P★)	yes	first
—	—	15-1988/688	complete (P)	yes	third
—	—	32.107	19 leaves (P)	no	third

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	—	F88-41/49	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th
<i>Kobayashi</i>	Collection unknown (Japan?)	—	1 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
<i>Kuroda</i>	Ex-Okada Collection ²⁶	present loc. unknown	2 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
<i>Kurth</i>	Collection unknown (Germany?)	—	3 illust.	?	<i>mixed</i>
Kyoto	Kyoto City Arts University	—	16 of 16 vols.	?	?
<i>Li and Zhang</i>	Private Collection (Japan)	—	1 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
—	Collection unknown (China?)	—	1 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
London, U.K.	British Library	Or,59,a10	163 of 186 leaves(P*)	yes	first
—	—	ORB 30/ 455 ^I	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	British Museum	1927.0413, 02-05	4 leaves (P*)	no	fourth (1879b)
—	—	1928,1126, 0.4-0.5	2 leaves (P*)	no	third
—	—	1930,0319, 0.1-.2	2 leaves (P*)	no	first ²⁷
—	—	1930, 0412,0.1	1 leaf (P*)	no	first
—	—	1930,1015, 0.1;0.6-.8	3 leaves (P*)	no	first
—	—	1951,0505, 0.1-.2	2 leaves (P*)	yes	first
—	—	1955,0416, 0.8-0.10	9 leaves (P*)	some	first
—	—	1970.0202, 0.1-0.10	5 leaves (P*)	most	first
—	—	1988.7-9.01	complete	yes	<i>second</i>
—	Muban Educational Trust	—	“Plum” vol. (P*)	—	first
—	—	—	10 leaves (P*)	yes	first
—	—	—	3 of 8 volumes	yes	1831★ ²⁸

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	—	—	(P)		
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	—	complete (P)	yes	third
—	SOAS, University of London	Morrison missing	?	?	?
—	—	EFc.FFH.240	complete?	yes?	“1879”
—	—	EFc.FFH.16/	complete?	?	“1879”
Los Angeles, Calif.	LA County Museum of Art	46.38.17-19	3 leaves (P)	no	<i>mixed</i>
—	Occidental College	769.951 H874s	complete (P★)	yes	1831★ ²⁰
—	UCLA, Library	07-AFM -6210	complete (P★)	yes	1817
—	—	6178.H86 ³⁰	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	6178.H86	4 vols. (P)	yes	1879a
<i>Luo</i>	National Library of China?	—	2 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
Machida, Japan	Private Collection #1 Japan	Machida, 1988, #8	2 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
—	Private Collection #2 Japan	Machida, 1990, #12	6 illust.	?	<i>late 18th</i>
—	Private Collection #3 Japan	Machida, 1990, #3	6 illust.	?	<i>late 18th</i>
<i>Metzger</i>	See San Diego Museum of Art	“1715”	156 of 186 leaves(P★)	yes	second ³¹
—	Present location unknown	“post 1715”	complete?	yes?	<i>third</i> ³²
—	Present location unknown	“1817”	1 illust.	?	1817
Milwaukee, Wis.	Art Museum	N1953.35, .36	2 leaves (P)	no	<i>second</i>
Minneapolis, Minn.	Institute of Art	unknown	several	?	?

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
Miyagi, Japan	Miyagi Prefectural Library	30268	8 vols.	yes?	“1879”
Moscow	Russian State Library	3B 2-13/ 324?	167 of 186 (P★)	yes	<i>first</i>
Munich	State Library	4 L.sin. K169	1 illust.	yes?	1879a
—	Volkerkunde- museum	77-II-	9 illust.	?	late 18 th , 1817
—	(from Preetorius Collection)	—	—	—	—
<i>Munsterberg</i>	Private Collection	—	1 of 2 leaves ill	?	<i>third</i>
Nagano, Japan	Nagano Pref. Library	724.2/3/1	?	—	“1878/1888”
—	Sanada Treasure House	—	most (P).	—	late 18 th
Nanjing	Nanjing Library	unknown	4 of 8 vols.	yes	first
Nara	Nara Prefectural Library	unknown	8 of 8 vols.	—	“1879”
New York, N.Y.	Metropolitan Museum of Art	CIB5	6 of 8 vols. (p)	—	1879a
—	—	CIB6	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	CIB14	25 of 168 leaves (P)	yes	late 18 th
—	Columbia University Library	6130 4210	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th
—	—	6130 4210.1	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th
—	—	6130 4210.2	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	6130 4210.3	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	New York Public Library	OVL	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	Spencer 1750	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th
—	—	Spencer 1763	complete (P)	yes	third
—	—	Spencer addena	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th
—	Institute of Fine Arts, N.Y. Univ.	ND1042.S5	complete (P★)	yes	1831★ ³³
Northampton, Mass.	Smith College Museum of Art	N7349.H76	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
Oberlin, Ohio	College Art Museum	1933.78, 79	2 leaves (P)	no	mixed
—	—	1950.33-39	7 leaves (P)	no	mixed
—	—	1953.225-233	9 leaves (P)	no	late 18 th , third
—	—	1953.281-283	3 leaves (P)	no	mixed
Osaka	Kansai University Library	28 13	8 of 8 vols.	?	“1879”
—	Municipal Museum of Art	916 36	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	“1879”
Oxford	Bodleian Library	SAC CWg Hu	complete?	?	“1879”
—	—	BOD Sinica 2678	7 of 8 vols. (P)	yes	<i>third</i>
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale	Estam. Oe 139-4	1 illust.	yes	late 18 th ³⁴
—	—	Chinois 14565A	1 illust.	yes	<i>third</i>
—	—	Chinois 14565	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Estam. Oe 268a-4	1 illust.	yes	1817
—	—	Chinois 11424	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Chinois 11464a ³⁵	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Chinois 11464b	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	Chinois 11464c	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Chinois 11933	41 leaves (P)	yes	1817
—	Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, College de France	SB 3402 (1)	12 of 16 vols. (P)	yes	late 18 th
—	Private Collection (Fribourg)	Pres. loc. unknown	4 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
—	Private Collection #2	—	1 illust.	?	<i>second</i>

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	Private Collection #2	—	7 illust.	?	<i>mixed</i>
—	Musee Cernuschi	—	2 leaves (P★)	no?	first
—	—	—	15 leaves (P)	?	third
—	Musee Guimet	MG fond Chi 7736	complete	yes	1879a
—	—	MG fond Chi 38003	complete	yes	1879a
—	—	MA 457, 460, 461	3 leaves (P)	no	1817
Philadelphia, Pa.	Museum of Art	1929-30- 19a-p	complete?	?	?
—	—	1929-139- 2066-2589	423 leaves	no	mixed ¹⁶
—	—	1930-113- 102-132	?	—	?
—	—	56-24-1 to 5	5 leaves (P★)	—	<i>first</i>
Portland, Ore.	Museum of Art	38.5.1- .5; 4	11 leaves (P★)	—	mixed
—	—	40.32	1 leaf (P★)	—	second
<i>Praetorius</i>	(see Munich)	—	—	—	—
Private Collections	—	Set #1	22 leaves (P★)	some	first
—	—	Set #2	28 leaves (P★)	no	first
—	—	Set #3	110 of 186 leaves (P★)	yes	first
—	—	Set #4	172 of 186 leaves(P★)	yes	first
—	—	Set #5	49 leaves (P★)	yes	second
—	—	Set #6	6 of 8 vols. (P★)	yes	third
—	—	Set #7	45 leaves	no	1879a
—	—	Set #8	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Set #9	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Set #10	“Fruit”(P)	yes	1879a
—	—	Set #11	complete (P)	yes	1879a

