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LIBRARY JOURNAL

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SPRING 2010

VOLUME XIV • NUMBER I

The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection
of Princeton University

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From The Editor

Editing the four articles planned for the volume 14, the final volume of the *East Asian Library Journal* prior to its ceasing publication, necessitated modification of the publication plans as announced in volume 13, no. 2 (Autumn 2009) of this journal. It became obvious that the amount of material in production needed to be divided between two numbers rather than being forced into one double issue. So, presented in volume 14, no. 1 (Spring 2010) are Thomas Ebrey's exhaustive survey of the many editions and states of the color, woodblock-printed set *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting); Hiroki Kikuchi's introduction to the tradition of producing manuscript copies in Japan; and Joseph Dennis's research on the economics of publishing local histories in China in the Ming dynasty.

Tom Ebrey's study of color printing provides more information about *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting* than has ever before been accumulated. Ideally this article would have included some color illustrations, but for various reasons this became an impossibility for this issue of the journal. Recent conference papers and exhibit catalogues related to woodblock printing in China feature Ebrey's work (see "News and Notes" below), and these publications provide full-color reproductions of several of the woodblock prints from the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection*.

Hiroki Kikuchi's article offers a solid summary of his research on the important tradition of manuscript copying in Japan and references several manuscript works in the collection of the library at Yale University. Professor Kikuchi discusses the role that Asakawa Kan'ichi, the first professor of Japanese studies at Yale, played in the production and deposit of these manuscript texts at Yale. The author has a new opportunity to return to Yale for an extended period toward the end of 2010 to continue his research on the relationship between manuscript texts found at Yale and materials in the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo.

Joe Dennis's article gives plenty of evidence of his headlong submersion

into the study of the production of local histories in China. He strives to pull hard facts and figures about book production costs, including those for materials, labor, editing, etc., from the spare, mostly descriptive records related to book production found in the local histories themselves. The years of research ahead of him into this very large body of printed material, with patience, may yield statistically viable information about various components of the cost of producing books in premodern China.

Huaiyu Chen's catalogue of the Chinese-language materials in the collection of Dunhuang and Turfan fragments in the East Asian Library at Princeton University is being reserved for publication in volume 14, no. 2 (Autumn 2010), the companion number to the current issue. Professor Chen's diligent work to transcribe and identify the texts, many extremely fragmentary, has been given a substantial cataloguing frame and will be generously illustrated. And to close out the publication run of the *East Asian Library Journal*, included in its final number, volume 14, no. 2, will be a listing of the contents of all fourteen volumes of the *Gest Library Journal* and its successor journal the *East Asian Library Journal*. This list will update the first publication of the list of the contents of volume 1 through volume 8, which appeared at the end of volume 9, no. 1 (Spring 2000) of the journal.

NANCY NORTON TOMASKO
July 2010

News and Notes

CORRIGENDA ONE, TWO, AND THREE

Soren Edgren has pointed out three corrections to the text of his article “A. E. Nordenskiöld and His Japanese Book Collection,” published in the *East Asian Library Journal* 13.2 (Autumn 2009), pp. 86–106. A sentence on page 94, lines 20–21, should read “(See below for further discussion of Phillip Franz von Siebold’s book collections.)” In the last line on page 105, Philip’s son Heinrich’s name should be spelled “Heinrich von Siebold.” And the beginning of a sentence on page 107, line 10, should read “The catalogue received from Heinrich von Siebold, . . .”

CORRIGENDUM FOUR

Martin Heijdra, Chinese Bibliographer and Head of Public Services for the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection at Princeton University, has contributed the article “The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection at Princeton University,” to the conference volume *Collecting Asia: East Asian Libraries in North America, 1868–2008*, edited by Peter X. Zhou. (See entry for this new publication below in “Books and Articles of Note”.) On page 122 of Martin’s article, the name of the book agent through whom the engineer Guion M. Gest (1864–1948) acquired his collection of Chinese books is correctly spelled Irvin Van Gorder Gillis (1875–1948).

CORRIGENDUM FIVE

RoseAnn Swanson, widow of Bruce Swanson, author of the article “Irvin Van Gorder Gillis Naval Training for an Uncommon Agent,” which appeared in the *East Asian Library Journal* 13.2 (Autumn 2009), pp. 17–58, telephoned and gently pointed out that her husband’s name in the running head throughout that

article correctly spelled is Bruce Swanson. My thanks go to RoseAnn for her continuing attention to this and all aspects of the posthumous publication of her husband's research.

THE PRINTED IMAGE IN CHINA FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

On view from 6 May to 5 September 2010 in rooms 90 and 91 of the British Museum, London, is an exhibition of Chinese prints from that museum's own collection. The exhibition displays the world's earliest dated woodblock print on paper among the approximately 120 prints on view. Additional information, including museum hours, press release, and a list of scheduled gallery talks may be found at: www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on.aspx. See below for notice of the associated conference on color printing in China and in the "Books and Articles of Note" section for details on the exhibition catalogue.

LEAVES OF ENCHANTMENT, BONES OF INSPIRATION:
THE DAWN OF CHINESE STUDIES IN CANADA

An exhibit of rare books from the ChengYu Tung East Asian Library and related artifacts from the Royal Ontario Museum will be on display at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto from 25 May through 17 September 2010. Early in June the library offered a program and tour of the exhibit. A video of Stephen Qiao, Chinese Studies Librarian at the ChengYu Tung East Asian Library, introducing the current exhibition may be viewed through a link to the University of Toronto's YouTube channel. For access to this video, see <http://fisher.library.utoronto.ca/news/chinese-exhibition-video>.

THE COLOUR PRINT IN CHINA 1600–1800

On 18 and 19 June 2010 Sotheby's Institute of Art, London, hosted a two-day international conference that explored and celebrated color printing in China, "The Colour Print in China 1600–1800." The Muban Educational Trust, London, supported this gathering of noted researchers.

Program presenters were:

Cynthia J. Brokaw, "Colour Printing in Late Imperial China";

- Thomas Ebrey, “Printers, Painters, and Poets of the Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Paintings and Calligraphy”;
- Suzanne Wright, “The Language of Letter Paper”;
- Hiromitsu Kobayashi, “Literati Tastes Meet Popular Drama: The Multi-Colored Woodblock Illustrations of Min Qiji in the 1640 Printed Edition of the *Romance of the Western Chamber*”;
- Meng-ching Ma, “Learning from Painting and Prints: The Development and Influence of the *Shizhuahi shuhuapu*”;
- Anne Burkus-Chasson, “Colouring by the Book: Chen Hongshou’s Sixteen Views of a Hermit’s Life and Its Readers”;
- J. S. Edgren, “Toward an Understanding of Late-Ming Colour-Printing Technology”;
- Wang Chao, “Colour Pigments Used in Traditional Chinese Printmaking”;
- Ellen J. Laing, “Eighteenth-Century Suzhou Prints and the Iconography of Wealth”;
- Christer von der Burg, “The Dings We Know and the Dings We Do Not Know”;
- Kevin McLoughlin, “Poetry and the Narratives of Popular Culture in Suzhou Colour Prints from the Hans Sloane Collection”;
- Cheng-hua Wang, “Some Observations on the Business Practices of Eighteenth-Century Suzhou Prints”;
- Natalie Monnet, “The Added Value of Colour in Chinese Rubbings”;
- Cordula Bischoff, “East Asian Works in August the Strong’s Print Collection: The Inventory of 1738”;
- Anne Farrer, “Chinese Sheet Prints in the Hans Sloan Collection: Acquisition, Storage, and Reassessment.”
- Conference schedule, participant biographies, and abstracts of each presentation may be found at: www.sothebysinstitute.com/chinese-prints.html. For the catalogue, see below under “Books and Articles of Note.”

FELLOWS OF THE FRIENDS OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Imre Galambos, Research and Overseas Project Manager for the International Dunhuang Project of the British Library, is a recipient of a summer 2010 Fellows of the Friends of Princeton University Library that was sponsored by the

East Asian Studies Program. Dr. Galambos spent the month of June examining what he terms a unique collection of works on Qing-dynasty paleography and lexicography (i.e. the traditional fields of *xiaoxue*) to determine the applicability of these works for the study of early manuscripts and epigraphy. On Thursday, 1 July, Dr. Galambos gave a public presentation of his research findings.

For more information on the program of fellow of the Friends of Princeton University Library, see the organization's website: www.princeton.edu/rbsc/fellowships/f_ships.html. The deadline for the next round of applications is 1 April 2011.

FORGOTTEN JAPONISME: THE TASTE FOR JAPANESE ART IN BRITAIN AND THE USA, 1920S–1950S

A conference held on 9 and 10 July 2010 under the sponsorship of the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the Research Centre for Transnational Art Identity Nation, and the University of the Art London explored the boundaries of the notions of modernism in art in the West and of Japonisme. Topics included the received view of the West as the sole purveyor of modernity in art, Japanese inspiration within the development of modernism in the West, and the relationship between the taste for Chinese and Japanese art from the 1920s to the 1950s. Professor Shigemi Inaga of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, was the keynote speaker. Other leading scholars included Professor Stan Abe of Duke University; Dr. Angus Lockyer of the Japan Research Centre of SOAS, University of London; and Dr. Sarah Teasley of the Royal College of Art, London. For complete details of the program including speakers and their topics, see www.transnational.org.uk/events

THE PERILS OF PRINT CULTURE

From 10 to 12 September 2010, Trinity Collect Dublin will be the site for a conference on print culture, almost exclusively with a European focus. The conference organizers are asking participants to address a perceived need for scholars “to fine-tune or calibrate their understanding of this burgeoning field of enquiry” and “to think more systematically about the conceptual, methodological, and technological problems associated with the study of print culture.” For a down-

loadable program, see www.tcd.ie/longroomhub/assets/documents/printprogramme.doc. Other sites displaying information about this conference may be easily located by entering “Perils of Print Culture” into any search engine.

WOODCUTS IN MODERN CHINA, 1937–2008:
TOWARDS A UNIVERSAL PICTORIAL LANGUAGE

An exhibit organized by the Picker Art Gallery on modern and contemporary oil-based woodcut prints in China will be on display from 16 September through 12 December 2010 in the art gallery of the China Institute, New York City. This exhibit, curated by Joachim Homann and Renee Covalucci, was originally on display in the Dana Arts Center at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, from 2 December 2008 to 26 April 2009. This exhibit also traveled to the Kalamazoo Institute of Art, Kalamazoo, Mich., from 23 January through 18 April 2010.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES OF NOTE

Allen, Susan M., Lin Zuzao, Cheng Xiaolan, and Jan Bos, eds. *The History and Cultural Heritage of Chinese Calligraphy, Printing, and Library Work*. IFLA Publications 141. Munich: De Gruyter Saur, 2010. 249 pp. ISBN 978-3-598-22046-3. Paper over boards. The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) conference “China’s Written and Printed Cultural Heritage and Library Work,” held in October 2006 in Hangzhou under the sponsorship of Zhejiang Provincial Library and hosted by IFLA and the Cultural Department of Zhejiang Provincial Government (Zhejiang sheng wenhua ting), has generated several remarkable caches of essay collections. The first, prepared at the time of the conference, provided English and Chinese abstracts plus the preliminary texts for a selection of the papers submitted for the conference. In 2009 the Chinese edition of a selection of the papers presented was published. With the publication in 2010 of the English versions of a selection of presentations, trends in the scholarship on the history and culture of the book and printing in China are available to an even wider audience. Eighteen

articles comprise this volume. Some articles were originally presented in English and some have been translated from Chinese into English, each with an abstract and a brief author biography.

Clearly much effort has been expended to publish this English edition of a selection of the papers. Many of the articles translated into English could have used considerable additional editing to smooth rough spots. And some greater care could have been devoted to verifying that all of the illustration material was incorporated as indicated. The Chinese typeface used for this volume seems to incorporate bold face type randomly, and visually comfortable spacing between Chinese characters is generally lost. These last two points may represent the kinds of challenges that publishers outside China sometimes face when incorporating English and Chinese scripts in the same document. Despite these problems, the range of topics covered shows the rich diversity of scholarship being pursued by scholars of the history of books and printing in China and makes this collection of essays invaluable.

Mote, Frederick W., and Chu Hung-lam, et al. *Shufa yu guji (Calligraphy and the East Asian Book)*. Translated into Chinese by Bi Fei. Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe (Chinese Academy of Art Press), 2010. 270 pp. Illustrations and maps. ISBN 978-7-81083-929-7. Paper.

This translation into Chinese of “Calligraphy and the East Asian Book,” the catalogue for a major exhibit of Chinese rare books in the Art Museum of Princeton University, first published in volume 2, no. 2 (Spring 1988) of the *Gest Library Journal*, has been accomplished by Bi Fei, associate professor of Chinese Art History, Chinese Academy of Art, Hangzhou. Illustrations throughout are reproductions of photographs taken by Richard Kent for the 1988 English-language publication. Added to this is a gallery of seven full-page color illustrations supplied courtesy of the East Asian Library at Princeton, especially for the translation. For obvious reasons, the Chinese glossaries in the original edition have been omitted from the translation, as have the short “From the Editors” and “News and Notes from the Gest Library” in the *Gest Library Journal* edition of the catalogue. The bibliography has been reor-

ganized by language of the work cited. The translator has added a complete list of the catalogue entries, a postface, an index, and a rather overly long essay (Bi Fei's translation, pp. 267–270) tracing his research into verifying the identity of a Republican-era scholar whose somewhat unconventional method of signing a lengthy colophon found in one of the exhibit items had lent mystery to that scholar's identity.

Nakami, Tatsuo. *On the Papers of George Ernest Morrison Kept in the Mitchell Library, Sydney*. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, n.d. Reprint from *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 67 (2009). The introduction to this finding aid for the Morrison papers in the Mitchell Library gives a brief outline of life of George Ernest Morrison (1862–1920), his penchant for accumulation and collecting, and the path the Morrison papers took enroute to their current home. Categories for the papers are diaries, works for publication, correspondence, subject files, miscellanea, newspaper clippings, and newspapers. This clearly deep reserve of archival material perhaps deserves a more highly annotated presentation of the finding aid than is offered here.

Spee, Clarissa von, ed. *The Printed Image in China from the Eighth to the Twenty-first Centuries*. London: British Museum Press, 2010. 192 pp. ISBN 978 0 7141 2460 5. Paper. Bibliography. Glossary of Chinese characters. Four essays precede the catalogue entries in the handsome addition to the growing interest in and the body of literature on the traditions of Chinese woodblock printing:

“Printing the Pictorial in China—Historical and Cultural Contexts” by Clarissa von Spee;

“Printing to Perfection: The Colour-Picture Album” by Thomas G. Ebrey;

“Seeking Ideal Happiness: Urban Life and Culture Viewed Through Eighteenth-Century Suzhou Prints,” by Hiromitsu Kobayashi; and

“Images from the West Lake: Printmaking at the China National Academy in Hangzhou,” by Anne Farrer.

Ninety-five catalogue items are grouped under six headings: “The Invention of Printing and the Spread of Buddhism,” “The Popularization of Elite Culture,” “Popular Prints,” “Printing at Court,” “The

Modern Woodcut Movement,” and “Modern and Contemporary Prints.” David Barker of the Muban Educational Trust drew this work to the attention of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

Zhou, Peter X. *Collecting Asia: East Asian Libraries in North America, 1868–2008*. Asia Past and Present: New Research from AAS, 4. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies, 2010. 342 pp. ISBN 978-0-924304-56-9. Jacketed cloth. Many of the twenty-five essays published in this volume were first presented at a three-day conference held in October 2007 to celebrate the opening of the new C. V. Starr East Asian Library and the Chang-Lin Tien Center for East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. The essays contribute to a more complete look at the origins and development of collections of East Asian materials outside East Asia than has been presented previously. Taken together, the list of contributors is an informative introduction to those who manage the East Asian Collections. Appendices provide statistics on the size of, total holdings in, and fiscal support given the major East Asian Collections in North America. Notes follow each individual essay. A bit unfortunately, the very large amount of material incorporated into this otherwise handsomely designed work seems to have necessitated the use of a type size so small as to be off-putting. The size of illustrations in the lower register of many of the essay pages similarly is so small as to make it nearly impossible to see clearly, let alone appreciate, the images of books and photographs of persons important in the history of a given collection.