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	—	Set #12	complete (P★)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	Set #13	complete (P★)	yes	1831★ ³⁷
—	—	Set #14	complete (P★)	yes	1878/1888
—	—	Set #15	complete (P★)	yes	1878/1888
—	—	Set #16	2 of 8 vols.(P★)	yes	1878/1888
—	—	Set #17	7 leaves (P★)	no	first, mixed ³⁸
—	—	Set #18	complete (P★)	yes	late 18 th
—	—	Set #19	complete (P★)	yes	late 18 th
—	—	Set #20	2 of 8 vols.(P★)	yes	1817
—	—	Set #21	105 leaves (P★)	no	mixed ³⁹
—	—	Set #22	50 leaves	no	mixed
—	—	Set #23	8 leaves (P★)	no	mixed
—	—	Set #24	3 leaves (P★)	no	second
—	—	Set #25	complete (P★)	yes	1817
—	—	Set #26	complete (P★)	yes	1817
—	—	Set #27	Vol.VI (P★)	no	1817
—	—	Set #28	complete (P★)	yes	late 18 th
—	—	Set #29	complete (P★)	yes	1831★ ⁴⁰
—	—	Set #30	complete (P★)	yes	third
—	—	Set #31	complete (P★)	yes	1831★ ⁴¹
—	—	Set #32	6 of 8 vols (P★)	yes	1882
Providence, R.I.	R.I. School of Design Museum	—	6 leaves	no	mixed
Regensburg	Historisches Museum	—	22 of 52 illust.	?	<i>first, second</i> ⁴²
<i>Reubi</i>	Private Collection	—	87 illust.	yes	1817 ⁴³
San Diego, Calif.	Museum of Art	1955.102. .1 to .177	175 of 186 leaves (P★)	yes	second
—	International Mingei Museum	—	23 of 186 leaves (P)	no	1879a
San Francisco, Calif.	Fine Arts Museum, Legion of Honor	1963.30. xxxxxx	complete (P★)	?	1831★ ⁴⁴
—	—	1963.30. yyyyyy	complete (P★)	?	third
—	—	1963.30.	1 leaf (P★)	?	late 18 th

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	—	19484			
—	—	1963.30.	9 leaves (P★)	?	1817
—	—	zzzzz			
—	—	1975.I.xx	2 leaves (P★)	?	third
—	—	1975.I.xx	10 leaves (P★)	?	1831★ ⁴⁵
—	—	1975.I.xx	3 leaves (P★)	?	1879a
—	—	1975.I.xx	3 leaves (P★)	?	fourth (1879b)
—	Asian Art Museum, Library	NE1183, S5	complete?	yes	1878/1888
St. Louis, Mo.	Washington University Library	NE1260 H82	complete?	yes	“1817”
Seattle, Wash.	Art Museum	34.I-.54	50 leaves (P★)	—	1817
—	Art Museum	45.489-591	3 leaves (P★)	—	late 18 th
—	Univ. of Wash., East Asian Library	N7349. H76 A4	complete (P★)	yes	1831★ ⁴⁶
Shanghai	Library	019683	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	022012	complete (P)	yes	third
—	—	348651	most (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	493606	most (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	312254	most (P)	yes	1831★ ⁴⁷
—	—	072976	most (P)	some	1882
Shenyang, China	Liaoning Provincial Museum	—	121 of 186 leaves ⁴⁸	yes	first
—	—	—	“Bird” vol. (P)	yes	second
South Hadley, Mass.	Mt. Holyoke College Library	NE1300.8. C62H8	complete (P)	yes	late 18 th
Stanford, Calif.	Stanford University, Museum of Art	1958.93	81 leaves (P)	no	second, mixed
—	Stanford University Art Library	N7349.H76	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	NE1183.H78	complete (P★)	yes	fourth (1879b)
Stockholm	National Museum	unknown	1 illust.	?	1879a
Stuttgart	Linden Museum	OA25.1241-g	complete	yes	“1817”
Taipei	National Central Library	unknown	25 illust.	?	third
—	—	unknown	16 illust.	?	1879a

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	—	unknown	—	—	1878/1888
—	National Palace Museum	unknown	1 illust.	—	1879a
—	National Chengchi University	unknown	—	?	“1879”
Tenri, Japan	Tenri University Library	?	1 illust.	?	late 18 th
Toronto	Royal Ontario Museum	NE1183.H76	complete (P)	?	“1879”
Tokyo	National Diet Library	841-198	70 of 186 leaves	yes	1879a
—	—	163-52	complete (P)	yes	1878/1888
—	—	184-17	complete (P)	yes	1882
—	—	722-2	complete (P)	Yes	1831 ^{*49}
—	—	406-4	5 (of 8?) vols.	?	“Ming”
—	National University of Fine Arts	—	complete? (P)	?	1831 ^{*50}
—	Tokyo Municipal Library	Kaga 4550	complete (P)	yes	1882
—	—	Toku 7414	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	Toku 7415	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	Jissen Women’s University	—	8 of 8 vols.	—	“1879”
—	Tokyo University	F30-109– F30-116	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	JF-49	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	F30-1432	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
—	—	Z9 33	complete	yes	1878/1888
—	—	F30-6	1 vol.	?	“Qing”
—	—	Historical Institute	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	?
—	Tōyō Bunko	III-9-B-108	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	“1817”
—	National Archives	306-0121	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	“1817”
—	—	306-0114	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	“1878/1888”
—	—	306-117	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	“1882”
—	Waseda University	03 00255	16 of 16 vols.	yes?	“1878/1888”

CITY OR COLLECTION	INSTITUTION	IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	PICTORIAL VOLUMES OR LEAVES (IMAGES ACQUIRED)	POEM LEAVES	SUPERSTATE OR EDITION
—	Private Collection	—	complete (P)	yes	1817
—	—	—	3 of 8 vols.(P)	yes	1878/1888
<i>Tschichold</i>	Private Collection	—	31 illust.	?	<i>second</i>
—	—	—	1 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
Utica, N.Y.	Munson-Williams- Procter Institute	66.158	1 illust.	?	<i>third</i>
Washington, D.C.	Library of Congress	(V)H585. 78 H87	complete? (P)	yes	second
—	Freer Gallery of Art	N7349.H76 A4 1879	complete (P)	yes	1879a
—	—	76.51.S5	complete (P)	yes	fourth (1879b)
Yonezawa, Japan	Yonezawa City Library	137	8 of 8 vols.	yes	“1879”
<i>Zhou</i> ⁵¹	Collection unknown (China)	unknown	4 illust.	?	<i>first</i>
<i>Zhou</i> ⁵²	Collection unknown (China)	unknown	2 illust.	?	<i>1879a</i>
<i>Zhou</i> ⁵³	Collection unknown (China)	unknown	7 illust.	?	—
Zurich	Rietberg Museum	—	complete (P)	yes	<i>third</i>

NOTES TO TABLE I

1. It appears that the 1878 edition published in Osaka was reprinted in 1888. I have found only two exemplars with the 1888 date.

2. Many publications either do not specify the source of the leaves they illustrate, or they do not specify which copy in the National Library of China is being illustrated. When possible I have tried to give this information in the list of references to publications that contain illustrations (Table 2).

3. Although item #01467 in the National Library of China has seven fascicles, they clearly represent two different sets of leaves since one fascicle is of a different size and contains some of the same leaves found in the other six fascicles. Accordingly I have divided this call number into 01467a (six fascicles) and 01467b (one fascicle). A leaf from the single fascicle (01467b) was published in the catalogue for an exhibition of Chinese art in London in 1935–1936. See *Canjia Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui chupin tushuo* (*Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London*) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), vol. 4, p. 184.

4. The “Bird” volume, VIII, is missing.

5. 17000 and 17001 have identical dimensions and paper and so are from the same printing. Both have the seals of Zheng Zhenduo.

6. The 1879x edition is a poor quality, non-woodblock-printed set of prints discussed in the Appendix 1. Although it “uses” the 1879 date, it never was printed in 1879. However, because several institutions have catalogued it as such, I include it in this table.

7. This is catalogued as “1817” in the National Library catalog, but it actually is much earlier, a late impression of the first superstate.

8. By “complete” I mean that almost all of the leaves are present; as stressed in the text, in most cases a few leaves are missing from any exemplar.

9. This “Ming” exemplar and seven others listed beneath it from the National Library of China were unavailable to me because they were being moved from one location to another. Formerly these exemplars had been shelved in the “ordinary book” section of the library.

10. Catalogued as a Japanese edition.

11. This set has a total of sixty pictorial leaves.

12. Because part of this set uses some of the original blocks, I have called it the fourth superstate (see text). It also has a cover page dated 1879. Since there is another completely recut edition also dated 1879 and many libraries and museums have confused these two editions, these two editions are designated as 1879a and 1879b, respectively. To further confuse things there is an early twentieth-century collotype-reproduction of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* book that carries a nominal date of 1879 and sometimes is so catalogued by libraries and museums (see footnote 6 above and Appendix 1). Copies of this book are in the National Library of Australia, the Indianapolis Museum of Art, and the UCLA Library.

13. William Cohn identified this set as being in the State Art Library, Berlin. Its present location is unknown. See Cohn, *Chinese Art* (New York: A. & C. Boni; and London: The Studio, 1930).

14. Only one of the leaves from this set is illustrated in an easy to find book; the other eight illustrations are from a quite rare booklet by Walther (Walter) Bondy. I fortunately was able to photocopy this booklet. Altogether there were 67 leaves in the Bondy set. For the Bondy booklet, see Walther (Walter). Bondy, *Chinesische Farbholzschnitte: Das Bilderalbum der Zehn bambushalle* (Berlin: Werkkunst Verlag, 1927).