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

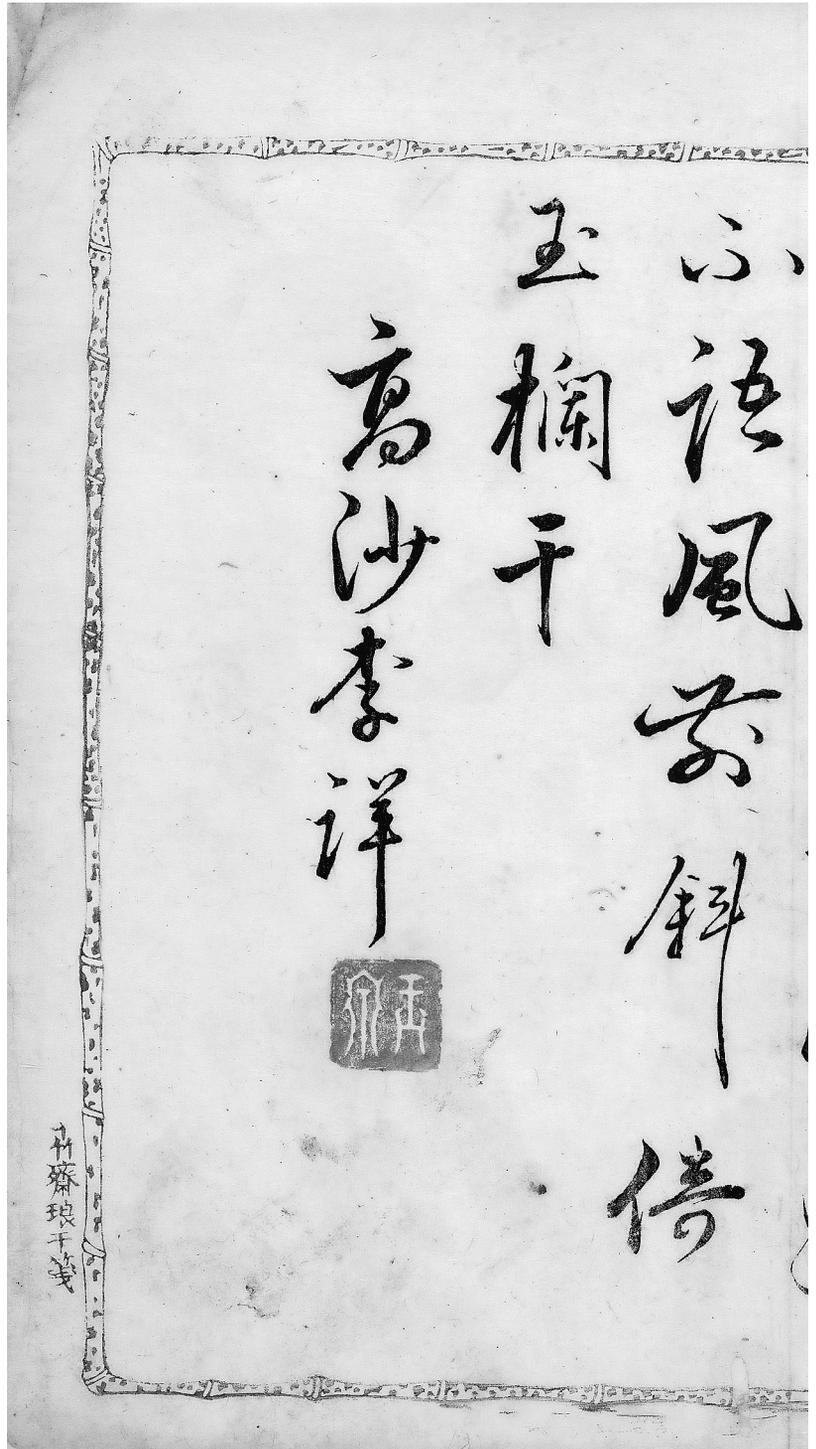
The emergence of color printing in China is rightly hailed as the crowning achievement of Chinese printing and another indication of the extraordinary quality of printing in the late Ming. It is not yet possible to trace clearly the beginnings of pictorial color printing in China.¹³ Books of such technical 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

解雲壤之佩珊

煙起名益醉後

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.





片露

音中





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 *Shizhuzhai 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.

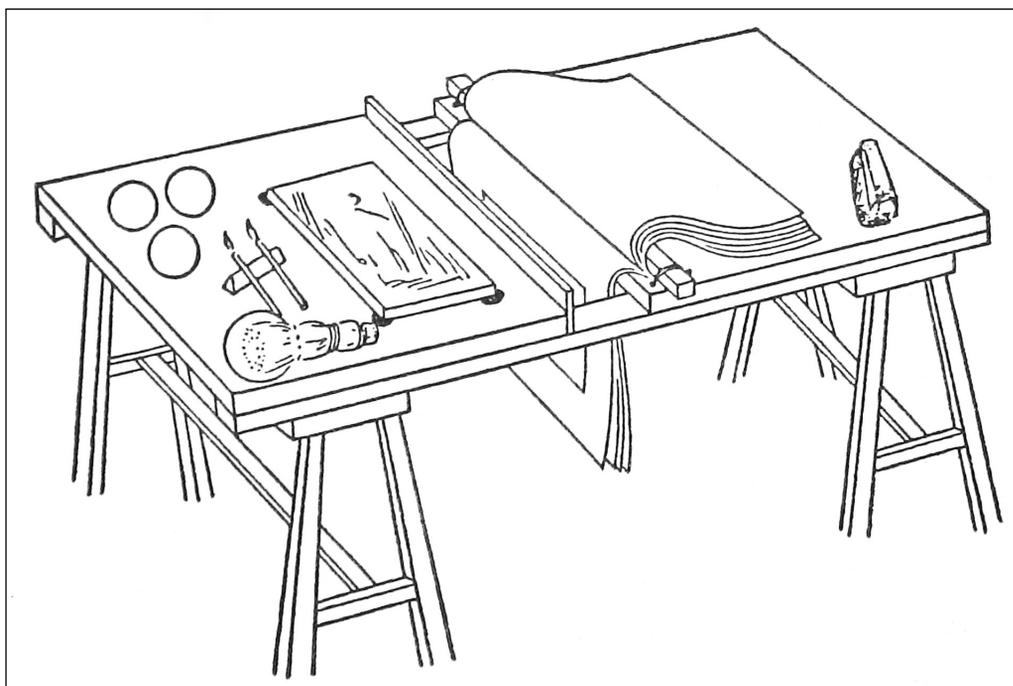
For the second-superstate database I had photographs of the half set (4 of the 8 volumes) at the University of California, Berkeley, East Asian Library; the 31 leaves from Tschichold's collection published in full size in his earlier books; 11 images from the Library of Congress's exemplar; 47 leaves 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



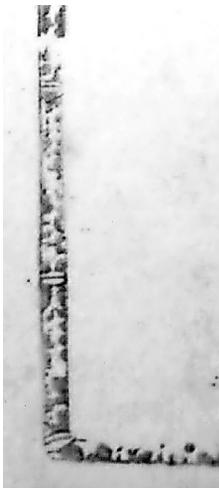
5A. First edition, first superstate, early impression. (National Library of China, Beijing, accession # 16999.)