15. This partial first superstate copy also has a dozen prints from the 1817 edition substituted for first superstate prints. Matted prints number 123, and each is given museum accession numbers while a few of the more-painting-manual-type leaves from the “Orchid” and “Bamboo” volumes, as well as the text and poem leaves are unmounted and not given accession numbers. My accounting for the number of leaves in this copy follows Paine’s notes in a Boston Museum of Fine Arts file on their copy of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.

16. This is the copy that Paine calls Landon Warner’s copy. See Paine, Robert, “The Ten Bamboo Studio, Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” *Archives of Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951), pp. 39–64.

17. The Harvard-Yenching catalog has a note “1715?” in its record. I suspect that a cataloger saw that this copy had the same advertisement as the Metzger/San Diego copy and so tentatively choose Paine’s date of 1715 for this set. In the text of my article, I present evidence that the date of the advertisement is really 1775, one entire sixty-year cycle later.

18. Publisher’s colophon not dated. For more on this 1831★ edition, see note 28 below.

19. This is the copy that Paine calls the Hart copy. See Paine, Robert, “The Ten Bamboo Studio, Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists.”

20. For this set of fascicles, the Introductory volume is from the 1817 edition, which includes that cover page, while the rest of the set is from the Late 18th Century (Japanese) edition.

21. This set of 60 loose prints is partly from the 1831 Japanese edition while 30 prints, from two different volumes, are close to the Late 18th Century edition though some blocks have been changed. I have found no other examples showing these changes, and so I do not know if only these two volumes had some blocks recut or if the blocks for all leaves in all volumes were touched up.

22. Again, this is a case where some of the fascicles are from the Late 18th Century edition and others are from the 1817 edition.

23. Catalog of an exhibition at the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, *Chūgoku Min Shin no Ehon* (Osaka: Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, 1987).

24. Feng also reproduces two leaves from the Duoyunxuan (1985) recut edition.

25. Besides the forty, first-superstate prints, there are about one hundred prints from at least four other editions. In Table 1, my notation “mixed” means that leaves from three or more late editions—third superstate, 1817, 1831, 1878/1888, 1879a, and/or 1879b—are present.

26. According to Tschichold this set was in the Okada Collection but was subsequently sold and its present location is unknown. See Jan Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio* (New York: McGraw-Hill, New York, 1972), p. 21.

27. The seventeen leaves that the British Museum purchased from 1930 to 1955 were, according to Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio*, p. 54, all at one time in the collection of Prince V. Galitzin. Five more pictorial prints entered the British Museum's collection in 1970, some of which are from the same group as most of the original seventeen leaves. However, while most are very early impressions, three are later impressions of the first superstate.

28. Only this partial set of the 1831 edition in the Muban Educational Trust, London, and one of the nine complete sets of the 1831* edition that I have examined (Private Collection set #31) have a dated publisher's colophon. I have assigned 1831 as the date for all exemplars printed from these same blocks, naming this edition, like all other editions with the year in which the first printing was made. These 1831 blocks, like all other sets of blocks, were printed for many years after the date of first printing and, in the case of the 1831 blocks, up to the present date. (See my text for further discussion.)

29. Publisher's colophon not dated. For more on this 1831* edition, see note 28 above.

30. The UCLA catalog gives the same call numbers to these two different exemplars.

31. Robert Paine refers to borrowing "several" sets from Judson Metzgar. See Paine, "The Ten Bamboo Studio, Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists," *Archives of Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951), pp. 39–64. The exemplar that Paine calls "Metzgar 1715" is now in the San Diego Museum of Art. It is discussed under second superstates in the text. The evidence favors the next occurrence of this year designation in the 60 year cycle, 1775, for this printing of this second superstate copy. Paine's "Metzgar post-1715" edition is almost certainly what I have called the third superstate. Another Metzgar set (an 1817 edition) was published by him in a Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) catalog of 1943.

32. This assignment is inferred from Paine's text. See his "The Ten Bamboo Studio, Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists."

33. Publisher's colophon not dated. For more on this 1831* edition, see note 28 above.

34. This is an especially important exemplar because it was acquired by a Frenchman from a Chinese merchant who had died by 1795 and so had to have been printed before this date. See Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992), p. 154, footnote.

35. In the Bibliothèque nationale there are three full sets of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* prints with the same call number, Chinois 11464. I have arbitrarily differentiated them with "a," "b," and "c."

36. I had photographs of only a few of these prints, all of which were from nineteenth-century editions.

37. Publisher's colophon not dated. For more on this 1831* edition, see note 28 above.

38. These seven leaves are from three different editions: second superstate, Late 18th Century, and third superstate.

39. There are twenty-eight first-edition leaves in this set, plus many others from the Late 18th Century and four from the nineteenth-century editions.

40. Publisher's colophon not dated. For more on this 1831* edition, see note 28 above.

41. Of the nine complete sets printed from these same blocks, Private Collection Set #31 is the only complete 1831 edition that bears a dated printer's colophon. One partial set of the 1831 edition in the Muban Educational Trust also has this same dated printer's colophon. All other exemplars of this 1831* edition that I have seen to date either have no printer's colophon or one of the undated ones shown in Figure 7b and 7c above. For more on this 1831* edition, see note 28 above.

42. These prints are from the Winzinger collection, of which twenty-seven (of a total of fifty-two) were illustrated in the catalogue of his collection. See Franz Winzinger, *Chinesische Farbdrucke und Malereien aus der Sammlung Winzinger: Ausstellung der Albrecht Dürer Gesellschaft im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Nürnberg: Albrecht Dürer Gesellschaft, 1974). Of these two are from the first superstate, seven are from the second superstate, eight are from the Late 18th century edition, four are from the 1817 edition, and six are from the 1879a edition.

43. Many of the leaves in Francois Reubi's exemplar of an 1817 edition of *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* are reproduced in his marvelous book, *Le Studio des Dix Bambous: Estampes et poèmes* (Geneva, Switzerland:

Skira, 1996). The book has some leaves reproduced at full size, mostly from the British Library exemplar but also a few from the British Museum set. All of the leaves from the other volumes are from the 1817 Chinese set and are illustrated in reduced size, except the “Orchid” volume and the painting-manual-like leaves in the “Bamboo” volume, both of which are omitted. In addition, there is one from Tschichold’s second-superstate set. Two leaves—I-13 and VI-6—were inadvertently reversed, and the later leaf, VI-6, is printed backwards.

44. Publisher’s colophon not dated. For more on this 1831★ edition, see note 28 above.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. The “Orchid” volume is a replacement, not a first-superstate printing.

49. Publisher’s colophon not dated. For more on this 1831★ edition, see note 28 above.

50. Ibid.

51. Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988).

52. Zhou Wu, *Jinling gu banhua* (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1993).

53. Zhou Wu, *Huipai banhua shi lunji* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe: 1984). Although the illustrations in this volume are small and indistinct, a very early exemplar of the first superstate may be the source of the images. I didn’t want the possibility of such an edition to be unrecognized and am trying to track down the exemplar represented.

TABLE 2.
PUBLISHED ILLUSTRATIONS OF LEAVES FROM THE *TEN BAMBOO STUDIO*
COLLECTION OF CALLIGRAPHY AND PAINTING

CITY/ COLLECTOR/ AUTHOR	COLLECTION	WHERE PUBLISHED OR CITED (FULL REFERENCES GIVEN BELOW)
Beijing	National Library of China	First superstate: Hu (2000), pp. 65–68, for 17768 copy Ferency (2003), pp. 138–141, for 01467 copy? Zhou (1984), nos. 327–333, NLC exemplar? Zhou (2000), pl. 4, for 16999 exemplar? <i>Zhongguo meishu</i> (1988), p. 160, (for 16999 copy?) cited in <i>Zhongguo guojia</i> (1999), p. 1355 Luo (1998), pl. 38, 57, for 16999 exemplar? <i>Illust. Catalogue</i> (1936), vol. 4, p. 184, for 01467b exemplar Zhao (2003), pp. 133–137, for 16999 copy? Second superstate: Machida (1988), p. 239
—	Capital Library	Ni (2003), p. 127
—	Palace Museum	Lee & Rogers (1998), nos. 201, 203
—	Peking University	<i>Beijing daxue tushuguan</i> (1998), p. 165
Berkeley, Calif.	University of California East Asian Library	Rudolph (2007), p. 42
Berlin	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst	<i>Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst</i> (1929), p. 253 Schmidt (1971), pl. 2, 3, 4, and 5; (1976), pp. 8, 9, 12, 16, 17 Tschichold (1972), pl. 2, 5, 9, 10, 12 Belser Kunstbibliothek (1980) Butz (1991), pp. 88–89 Lutz and Przychowski (1998), pp. 91–94, 148–149
—	State Art. Library	Bernoulli (1923), facing pp. 38, 40 Cohn (1930), pl. 40
Bondy	Private Collection	Bondy (1927), all plates Fischer (1928), p. 253 <i>Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst</i> (1929), p. 253 Cohn (1930), pl. 39
Boston, Mass.	Museum of Fine Arts	Paine (1950), figs. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10 Paine (1951), figs. 1, 7 Fribourg (1964), pl. 167
Budapest	Hopp Museum	Horvath (n.d.), pl. 17
Cambridge, Mass.	Sackler Museum [formerly in the Fogg Museum]	Trubner (1948), no. 47 Paine (1950), figs. 3, 7

CITY/ COLLECTOR/ AUTHOR	COLLECTION	WHERE PUBLISHED OR CITED (FULL REFERENCES GIVEN BELOW)
		Paine (1951), fig. 2
		Loehr (1967), p. 63
Chicago	Art Institute	cited in Toda (1931), pp. 405–407
		Yeh (2002), p. 216
<i>Chūgoku Min Shin</i>	Osaka City Museum	<i>Chūgoku Min Shin no Ehon</i> (1967), p. 65
Cleveland, Ohio	Museum of Art	Edgren (1985), pl. 35b
		Yeh (2002), p. 216
Dubosc Collection	Private Collection	<i>Art Graphique de la Chine</i> (1960), p. 20, for 1817 edn.
		Jaquillard (1969), pl. 2, 4, 5, for 18 th Century edn.
<i>Feng</i>	—	Feng (1999), pp. 178–181
<i>Fischer</i>	Private Collection	Fischer (1921), 8 plates
		Edlington (1925), pp. 268, 275, 277
<i>Goepper</i>	Private Collection	Goepper (1968), p. 212
<i>Gu Yin Hai</i>	Chinese Collection	Gu (2003), unpaginated
Hamburg	Museum für Kunst	Hamburg, <i>Handbuch</i> (1980), p. 235
Hasler Collection	Private Collection	<i>Asiatische Kunst</i> (1941), p. 39
<i>Hejzlar</i>	Private Collection	Hejzlar (1973), pl. 48
<i>Higuchi</i>	Private Collection (Jpn?)	Higuchi (1967), pl. 75, 76
Kansas City	Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art	Paine (1950), fig. 4
		Paine (1951), figs. 3, 14
		Bickford (1985), figs. 126a–d
		Edgren (1985), pl. 35a
		Hay (1985), pl. 15
<i>Kobayashi</i>	Japan Collection (?)	Kobayashi (1995), frontispiece
<i>Kuroda</i>	Ex Okada	Kuroda (1932), 2 plates
<i>Kurth</i>	Private Collection	Kurth (1932), pl. 33, 49,
<i>Li and Zhang</i>	Chinese Collection	Li and Zhang (1993), pl. 29, 33, 35
London	British Library	Douglas (1903), p. 115 (item 15255)
		MacKenzie (1961), pl. 48
		Fribourg (1964), pl. 139, 146, 147, 164, 165, 166
		Wood (1985), p. 64, 65
		Titley and Wood (1991), fig. 60
		Reubi (1996a) fig. 1, 5, 7, 9, 13, 14, 18
		Reubi (1996c), I–6, 9; III–1, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 19; IV–1 to 20; V–1, 3, 7, 8, 11, 15, 19; VI–1, 2, 7, 15; VII–1, 12, 19; VIII–5, 6, 8, 11, 14— British Museum
		Paine (1951), p. 52
		Fribourg (1964), pl. 142, 143, 168, 169, 174

CITY/ COLLECTOR/ AUTHOR	COLLECTION	WHERE PUBLISHED OR CITED (FULL REFERENCES GIVEN BELOW)
		Tschichold (1972), pl. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22 Vedlich (n.d.), pp. 15–52 Rawson (1992), fig. 82 Reubi (1996c), VIII-3, VII-8, VII-7, VII-16, VIII-4, VIII-9, I-2, III-5, IV-13, IV-18
Luo	Chinese Collection	Luo (1998), p. 83
Machida, Japan	Private Collection #1	Machida (1988), p. 240
—	Private Collection #2	Machida (1990), pp. 28, 29
Metzgar	Private Collection	Metzgar (1943), 1 plate [1817 edn.] Paine (1951), figs. 9, 10 [“1715” edn.; now in San Diego Museum of Art] [also cites “post 1715” edn.]
Minneapolis	Institute of Art	cited in <i>Bulletin-Minneapolis Institute of Arts</i> 27 (1938), p. 10, not illust.
Munich	Staatliches Museum Volkerkunde	Fahr-Becker et al. (1999), p. 213 Preetorius (1958), pp. 18, 26 Michaelis (1963), pp. 83, 87, 91, 99, 103, 105 Abelshauser (2008), pp. 109–154
Munsterberg	Private Collection	Munsterberg (1968), p. 194
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale	Cohen and Monnet (1992), pp. 154–155
—	Musée Cernuschi	Fribourg (1964), pl. 144
—	Private Collection #1	Fribourg (1936), figs. 6–10 Fribourg (1964), pl. 145, 148–150
—	Private Collection #2	Comentale (2003), pp. 65–71
Philadelphia, Pa.	Museum of Art	Matsumoto (1937), pp. 412–416 Lee, J. (1984), pp. 225–226
Regensburg	Historisches Museum	(ex Winzinger) Winzinger (1974), pl. 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 19, 23, 25, 27, 32, 34, 38, 41, 44, 45, 48, 50, 56, 61, 69, 62, 65, 72, 73, 83, 84, 85
Reubi	Private Collection	Reubi (1996a), throughout Reubi (1996b), fig. 1–8, 11–13, 15 Reubi (1996c), fig. 20
San Diego, Calif.	Museum of Art	Web site
San Francisco, Calif.	Fine Arts Museum	Sun (1979), p. 9, all leaves are shown on web site
Shenyang, China	Liaoning Provincial Museum	Lesbre and Liu (2004), pl. 313, 315
Stanford, Calif.	Stanford Univ. Museum of Art	cited in Vinograd (2002), not illustrated
Taipei	National Central Library	Chang (1969), pp. 137–140 Huang (1983), pp. 91–129

CITY/ COLLECTOR/ AUTHOR	COLLECTION	WHERE PUBLISHED OR CITED (FULL REFERENCES GIVEN BELOW)
—	National Palace Museum	Huang (1986), pp. 28–43 Pan (1989), figs. 1–11 (third superstate), figs. 22–45 (1817) Lu Jintang (1993), pp. 102–103
Tschichold	Private Collection	Lu Xueyan (2004), pp. 33–34 Tschichold (1952) pl. 1–16 Tschichold (1953), pl. 1–5, 7–16 Jaquillard (1969), pp. 1–3
Utica, N.Y.	Munson Williams Procter Arts Institute	Young (1976). pl. 59
Washington	Library of Congress	Paine (1950), fig. 5 Paine (1951), figs. 5, 6, 8
<i>Zhou Wu</i>	Location Unknown	Zhou (1988), pp. 382–385
<i>Zhou Wu</i>	Location Unknown	Zhou (1993), pp. 364–365

SOURCES FOR TABLE 2

Note: No attempt has been made to cite the copies of the *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting) that have appeared in auction and sales catalogues, nor copies reproduced so poorly that it is impossible to make any judgment as to the edition to which the print belongs.

Art Graphique de la Chine: Exposition du 18 février au 12 mars 1960. Paris: Huguette Beres, 1960.

Abelshauser, Gunda. «Sammlung Preetorius: Drucke aus dem Senfkorngarten und der Zehnbambushalle im Staatlichen Museum für Völkerkunde München.» In *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde: Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde* 12, pp. 109–154. München: Hirmer Verlag München, 2008.

Asiatische Kunst aus Schweizer Sammlungen. Bern: Kunsthalle Bern, 1941.

Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987.

Beijing daxue tushuguan cang shanben shulu (Selected Rare Editions of Peking University). Comp. by Zhang Yufan and Shen Naiwen. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998.

Belser Kunstbibliothek. *Die Meisterwerke aus dem Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Berlin Staatliche Museen Preussinger Kulturbesitz*. Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1980, pp. 54–55.

Bernoulli, Rudolf. *Ausgewählte Meisterwerke ostasiatischer Graphik in der Bibliothek für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Berlin*, Plauen im Vogtland: C. F. Schulz, 1923.