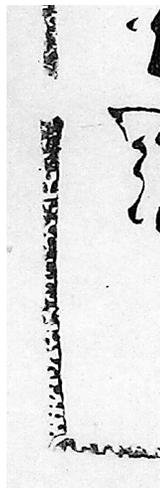
5B. First edition, first superstate, intermediate impression. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



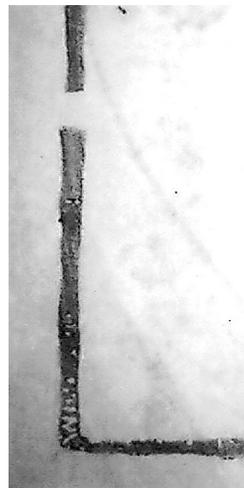
5C. First edition, first superstate, late impression. (Beijing University Library, Rare Book Collection.)



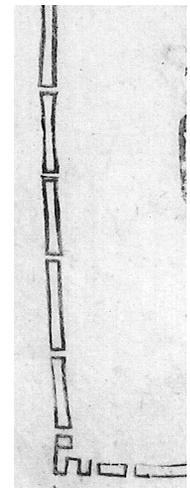
5D. First edition, first superstate, late impression. (Cleveland Museum of Art.)



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

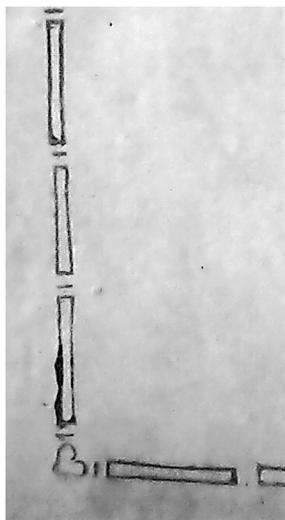


5F. First edition, second superstate, early impression. (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

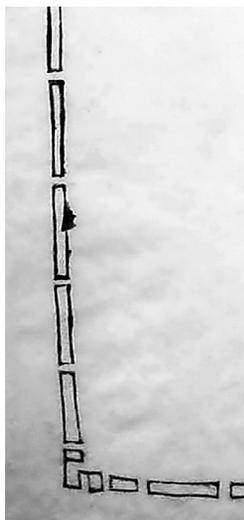


5G. First edition, second superstate, intermediate impression. (Private Collection #5.)

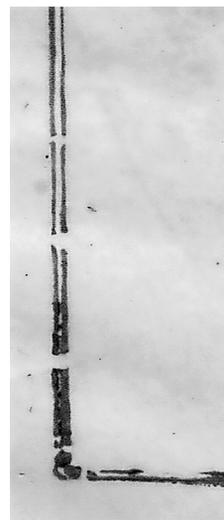
5. Details of the different types of frames surrounding the poems that accompany the



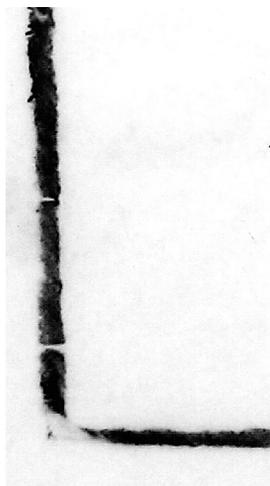
5H. First edition, second superstate, late impression. (Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)



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



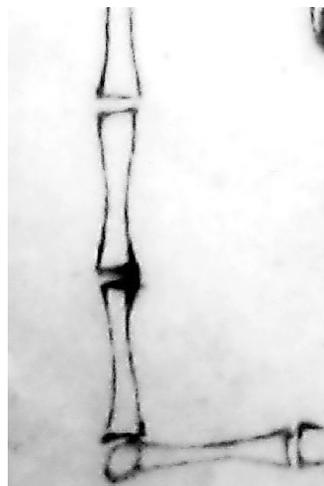
5J. First edition, third superstate. (Rietberg Museum, Zurich.)



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

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

并人物樓閣式

蘭竹梅菊之部

同畫傳考

全一冊

杜氏徵古畫傳

松寔著

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

御幸町姉小路^上北町

菱屋孫兵衛藏版

漢畫指南

山水人物
蘭竹梅菊

全二冊

同 二編

文鳳畫

全三冊

金波園畫譜

全
花鳥式

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

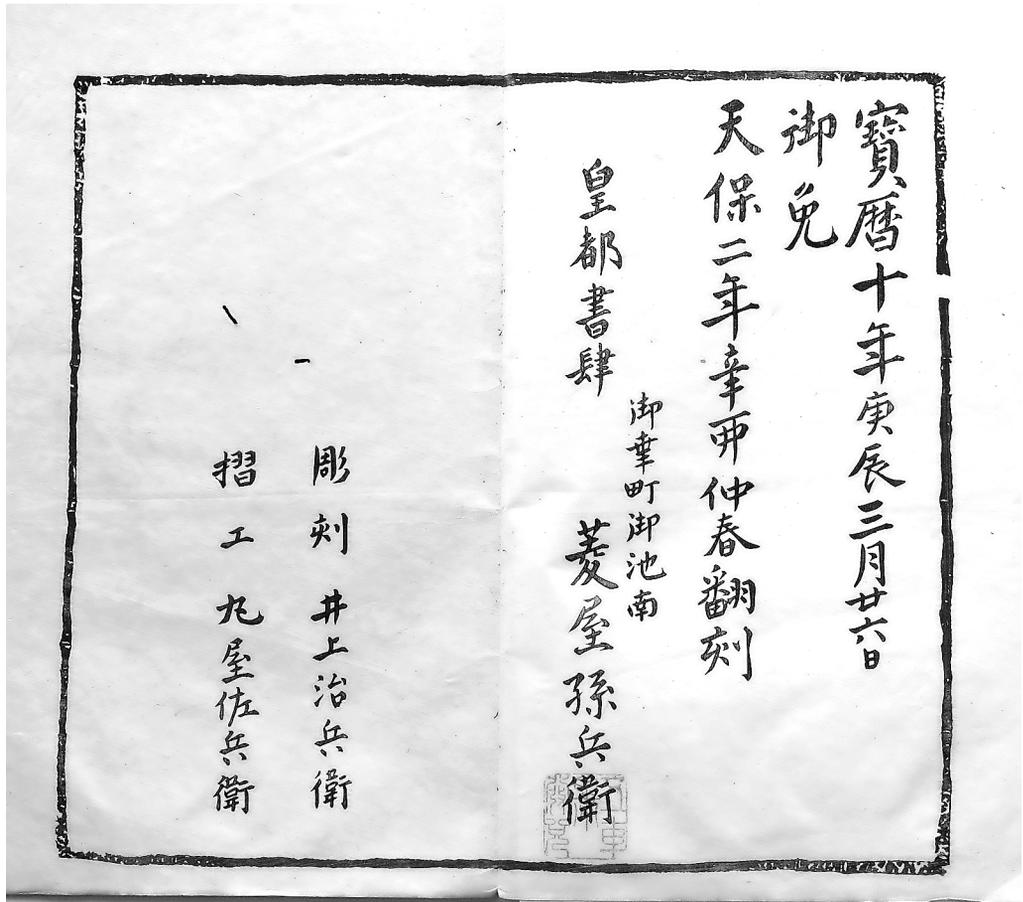
6. Advertisement in *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual), Japanese edition published by Hishiya Magobē, listing other books by this publisher. The second column from the left on the bottom half page of text inside the grid announces the availability of its edition of the *Ten Bamboo 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.

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

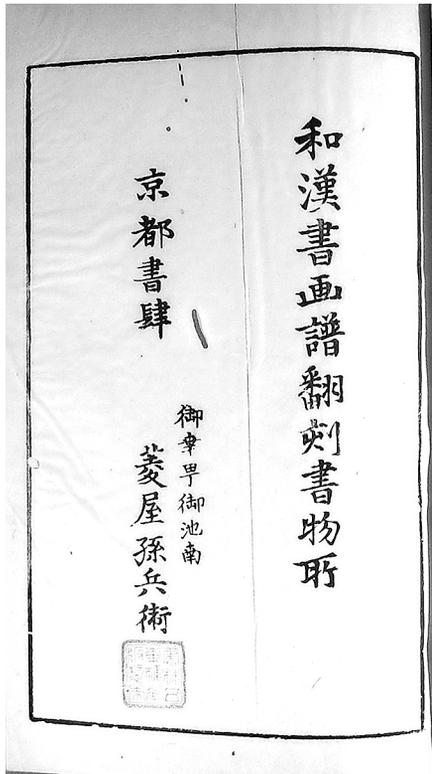
I have found several states of the “Late Eighteenth Century” edition and have identified only three variations of bamboo frame for the poems that accompany the “Round Design” volume in this edition. Most of the exemplars are quite similar with respect to colors and seals used, in contrast to the first- 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.

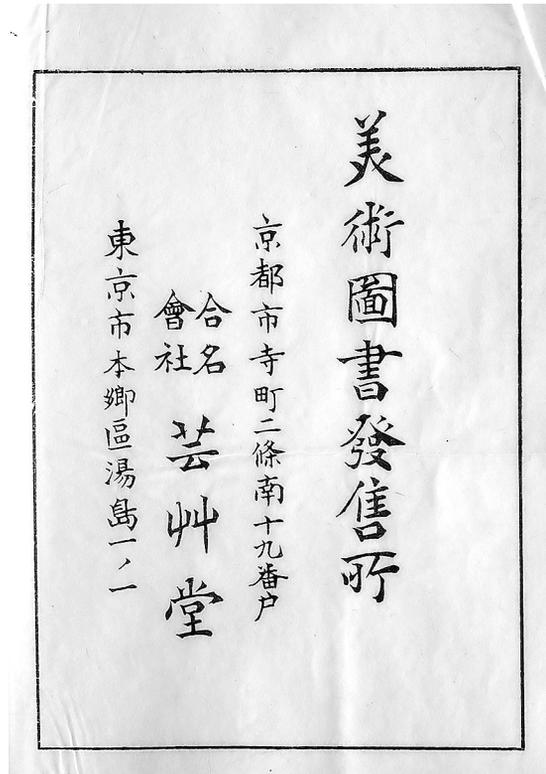
The Late Eighteenth Century set of prints is somewhat unusual in that while most of the leaves are quite handsome, a few are shockingly poor, especially in the “Fruit” volume where the subtle stippling of several of the fruits



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

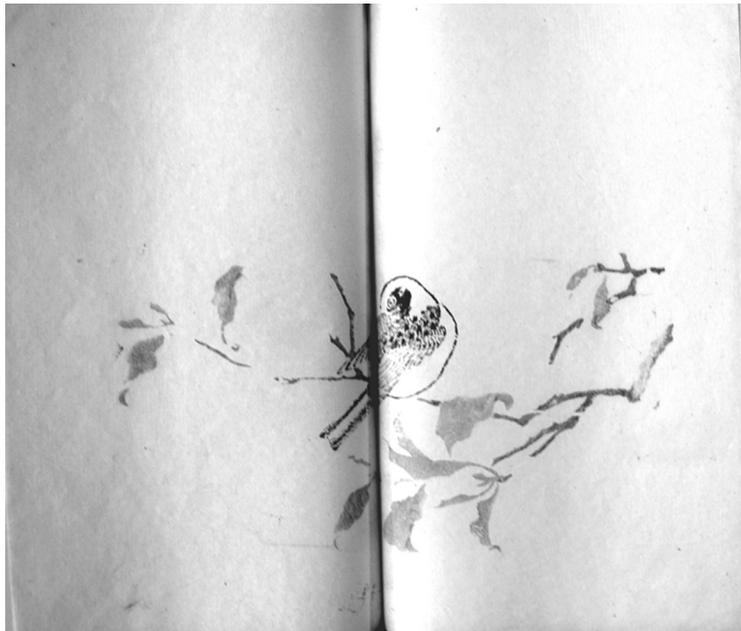


8A. First edition, second superstate, late impression. (San Diego Museum of Art, Museum purchase through the Alice Klauber Memorial Fund of the Asian Arts Council, San Diego, Calif.)

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澹書中有詩詩
中有畫臨摹精神濃淡竒妙費本
糜工鑄成大觀原板珍藏素遜真
賞近者効顰恐混魚目善價沽者
毋虛藻鑑

海陽胡世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

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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



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

墨華

果譜

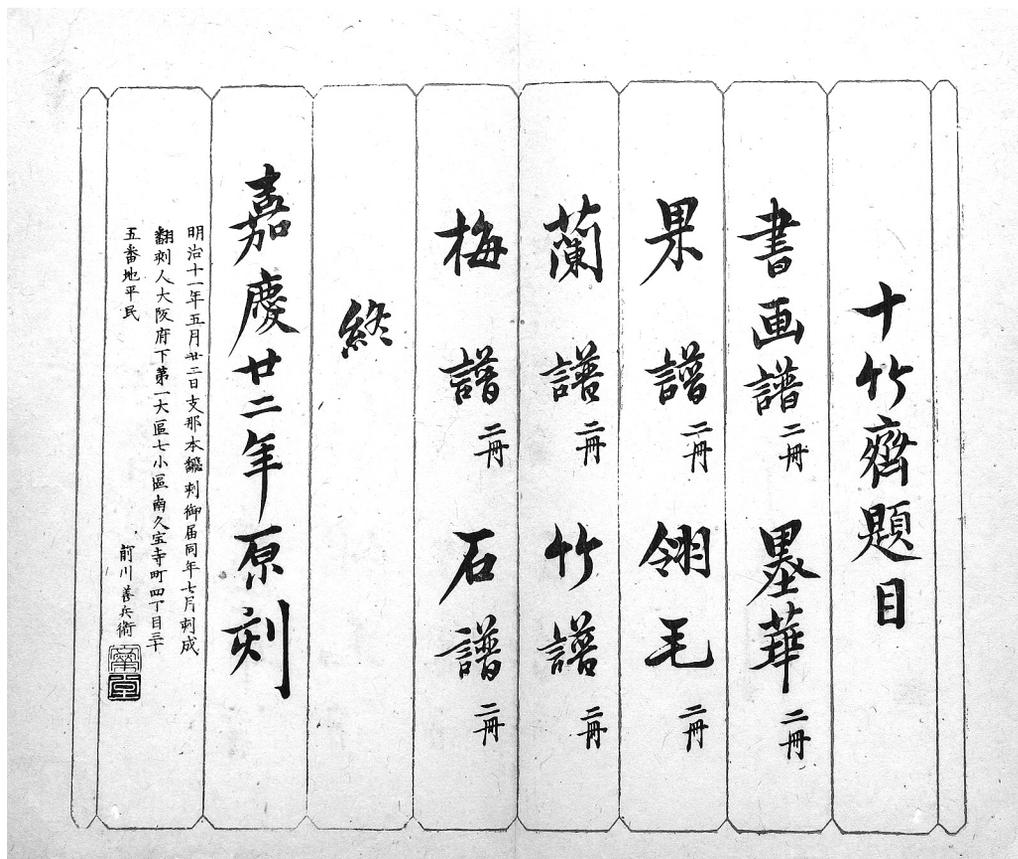
翎毛

蘭譜

竹譜

梅譜

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

十竹齋書畫譜盛行海內誠後學之津
 梁也原板歲久模糊向惟芥子園主人
 曾經翻刻流傳至今板復漫漶神韻盡
 失深為惜之茲幸購得原譜重加考訂
 付諸剞劂以公同好非敢謂突過前人
 俾仍存廬山真面云爾時維