Bickford, Maggie et al. *Bones of Jade, Soul of Ice: the Flowering Plum in Chinese Art*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 1985.

Bondy, Walter. *Chinesische Farbholzschnitte: Das Bilderalbum der Zehnbambushalle*. Berlin: Werkkunst Verlag, 1927.

Bulletin-Minneapolis Institute of Arts. [Minneapolis, Minn.: Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, 1938].

- Butz, Herbert. "Zehnbambushalle: Chinesische Farbholzschnitte des 17. Jahrhunderts." *Museums Journal* 3.5 (July 1991), pp. 88–89.
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TABLE 3.
SUMMARY OF PROPERTIES OF THE EDITIONS AND SUPERSTATES OF THE *TEN BAMBOO STUDIO COLLECTION*

EDITIONS					PICTURES		POEMS		TEXT		COVER PAGE		PUBLISHER'S COLOPHON	
		BLOCKS		CHANGES IN PICTURE DESIGNS		BLOCKS		FRAME FOR VOL. V, ROUND DESIGNS		GENERAL INTRODUCTION		PREFACES AND INDICES		
										DATE	BLOCKS	BLOCKS	KANGXI TABOO CHARACTER	
First edition, first superstate	original	original set	none	original	5 types	1633	original	original	no	4 pages	no	no	no	
First edition, second superstate	original	new, similar designs	none	original	3 types	1703	recut1	recut1	yes	3 pages	no	no	no	
First edition, third superstate	original	new, no similarity	none	original	1 type	1703	recut2	recut2	yes	3 pages	some	no	no	
First edition, fourth superstate (1879b)	some original #	none	4 new^	some original	1 type	1703	recut3	recut3	yes	3 pages	yes, 3 types	on cover page	no	
Late 18 th Century (japanese) edition	recut1 #	new, similar designs*	none	recut1	1 type	1703	recut4	recut4	yes	3 pages	no	no	no	

EDITIONS	PICTURES	POEMS	TEXT				COVER PAGE	PUBLISHER'S COLOPHON				
			GENERAL INTRODUCTION		PREFACES AND INDICES							
			BLOCKS	SEALS	CHANGES IN PICTURE DESIGNS	FRAME FOR VOL. V, ROUND DESIGNS			DATE	BLOCKS	BLOCKS	KANGXI TABOO CHARACTER
1817 Chinese edition	recut2 [#]	no seals	2 new	recut2	2 types	1703	recut5	recut5	yes	3 pages	yes	on cover page
1831 Japanese edition	recut3 [#]	some new some similar	VII-18, 19 missing	recut3	1 type	1633	recut6	recut6	—	3 pages	no	some
1878/1888 Japanese edition	recut4 [#]	no seals	2 new [^]	recut4	1 type	1703	recut7	recut7	yes	3	yes pages	yes
1879a Chinese edition	recut5 [#]	new, no similarity [*]	2 new [^]	recut5	1 type	1703	recut8	recut8	yes	3 pages	yes, 3 types	on cover page
1882 Japanese edition	recut6 [#]	new, similar designs	VII-18,-19 missing	recut6	no special frame	—	recut9	recut9	yes	3 pages**	yes	yes

Most frequently about half of the leaves have been completely recut.

* Some exemplars have no seals

^ These editions follow the 1817 Edition in making the same two changes in the "Bird" volume as found in the 1817 Edition.

** Fewer characters per page but missing characters still are missing.

NOTES

1. Hu Zhengyan's life is discussed in Suzanne Wright, "Luoxuan biangu jianpu and Shizhuzhai jianpu: Two Late-Ming Catalogues of Letter Paper Designs," *Artibus Asiae* 58 (2003), pp. 69–118; and Wright, "Hu Zhangyan: Fashioning Biography," *Ars Orientalis* 35 (2005), pp. 129–151.
2. For an overview of these prints, see Robert T. Paine, "The Ten Bamboo Studio," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 48 (1950), pp. 72–79; Paine, "The Ten Bamboo Studio. Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951), pp. 39–54; Jean Fribourg, "Wood Engraving" in Werner Speiser, Roger Goepper, and Jean Fribourg, *Chinese Art: Painting, Calligraphy, Stone Rubbings, Wood Engraving*, trans. Diana Imber (New York: Universe Books, 1964); and Jan Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio, with 24 Reproductions in Full-Color Facsimile of Prints from the Masterpiece of Chinese Color Printing from the Ming Period* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972); see also Thomas G. Ebrey, "Printing to Perfection: The Colour-Picture Album," in *The Printed Image in China from the 8th to the 21st Centuries*, ed. Clarissa von Spee et al., (London: British Museum Press, 2010), pp. 26–35. A number of short articles without illustrations have been published in *Shizhuzhai yanjiu wenji* (Collection of Essays on Research on Ten Bamboo Studio) (Nanjing: Shizhuzhai yishu yanjiubu, 1987). I have chosen a translation of *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* given by Ma Meng-ching, "Yiwei yu banhua yu huihua zhi jian—Shizhuzhai shuhuapu duozhong xingge (Learning from Prints and Painting: The Multiple Characteristics of The Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting)," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 18.1 (Autumn 2000), pp. 110–149.
3. Later editions of the book usually have a cover page but are missing one of the preface pages giving them also 356 total pages.
4. Some authors give a publication date of 1627 for the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, this being the date of the latest dated leaf in the book, in the "Bird" volume.
5. I have chosen to call the second volume "Scholar's Rocks" rather than "Stones," as used by Paine in his writings on the Ten Bamboo Studio, because the former more accurately describes the diverse nature of these images, which include rocks on wooden stands.
Paine, "The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists" called the fourth volume in this list "Fans." However, because perfectly round fans did not appear in China till much after the date of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, I have selected a more descriptive term, "Round Designs," for this volume. Prints in a round format can be found in the other late Ming compilations, for example the *Gushi huapu* (Gu Family Painting Collection) and books of ink cake design such as *Fangshi mopu* (Fang Family Ink Collection).
- In these eight volumes there are no human figures and little in the way of landscape although both of these subjects figured prominently in Hu Zhenyan's book on letterpaper, *Shizhuzhai jianpu*, published in 1644.
6. A few exemplars have the general introduction before the "Fruit" or "Round Design" volumes.
7. The *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* set of prints resembles what in Western art is called an artist's book. Stephen Bury has given this definition: "Artist's books are books or book-like

- objects over the final appearance of which an artist has had a high degree of control; where the book is intended as a work of art in itself." See Bury, *The Book as a Work of Art, 1963–1995* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Scolar Press; and Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1995), p. 1. Ma Meng-ching discusses the relationship between book illustration and painting in her "Yiwei yu banhua yu huihua zhi jian," cited first in note 2, above.
8. Six leaves from the "Fruit" volume that are in the British Museum's group of twenty-two prints from the original blocks have an identical seal. This seal is used on other non-"Fruit" leaves of early impressions of the prints. These are the only known examples of prints from the "Fruit" volume having a seal. Since these prints are very early impressions, this probably represents an early state of this volume. Another variation, found in some of the very earliest first-edition impressions, is that leaves from the "Introductory" and "Round Design" volumes have artist's signatures as well as their seals. Later first-edition impressions have dropped the signatures for most of these leaves.
 9. The Berlin set as well as three sets in the Rare Book Collection of the National Library of China, a set at the Liaoning Museum, and three smaller sets—from the Muban Foundation, the British Museum, and Private Collection set #1—are early impressions of the original blocks. A full discussion of these sets of prints will be presented in a subsequent publication.
 10. Francois Reubi has proposed that the type of flower being represented is crabapple rather than Paine's suggestion of quince. See Reubi "The Ten Bamboo Studio, An Attempt to Identify the Flowers," *Asiatische Studien* 50 (1996), pp. 97–108.
 11. The poems and inscriptions are transcribed in the Japanese reproduction set of the 1930s where there is also some discussion of the poems. (See Appendix 1.) All the poems are translated into French and the poet/calligraphers identified in Francois Reubi, *Le Studio des Dix Bambous* (Geneva: Skira, 1996); and in Ma Meng-ching, "Wenren yaqu yu shangye shugang: Shizhuzhai shuhuapu han jianpu de kanyin yu Hu Zhengyan de chuban shiye," *Xin shixue*, 10 (1999), pp. 1–54.
 12. The only exemplars of the original book I know of are in the Shanghai Museum and the Geijutsu Daigaku Library in Tokyo. For more on this set of prints, see Wang Qingzheng, "The Arts of Ming Wood-Block Printed Images and Decorated Paper Albums" in *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period*, ed. Chu-tsing Li and James C.Y. Watt (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987), pp. 56–61; and Suzanne Wright, "Two Late-Ming Catalogues of Letter Paper Designs," pp. 69–118, first cited in note 1 above. A very beautiful, woodblock recut of this book was made by Duoyunxuan in 1985.
 13. Before the development of multiple-color printing, a picture was printed in outline and then the colors painted in by hand. This was also used in the West before color lithography. For example, Audubon's bird plates (1840) were all hand colored.
 14. It has been suggested that there were several erotic albums that represented early examples of Chinese color woodblock-printing. See Robert H. van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* (Tokyo: privately printed, 1951). Until quite recently it was thought that these prints had been lost. Several were believed to be forgeries. See the recent discussions of these prints by James Cahill, "Introduction to R. H. van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Late Ming Period*"; and Soren Edgren, "A Bibliographical Note on van Gulik's Albums of Erotic Color Prints." Both are essays in a recent reprint of van Gulik's book, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming* (1951; Leiden: Brill, 2004). See also James Cahill "Judge