光緒己卯夏至日

元和邱瑞麟玉符甫謹識

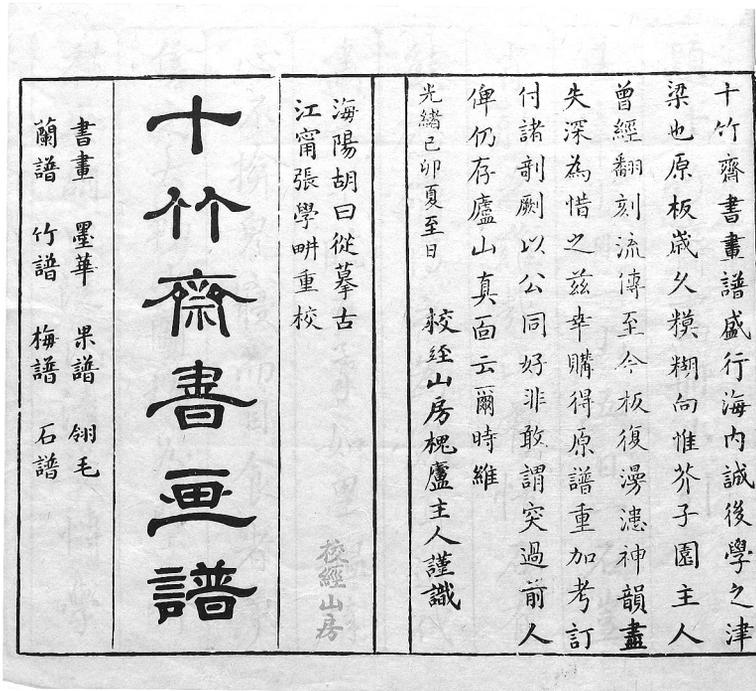
海陽胡曰從摹古
 江甯張學耕重校



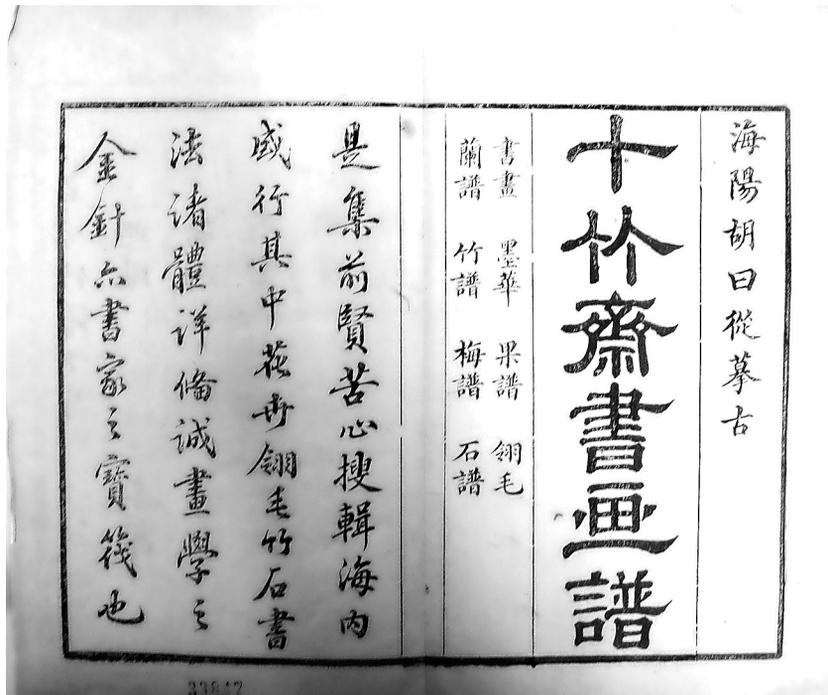
十竹齋書畫譜

書畫 墨華 米譜 翎毛 壹兩捌册
 蘭譜 竹譜 梅譜 石譜 定價貳圓

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).



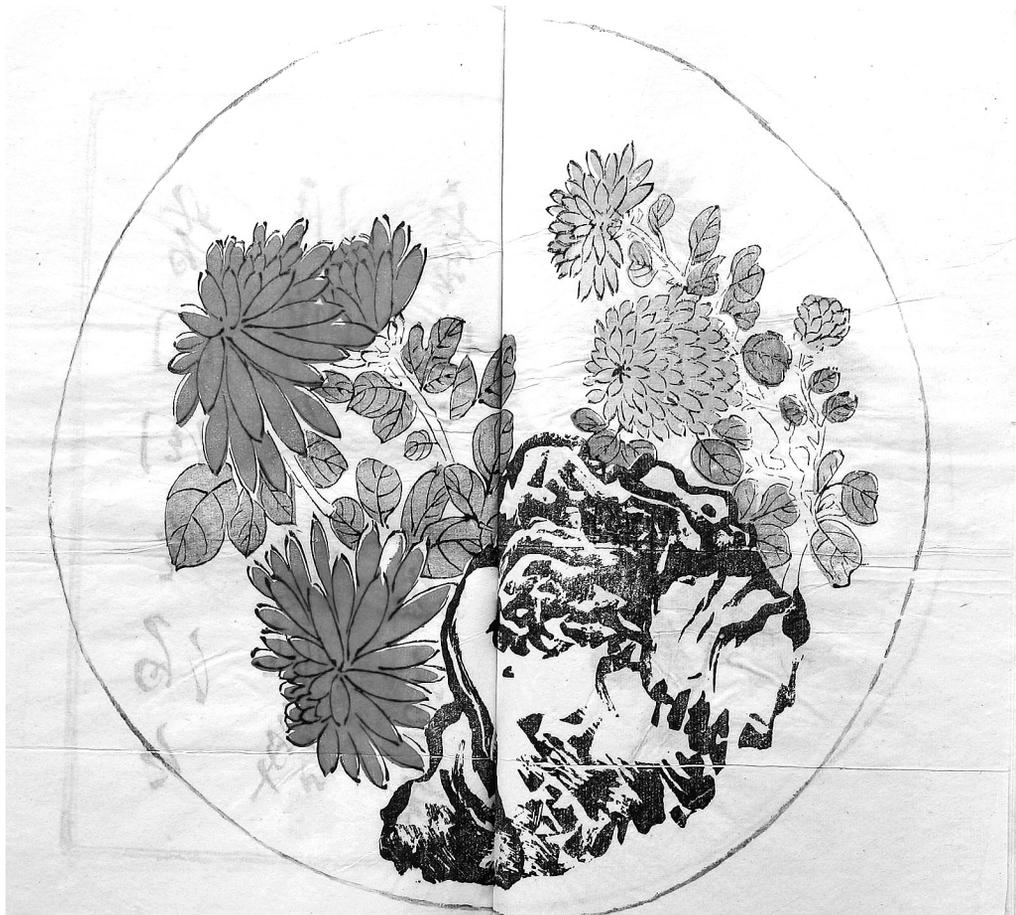
I4B. State B,
 Jiaojing shanfang,
 1879a (Private
 Collection Set #8).



I4C. State
 C, 1879b, new
 design with
 no publisher
 designated
 (Courtesy
 of Special
 Collections,
 University
 Library
 System, The
 Chinese
 University of
 Hong Kong
 Library).