- Dee and the Vanishing Ming Erotic Prints,” *Orientations* 34 (November 2003), pp. 40–46. Fortunately, many of the most promising of these prints have been recently found and are discussed in a special issue of *Orientations* 40.3 (April 2009).
15. Exemplars are produced in color in Phillip Hu, *Visible Traces, Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publisher, 2000), pp. 42–43; Deborah Rudolf, *Impressions of the East* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2007); and in Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Clunas incorrectly states that multiple blocks were used to print this image.
 16. David Barker, *Traditional Techniques in Contemporary Chinese Printmaking* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), p. 126.
 17. It is also possible to get this effect by painting the pigments on the block with a brush.
 18. Soren Edgren, in private communication, has proposed that the title found at the opening of the table of contents, *Wushan shijing mingmu*, is probably the best source for the title of this album. The ten views are presented using twelve single-page prints.
 19. These all are discussed in J. Soren Edgren, “Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing,” *East Asian Library Journal* 10.1 (Spring 2001), pp. 25–52.
 20. Wright, “Two Late-Ming Catalogues of Letter Paper Designs,” p. 77, reports that *Shizhu-zhai jianpu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Letterpaper) was also reprinted in 1645.
 21. Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio* (1972), p. 52. When not writing about Chinese woodblock prints, Tschichold won acclaim as the founder of the “New Typography,” an innovative aesthetic in Western book design. See Ruari McLean, *Jan Tschichold, A Life in Typography* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997).
 22. See the listings in Table 1 for the holdings of these institutions.
 23. Lawrence Smith pointed out that one advantage of a butterfly binding is that it has the unprinted sides of two sheets between any given printed side of either pictures or poems. See Laurence Smith, “Introduction,” *Japanese Prints, 300 Years of Albums and Books*, by Jack Hillier and Lawrence Smith (London: British Museum, 1980), pp. 8–40. A disadvantage of butterfly bindings is that it is easy for a single folded leaf or two to become disbound and fall out of the volume, perhaps contributing to the amazing conclusion that so far I have been unable to find complete early impression of the first-edition exemplar anywhere in the world (see Table 1). I have seen an exemplar of the 1878 Japanese edition in which every single page in all sixteen fascicles had become detached but were still tucked into the fascicle covers.
 24. The British Library exemplar is the first known to be in a Western collection, mentioned in Robert K. Douglas’s *Supplementary Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Longmans, 1903). At that time it appears to have still been bound in its original sixteen fascicles. The pages have been backed flat and bound in an unfolded state.
 25. The accession numbers of the two National Library exemplars are 16999 and 01467, respectively.
 26. See Paine, “The Ten Bamboo Studio” and “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists.”
 27. The fullest discussion of the problems in determining editions of woodblock-printed books is found in publications concerning Japanese books, where the physical object and the method of its creation are based on the Chinese book. See Jack Hillier, *The Art*

- of *Hokusai in Book Illustration* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), p. 13, and his *The Art of the Japanese Book* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1987), pp. 29–31; Matthi Forrer, *Eirakuya Tōshiro, Publisher at Nagoya* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1985), p. 2; Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan, A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), especially the appendix, pp. 451–454. For Chinese books, see Lucille Chia, “On Three Mountain Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), p. 144.
28. Bondy published the first informed discussion of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* prints based on the first-edition prints in his own collection. See Walter Bondy, *Chinesische Farbenholzschnitte: Das Bilderalbum der Zehn bambushalle* (Berlin: Werkkunst Verlag, 1927). I have a photocopy of this publication, but it is a very rare. The only easily accessible illustration of one of Bondy's leaves is in Otto Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas, und Japans* (Berlin: Propylaen-Verlag, Berlin, 1928), plate 41.
 29. Table 2, which lists all published illustrations of leaves from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* found to date, shows that about half the leaves illustrated in Western publications are of leaves not printed from the original blocks. Of those printed from the original blocks, again almost half are very late, very poor impressions of those blocks. Some publications produced in China and Taiwan are not much better, being expensive photolithographic reproductions of the whole set of prints made from late editions. All eight lithographic reproductions of the whole set of prints published in these countries are taken from late editions. (See the Appendix 1.).
 30. Specifically, the following sources:
 - Jan Tschichold, *Der Frühe chinesische Farbendrucke* (Basel: Holbein-verlag 1940); translated into English as: *Early Chinese Color Prints*, trans. Eudo C. Mason (New York: Beechhurst Press, 1953);
 - Tschichold, *Der Holzschneider und Bilddrucker, Hu Cheng-yen, von Jan Tschichold; mit sechzehn faksimiles nach blättern der Zehn bambushalle* (Basel: Holbein-verlag, 1943); translated into English as *Hu Chen-yen: A Chinese Wood-Engraver and Picture Printer: With Sixteen Facsimiles from Sheets in the Ten Bamboo Hall* [title on the dust jacket is *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Hall*], trans. Eudo C. Mason (New York: Beechhurst press, 1952).
 - Tschichold, *Die Bildersammlung der Zehn bambushalle, Mit 24 Nachbildungen in Farben und voller Grösse von frühesten Abzügen aus dem Meisterwert des chinesischen Farbendruckes der Mingzeit* (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch-verlag, 1970); translated into English as: *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio, with 24 Reproductions in Full-Color Facsimile of Prints from the Masterpiece of Chinese Color Printing from the Ming Period* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972);
 - Paine, “The Ten Bamboo Studio” and “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” (both first cited in note 2 above); and
 - Fribourg, “Wood Engraving,” (also first cited in note 2 above).
 31. See Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio* (1972).

32. See Edith Dittrich, *Hsi-hsiang chi: Chinesische Farbholzschnitte von Min Ch'i-chi* (Koln: Museum fur Ostasiatische Kunst, 1977); Philip K. Hu, *Visible Traces*, cited first in note 15, above; Harrie A. Vanderstappen, *The T. L. Yuan Bibliography of Western Writings on Chinese Art and Archaeology* (London: Mansell, 1975).
33. There is good evidence that nineteen of these are very early impressions while another three are somewhat later impressions but still from the first superstate.
34. The seventh recutting was the outstanding edition made by Duoyunxuan in Shanghai in 1985.
35. Table 1 does not contain the thirty to forty copies of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* that I have seen at dealers and at auctions. All of those copies can be placed into one of the ten superstates/editions listed here. In addition a few leaves from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* were recut and incorporated into many painting manuals and artist's books (see below).
36. Paine, "The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists" speaks of a "1643" edition, but since most of the blocks for the first superstate continue to be used, modern bibliographic nomenclature dictates that this is still a first edition.
37. There are many places in the text where the taboo characters are not replaced, so this example in the index to the "Plum" volume is rather anomalous.
38. While the publisher is still using many of the original blocks, so many of the blocks are changed all at once, that I propose that the sets of prints from these two subsequent major waves of change be designated distinct superstates, specifically the third and fourth superstates.
39. I am preparing a study of the first superstate that will give all of the seals used.
40. These are the National Library of China 01467, which is comprised in two different exemplars, which I have called 01467A and 01467B, and 17000 and 17001, which are part of the same set and so is considered as a single exemplar.
41. The beautiful Duoyunxuan woodblock edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* of 1985 (see Appendix 1) for the most part copies leaves from the multiple sets in the National Library of China along with some from the large set in the Liaoning Provincial Museum.
42. The 31 leaves from Tschichold's collection are those that were published in the English-language editions of his 1952- and 1953-edition books, first cited in note 30, above.
43. Much of this section is based on Jan Tschichold "Color Registering in Chinese Woodblock Prints," *Printing and Graphic Arts* 2 (1954), pp. 1-4; and his *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio*, pp. 41-44. See also David Barker, *Traditional Techniques in Contemporary Chinese Printmaking* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 57-67.
44. Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 31 and 331, cites typical print runs of from 20-200 copies and has emphasized that large print runs of woodblock-printed books degrade the blocks faster than smaller print runs with pauses to let the blocks dry out. This is also mentioned in a work cited by McDermott on page 20 of his *A Social History of the Chinese Book*. There McDermott is quoting William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca: Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820), p. 241. In investigating a Qianlong-era publisher, Tim Brook found evidence for one book's being published in an edition of one hundred twenty copies. See Timothy Brook, "Censorship in Eighteenth-Century China: A View From the Book Trade," *Canadian Journal of History* 22 (1988), p. 182. Similar figures