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*



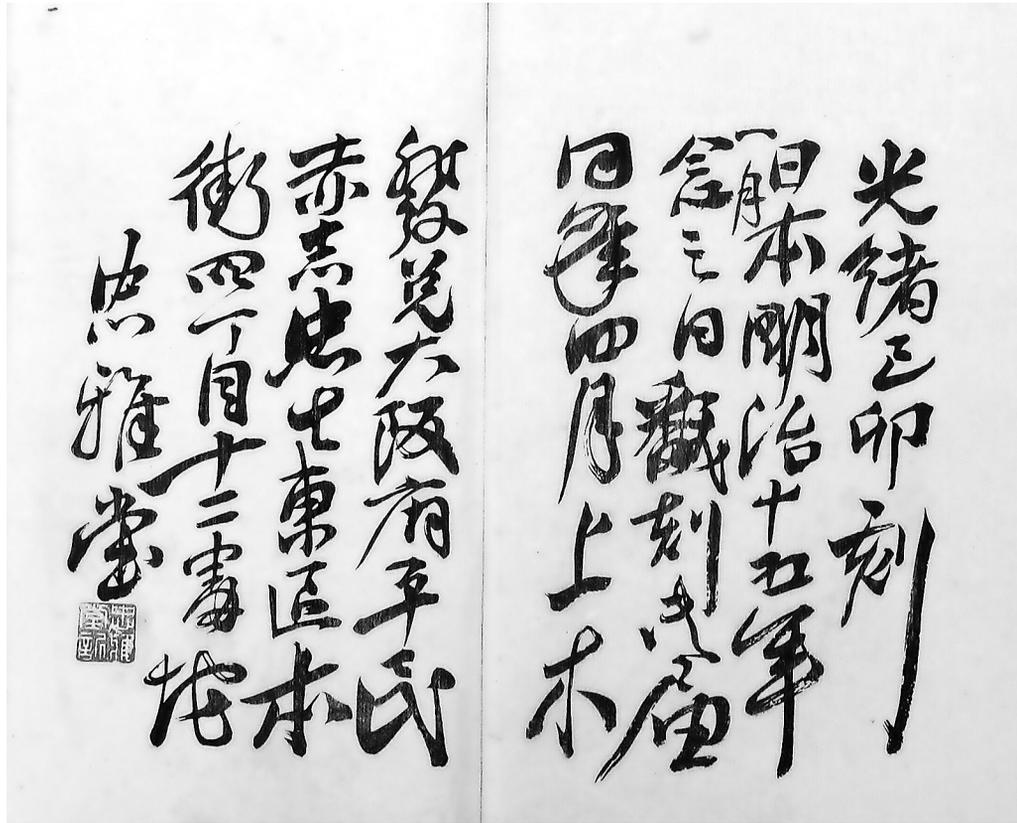
十竹齋書畫譜盛行海內誠後學
 之津梁也原板歲久模糊兩惟
 效子園主人曾經摹刻流傳
 至今板復漫方湛神賴畫出深
 為惜之茲幸購得原譜重加考
 訂付諸剞劂以公同好非敢謂突
 過前人俾仍存廬堂面云爾時維
 光緒己卯夏至日 永和郵瑞麟 王符甫謹識

海陽胡曰從摹古
 汲甯張學重校

十竹齋書畫譜

書畫墨華果譜翎毛
 蘭譜竹譜梅譜石譜

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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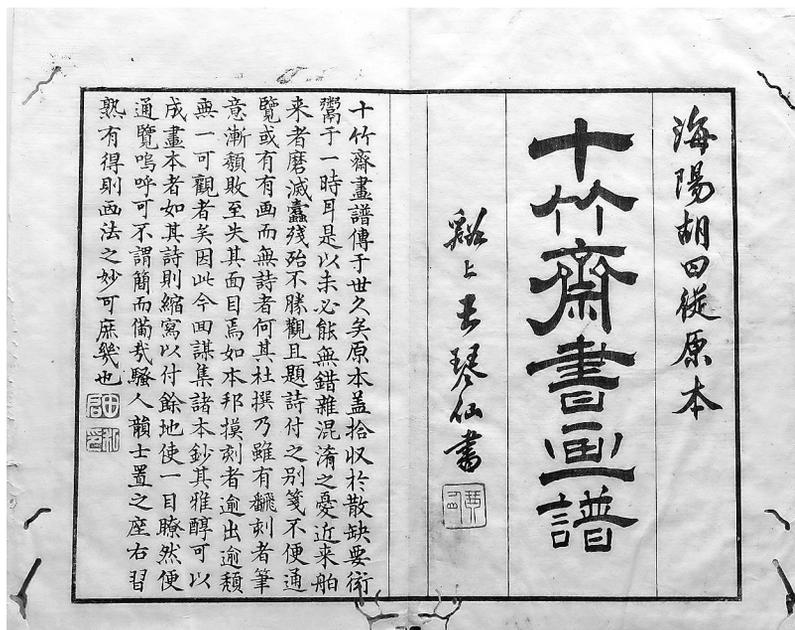
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二十六番屋敷

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, *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* (Private Collection).

20. "Bamboo, Orchid" at right, from the "Introductory" volume, I-1 from the 1881 greatly abridged edition, *Ten 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 <i>Goepper</i>	Collection Baur Private Collection #2	—	3 leaves (P*) 1 illust.	no ?	<i>first</i> <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 30/455I	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?	<i>1879a</i>
—	Volkerkunde- museum	77-II-	9 illust.	?	<i>late 18th, 1817</i>
—	(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).	—	<i>late 18th</i>
Nanjing	Nanjing Library	unknown	4 of 8 vols.	yes	<i>first</i>
Nara	Nara Prefectural Library	unknown	8 of 8 vols.	—	“1879”
New York, N.Y.	Metropolitan Museum of Art	CIB5	6 of 8 vols. (p)	—	<i>1879a</i>
—	—	CIB6	complete (P)	yes	<i>fourth (1879b)</i>
—	—	CIB14	25 of 168 leaves (P)	yes	<i>late 18th</i>
—	Columbia University Library	6130 4210	complete (P)	yes	<i>late 18th</i>
—	—	6130 4210.1	complete (P)	yes	<i>late 18th</i>
—	—	6130 4210.2	complete (P)	yes	<i>1817</i>
—	—	6130 4210.3	complete (P)	yes	<i>fourth (1879b)</i>
—	New York Public Library	OVL	complete (P)	yes	<i>1817</i>
—	—	Spencer 1750	complete (P)	yes	<i>late 18th</i>
—	—	Spencer 1763	complete (P)	yes	<i>third</i>
—	—	Spencer addna	complete (P)	yes	<i>late 18th</i>
—	Institute of Fine Arts, N.Y. Univ.	ND1042.S5	complete (P*)	yes	<i>1831*³³</i>
Northampton, Mass.	Smith College Museum of Art	N7349.H76	complete (P)	yes	<i>late 18th</i>

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. xxxxx	complete (P★)	?	1831★ ⁴⁴
—	—	1963.30. yyyyy	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 Zehnbambushalle* (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 Abelshausen (2008), pp. 109–154
Munsterberg	Private Collection	Munsterberg (1968), p. 194
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale	Cohen and Monnet (1992), pp. 154–155
—	Musee 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)
—	—	Huang (1986), pp. 28–43 Pan (1989), figs. 1–11 (third superstate), figs. 22–45 (1817) Lu Jintang (1993), pp. 102–103
—	National Palace Museum	Lu Xueyan (2004), pp. 33–34
Tschichold	Private Collection	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.

Abelshausen, 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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- Comentale, Christophe. *Les Estampes Chinoises: Invention d'une image*. Paris: Éditions Alternatives, 2003.
- Douglas, Robert K. *Supplementary Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1903.
- Edlington, Guy. "China and the Color Print." *International Studio* 80 (January 1925), pp. 269–277.
- Edgren, Sören et al. *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections*. New York: China House Gallery, 1984.
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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	SEALS	CHANGES IN PICTURE DESIGNS	BLOCKS	FRAME FOR VOL. V, ROUND DESIGNS	GENERAL INTRODUCTION		PREFACES AND INDICES		BLOCKS			COVER PAGE
						DATE	BLOCKS	BLOCKS	BLOCKS				
First edition, first superstate	original	original set	none	original	5 types	1633	original	original	no	4 pages	no	no	
First edition, second superstate	original	new, similar designs	none	original	3 types	1703	recut1	recut1	yes	3 pages	no	no	
First edition, third superstate	original	new, no similarity	none	original	1 type	1703	recut2	recut2	yes	3 pages	some	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	
Late 18 th Century (Japanese) edition	recut1 #	new, similar designs*	none	recut1	1 type	1703	recut4	recut4	yes	3 pages	no	no	

EDITIONS	PICTURES		POEMS		TEXT			COVER PAGE	PUBLISHER'S COLOPHON	
	BLOCKS recut2 [#]	SEALS no seals	CHANGES IN PICTURE DESIGNS 2 new	BLOCKS recut2	FRAME FOR VOL. V, ROUND DESIGNS 2 types	GENERAL INTRODUCTION		PREFACES AND INDICES	COVER PAGE	PUBLISHER'S COLOPHON
						DATE	BLOCKS			
1817 Chinese edition	recut2 [#]	no seals	2 new	recut2	2 types	1703	recut5	recut5 yes	yes	on cover page
1831 Japanese edition	recut3 [#]	some new some similar	VII- 18, 19 missing	recut3	1 type	1633	recut6	recut6 —	no	some pages
1878/ 1888 Japanese edition	recut4 [#]	no seals	2 new [^]	recut4	1 type	1703	recut7	recut7 yes	yes pages	yes
1879a Chinese edition	recut5 [#]	new, no similarity*	2 new [^]	recut5	1 type	1703	recut8	recut8 yes	yes, 3 types	on cover page
1882 Japanese edition	recut6 [#]	new, similar designs	VII- 18,-19 missing	recut6	no special frame	—	recut9	recut9 yes	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).
6. 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.
7. A few exemplars have the general introduction before the "Fruit" or "Round Design" volumes.
8. 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,” *Orientalism* 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 *Orientalism* 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* (Köln: Museum für 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 Tubinger 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, Bunkyūdō, 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.