are found for the size of print runs of Japanese prints. See Jack Hillier, *Japanese Masters of the Color Print* (London: Phaidon, 1954), p. 16; Hillier, *The Art of Hokusai in Book Illustrations* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), p. 13; and John Stevenson, *Yoshitoshi's Women: The Woodblock Print Series "Fukozu sanjuniso"* (Boulder, Colorado: Avery Press, 1986), pp. 26–27. *Surimono*, privately printed broadsheets that emphasized the quality of the color printing, were also often done in very small print runs.

45. Since in many cases the print was designed to resemble the swift brushwork of literati painting, where such things as the veins in the leaves were to look “spontaneous,” strict registration not only was not achieved, it was to be avoided. The ability of Chinese printers to achieve strict registration can be seen in other efforts of this same era, such as the *Shizhuzhai jianpu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Letterpaper), first mentioned in note 5 above.
46. Joseph McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2006), pp. 20–21, gives an estimate of up to 30,000 for the number of times standard book-text blocks can be used based on the woodblock printing experience of Chinese printers. S. Wells Williams in *The Middle Kingdom: The Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants* (New York: Scribners, 1901) gives an estimate of 16,000–26,000 impressions for blocks used to print text. The number often given for the total number of prints that could be made with Japanese woodblock printing methods is 8,000–10,000. See Richard Kruml “Multiple Impressions” in *Impressions* 14 (1988), p. 6. Matthi Forrer in his *Eirakuya Toshio*, p. 74 (first cited in note 27 above) indicates that up to 20,000 impressions is not unreasonable.

However, there are two other considerations. First, Chinese paper is much thinner than Japanese paper, and some assert that many more prints can be pulled from a block using thin rather than thick paper. See Hillier and Smith, *Japanese Prints*, p. 14 (first cited in note 23 above). Second, it is clear that in printing the third and fourth superstates of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* book, the blocks being used are worn past what could lead to any sort of a quality publication.

47. One exceptional feature of the pigments used in the Chinese color woodblock-printing process is that the pigments seem to fade much less than those used in Japanese woodblock prints. As far as I know, this was first mentioned by Jack Hillier in *Japanese and Chinese Prints: The Walter Amstutz Collection* (London: Sotheby's, 1991), pp. 396–397. Further work needs to be done to see if the differences are in the pigments used and/or in the type and treatment of the paper.
48. See discussion in Rebecca Salter, *Japanese Woodblock Printing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), pp. 86–87.
49. See footnote 44 above.
50. In this article I will not discuss the changes in text-page frame, nor will I discuss the number of leaves in any given exemplar, another source of variation. The leaves present are different for every copy I examined, and I assume that in all cases leaves have been lost sometime after the printing of the full set or that mistakes were made in assembling a set of prints.
51. When Paine wrote his article, the Fogg/Sackler had only one first edition, first-superstate exemplar, which had entered its collection in 1940. A second set of first-superstate prints entered that collection in 1976.
52. The exemplars used for this comparison are eleven of the sets with more than one hun-

- dred prints (Berlin, Boston, Kuboso Museum, Cleveland, Kansas City, Moscow, British Library, Liaoning, Sackler set #1, and Private Collection sets #3 and #4). Two seal sets, from the National Library of China exemplars, call numbers 16999 and 17768 for which I had only a limited number of photographs, were also used. The seals on the Boston and Moscow sets were identical.
53. An exception seems to be the “Scholar’s Rocks” volume. Here sometimes the seals used in different states are from different artists; this must be studied further. Paine noted that in his first-superstate exemplars most seals were by Gao Yang, while in the second superstate the seals have been erroneously recut to read Gao You. The situation may be even more complicated than this.
 54. Fribourg, “Wood Engraving,” first cited in note 2 above, pp. 308–309.
 55. Oswald Siren, *A History of Later Chinese Painting* (London: Medici Society, 1938), vol. 2, p. 56. An intriguing exception is in a small catalogue of a show of East Asian printing by Dietrich Seckel, *Ausstellung Ostasiatischer Graphik* (Tubingen: Gesellschaft der Freunde des Tübinger Kunstgebäudes, 1948). Here Seckel dates the general introduction of the exemplar under consideration, which copies the second-superstate text, as “1703(?)”.
 56. The probability of drawing 13 different exemplars from a group of 20 different states, (2 printings per year for 10 years, each printing having more than 100 copies) is very small, less than 1%.
 57. Paine, “The Ten Bamboo Studio. Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” p. 42.
 58. As noted below, the change to the replacement character was never reversed after the end of the Kangxi era, even in reprint editions. Rather the text used in the second edition was always strictly copied.
 59. Paine translates the whole advertisement as well as illustrating the advertisement itself. See his “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” p. 43.
 60. See Table 1.
 61. Siren, *History of Later Chinese Painting*, p. 59 (cited in note 55 above) has a somewhat different translation of the advertisement.
 62. A copy of the Late Eighteenth Century edition found in China is shown in Gu Yin Hai, ed., *Banhua: Kexie shiqu de changjing* (Woodblock Prints: By-Gone Arena of Block Cutting) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), unpaginated.
 63. Paine, “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” p. 41.
 64. Besides the twelve copies of the “Late Eighteenth Century” edition that I have inspected, there are five additional exemplars in library collections. (See Table 1.) In general, when a publisher’s colophon was extant, library records would give the name of the publisher and the date of publication. The absence of this information in the records for these five indicates that these five exemplars probably also lack publisher’s colophons.
 65. Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992), p. 154.
 66. The Columbia University Library catalog has designated its two copies of the “Late Eighteenth Century” edition as “Ribben?” (Japan), but it is uncertain why these copies were cataloged this way.
 67. K’ai-ming Ch’iu, “The Chieh Tzu Yuan Hua Chuan (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual): Early Editions in American Collections,” *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951), pp. 55–69.

68. I have slowly been scouring the Japanese illustrated-book collections of libraries and museums looking for books published earlier than 1812 by Hishiya Magobē that contain this advertisement but so far have not seen any in the twenty or so books I have examined.
69. Kyoko Kinoshita in her chapter on painting manuals notes that a Japanese edition of the *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting) was published in 1760. See the recent exhibition catalog, Felice Fischer with Kyoko Kinoshita et al., *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 73. Kinoshita kindly referred me to the 1772 Kyoto bookseller's catalog of Japanese publishers' offerings that lists an edition of the *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* for sale. See Keio Gijuku Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo Shidō Bunko, comp., *Edo jidai shorin shuppan shoseki mokuroku shūsei* (Tokyo: Inoue Shobō, 1962–1964), vol. 3, p. 219.
70. K'ai-ming Ch'iu, "The Chieh Tzu Yuan Hua Chuan," p. 63.
71. Discussed and illustrated in Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, chap. 15, (first cited in note 27 above); and in Roger S. Keyes, *Ehon: The Artist and the Book in Japan* (New York: New York Public Library; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), p. 80.
72. Hillier discusses a few much smaller excursions into color printing done in Japan before this time. See his *The Art of the Japanese Book*, pp. 75–78 and 202–203.
73. Moreover, these woodblock-printed color editions of Chinese books published in Japan provide additional indirect evidence for a late eighteenth-century Japanese edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. It would be strange if there were three wonderful color editions of the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual) and two color editions of the *Minchō seidō gaen* (The Living Garden of Ming Painting), all printed in Japan by 1780, but no Japanese editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* until the first Japanese example with a printer's colophon, dated 1831, over fifty years later. This suggests that there should have been a Japanese edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio* published in this era, that is, soon after 1750.
74. In the third superstate, the blocks for the poems are still the original blocks.
75. In two publications from the National Central Library, *Manmu linlang: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben tecang* (*A Cornucopia of Rare Editions: The National Central Library's Rare Book Collections*) (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1993) and *Mingdai banhua yishu tushu tezhan juanji* (*Exhibition of Graphics Arts in Printed Books of the Ming Dynasty, Selected Exhibits*) (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1989), this same set is dated Kangxi period (1662–1722) and 1715, respectively, both of which seem very unlikely to me.
76. Taking examples from a large, book database like OCLC suggests that Jieziyuan published books at a rate of one every nine years from 1655 to 1735. Thereafter books with the Jieziyuan imprint appeared only once (in 1766) till 1790 when there was a relatively large burst of ten books published continuing up to 1825. It seems likely that some publisher simply copied the imprint name after 1790, so that the publishing house, named "Jieziyuan," that issued the 1817 edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* was distinct from the Jieziyuan that had published this book a century and a half earlier.
77. See Francois Reubi, *Le Studio des Dix Bambous* (Geneva: Skira, 1996). This beautiful book has many full size color illustrations.
78. See figure 12 in Paine, "The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists," fig. 12, between p. 46 and p. 47.
79. The calligraphy leaves have been separated from the pictorial leaves.

80. Paine mentioned two other leaves he thought were missing from the 1817 edition he examined but I have found several exemplars that have these leaves. See his “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” p. 49.
81. Ibid., fig. 13, p. 49.
82. The seal on the cover page reads “Shinabon honkoku” (Recut from a Chinese Edition).
83. The Muban Educational Trust has a partial exemplar of six volumes of this edition, including the “Scholar’s Rocks” volume, which has the same 1831 publisher’s colophon.
84. See Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 182–183, first cited in note 27 above. See also note 86 below.
85. *Monowari no hashigo* (Saikyō [Kyoto]: Hishiya Magobē, 1874), a book in the Library of Congress, is the latest Hishiya Magobē that I have located. This work is a three-volume translation, written entirely in *hiragana*, of a German science primer by Thomas Tate (1807–1888).
86. A letter from Yoshii Mikio, the president of Unsōdō in 2007, states that the blocks first went to another Kyoto firm, Bunkūdō, and then were inherited by the founder of Unsōdō, Yamada Naosaburō in 1891. Unsōdō has printed copies since at least 1913.
87. In the 1973 printing of these blocks, the publisher inserted a golden-yellow cover page bearing the 1879 date, adding further confusion to the group of editions with that year on their respective cover pages.
88. A survey using OCLC shows that one of the firms, Jiaojing shanfang, published many books between 1877 and 1940. Most of these books name Shanghai as the place of publication so it seems reasonable to assume that this firm’s edition of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* was also published in Shanghai. The other publisher, designated on the cover page as Yuanhe Qiu Ruilin Yufu fu, is Qiu Ruilin from Yuanhe in the Wuxian or Suzhou area. Qiu Ruilin’s alternate name is Qiu Yufu.
89. Like all versions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*, except for the first superstate, this edition is also missing one of the pages in the preface to the “Bird” volume.
90. Tschichold, *Chinese Color Prints from the Ten Bamboo Studio* (1972), p. 22, first cited in note 2 above.
91. Since some original blocks are used, bibliographic standards require this awful edition to be designated as a first edition. How low the mighty have fallen! Because of the great difference between this and the third superstate, I have called this the “fourth superstate” although I also use another name “1879b,” based on its publication date.
92. Some of the 1879b exemplars have a few more newly cut leaves than others, added probably as very worn blocks were discarded and replacement blocks cut for subsequent printings.
93. An edition in the Harvard-Yenching Library had been labeled 1882, when it is actually an 1878/1888 Japanese edition but with no publisher’s colophon. Further, the 1882 date is written nowhere in that exemplar. The library confirmed this and changed its cataloguing to “no date.” Since the Harvard-Yenching cataloguing record referred to a Diet Library copy, initially I wrongly assumed the two exemplars were the same.
94. Published by Unsōdō in Kyoto, and so after the date of their formation, 1891, and so probably a posthumous compilation.
95. Published, respectively, by Nakazawa Keizen in 1804 (Bunka 1) and by Maekawa Zenbē in 1880 (Meiji 13).

96. This is counting publications up until the 1985 edition produced by Duoyunxuan in Shanghai. Ding Fubao's supplement to his book on important titles in Chinese wood-block printing includes a list of seven editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*. What he designates as a 1627 edition probably is my "first superstate." His Ming-cut, Qing-printed edition is my "second superstate." His Kangxi 54 (1715), recut color printing would be my sets of "late copies of the second superstate," containing the advertisement, which I propose is dated 1775 not 1715. His Qianlong-period (1735–1796) recut edition would probably be my "Late Eighteenth Century Japanese edition." His 1817 edition would be my "1817 edition." His Daoguang-period (1820–1850) recut edition might be my "third superstate?." And his edition by Mr. Qiu would be those copies of 1879a edition that have the cover page inscribed by Mr. Qiu of Yuanhe. Since Ding does not give the locations of any exemplars, it is difficult to be sure if the correlations I made above are accurate or not. But it is interesting that he did come up with seven editions, although he has probably designated early and late printings of my second superstate as two different editions. See, Ding Fubao, *Sibu zonglu yishu bian: shuhua fatie banhua ce* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957).
97. The size of these exemplars ranges from three leaves to an almost complete set. The institutions holding the prints are known in twenty-nine of these thirty-six cases. The other seven examples are illustrations from Chinese and Japanese publications in which the current location of the set is not mentioned; some illustrations may, and indeed probably, come from the other twenty-nine sets.

GLOSSARY

Akashi Chūgadō 赤志忠雅堂
 baren 馬簾
 Bunka 文化
 Bunkūdō 文久堂
 ce 冊
 Chengshi moyuan 程氏墨苑
 Chikutō kachō gafu 竹洞花鳥譜
 douban 飴版
 Duoyunxuan 朵雲軒
 ehon 繪本
 Eirakuya Tōshirō 永樂屋東四郎
 gafu 畫譜
 Gao Yang 高陽
 Gao You 高友

Gao You zhi yin 高友之印
 Ge Zhongxuan 葛中選
 Hishiya 菱屋
 Hishiya Magobē 菱屋孫兵衛
 Hōreki 寶曆
 Huailu congshu 槐廬叢書
 huapu 畫譜
 Hushan shenggai 湖山勝概
 Hu Zhengyan 胡正言
 Ike Taiga 池大雅
 Jiangdong shuju 江東書局
 Jianxia ji 剪霞集
 Jiaojing 校經
 Jiaojing shanfang 校經山房

Jiaojing shanfang congshu 校經山房叢書

Jiaojing shanfang Huailu zhuren

校經山房槐廬主人

Jieziyuan 芥子園

Jieziyuan huazhuan 芥子園畫傳

jimao 己卯

Jiyun 齊雲

Jūchikusai gafu taizen 十竹齋畫譜大全

Jūchikusai shogafu shōhon

十竹齋書畫譜抄本

Kanga hayamanabi 漢書早學

Kangxi 康熙

Katano Tōshirō 片野東四郎

kentō 見當

Lanqi 蘭溪

Luoxuan biangu jianpu 蘿軒變古箋譜

Maekawa Zenbē 前川善兵衛

Maekawa Zenbē, *see* Maekawa Zenbē

malian 馬簾

Meijin ranchiku gafu 名人蘭竹画譜

Minchō seidō gaen 明朝生動畫園

Monowari no hashigo ものわりのはしご

Nagoya 名古屋

Nakabayashi Chikutō 中林竹洞

Nakazawa Keizan 中沢景山

Qiu Ruilin 邱瑞林

Qiu Yufu 邱玉符

Saikyō 西京

Shinabon honkoku 支那本翻刻

Shizhuzhai jianpu 十竹齋箋譜

Shizhuzhai shuhuapu 十竹齋書畫譜

Songjiang 松江

tao 套

Tenpō 天保

Tokuyama Gyokuran 徳山玉瀾

Tōkyō Atoriesha, Hatsubaisho Fukuyama

Shoten 東京アトリエ社: 發賣所福山書店

Tōkyō toritsu Hibiya toshokan

東京都立日比圖書館

ukiyo-e 浮世絵

Unsōdō 芸艸堂

Wuxian 吳縣

Xiangdao ren 湘道人

Xingtian 醒天

Xixiang ji 西廂記

Yamada Naosaburō 山田直三郎

yiwei 乙未

yuan 圓

Yuanhe 元和

Yuanhe Qiu Ruilin Yufu fu

元和邱瑞林玉符甫

Yufu fu 玉符甫

Zhao Bei 趙備

Zhina ben fanke 支那本翻刻

Zhongxuan 中選

Zhu Jirong 朱記榮