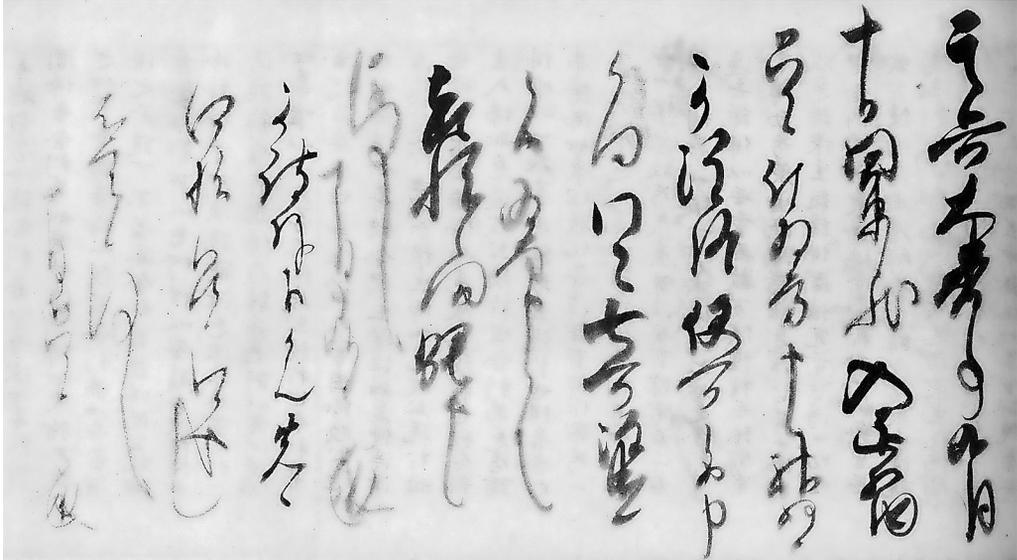
GLOSSARY

Akashi Chūgadō 赤志忠雅堂	Gao You zhi yin 高友之印
baren 馬簾	Ge Zhongxuan 葛中選
Bunka 文化	Hishiya 菱屋
Bunkyūdō 文久堂	Hishiya Magobē 菱屋孫兵衛
ce 冊	Hōreki 寶曆
Chengshi moyuan 程氏墨苑	Huailu congshu 槐廬叢書
Chikutō kachō gafu 竹洞花鳥譜	huapu 畫譜
douban 餛版	Hushan shenggai 湖山勝概
Duoyunxuan 朵雲軒	Hu Zhengyan 胡正言
ehon 繪本	Ike Taiga 池大雅
Eirakuya Tōshirō 永樂屋東四郎	Jiangdong shuju 江東書局
gafu 畫譜	Jianxia ji 剪霞集
Gao Yang 高陽	Jiaojing 校經
Gao You 高友	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
 jimaο 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 漢書早学
 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



1a. Manuscript text of a *shōsoku-gyo* copy of the *Hokekyō* (Lotus Sutra), vol. 1, commissioned by Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317) and copied in 1304 onto the back of letters written by his father Emperor Gofukakusa (1243–1304). Exemplar held in the Myoren-ji Temple.



1b. Manuscript letter written by Emperor Gofukakusa, on the back of which is a *shōsoku-gyo* copy of the *Hokekyō* (Lotus Sutra).

Letting the Copy Out of the Window

A History of Copying Texts in Japan

HIROKI KIKUCHI

In 1906 a young scholar named Asakawa Kan'ichi (1873–1948), who was the first professor of Japanese studies at Yale University, returned to Japan from the United States. During his one-and-a-half year stay in Japan, he collected many historical documents and books in cooperation with scholars in the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō Hensanjo) at the University of Tokyo.¹ Today, his acquisitions are shelved in the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University and in the Library of Congress. One of the characteristics of what he collected is that it includes a number of hand-copied texts. Before the micro-camera for the production of microfilm and microfiche came to be commonly used in the 1950s, hand-copied texts were still indispensable for historiography in Japan, which has a long history of copying texts. The country holds what is nearly the world's oldest extant printed sutra, yet printing was not as prominent as handwriting in the medieval period. And though print culture had gradually developed throughout the early modern period, hand copies were still being produced even in the modern period.

The copying of texts by hand and the significance of this practice in Japan are phenomena that explain the existence of hand-copied texts in the Asakawa collection. Especially considering how Buddhist texts and diary records (*kokiroku*) were copied in the medieval period, one can see that the interest in hand-copied texts drifted in response to social change.² The *Sanemikyō-ki* (Diary of [Senior Noble] Sanemi) copying project in the Edo (1603–1867) period will be an informative case on this point.³ In the modern period, hand-copied texts were still produced for academic research at places like the Historiographical Institute, and the institute's historiography project and its connections with American scholar-

ship provide clear examples of the continued importance of the hand copying of Japanese documents.

MANUSCRIPTS IN BUDDHISM

In the eighth century Empress Shōtoku (718–770) had one million copies of dhāranī (Buddhist incantations) printed and put into small wooden pagodas.⁴ This is almost the world's oldest extant printed material for which we are able to confirm the production date. However, print culture was not always dominant afterwards. Around the same time, in the eighth century, a great number of sutras were copied by hand in the sutra-copying institution (*shakyōjo*).⁵ In 740 Empress Kōmyō (701–760), the mother of Empress Shōtoku, commissioned a copy of the entire Buddhist canon (*issaikyō*) by hand.⁶ At that time, technological limitation may have been one of the reasons for making a hand copy, since it might have been more difficult to produce various kinds of woodblock prints than to simply write out a copy by hand.

However, another reason for copying sutras by hand was that the act was thought to accrue Buddhist virtue. For example, Empress Kōmyō started her copying project in memory of her parents. In the medieval period the most famous case of sutras copied for the attainment of merit is *Heike nōkyō* (Sutra Dedicated by the Taira Clan) housed in the Itsukushima shrine in the Hiroshima prefecture.⁷ *Heike nōkyō* is mainly comprised in the *Lotus Sutra*, which was donated by the Taira clan (also known as Heike). Each chapter was copied onto a scroll by a member of the family, a copying style called *ipponkyō kuyō*. Though the virtue of copying sutras is originally preached in Mahayana sutras, the teachings do not necessarily emphasize hand copying. But in Japan the virtue of copying sutras by hand was sometimes thought to be superior to that of printing sutras. By participating in a sutra copying project, each person was able to develop his or her own merit. Furthermore, when a sutra copying project was done in memory of a deceased person, sutras were usually copied onto the back of written texts such as letters, manuscripts, and drafts originally written by the deceased person.⁸ The most important point in this case was to copy sutras onto the back of actual writings of the person memorialized since this was thought to establish a strong connection between a sutra and that person's personality, or even his or her spirit. Thus, hand copies and handwriting had a religious significance in medieval Japan. (See figure 1.)

Moreover, Buddhist commentaries as well were usually copied by hand.

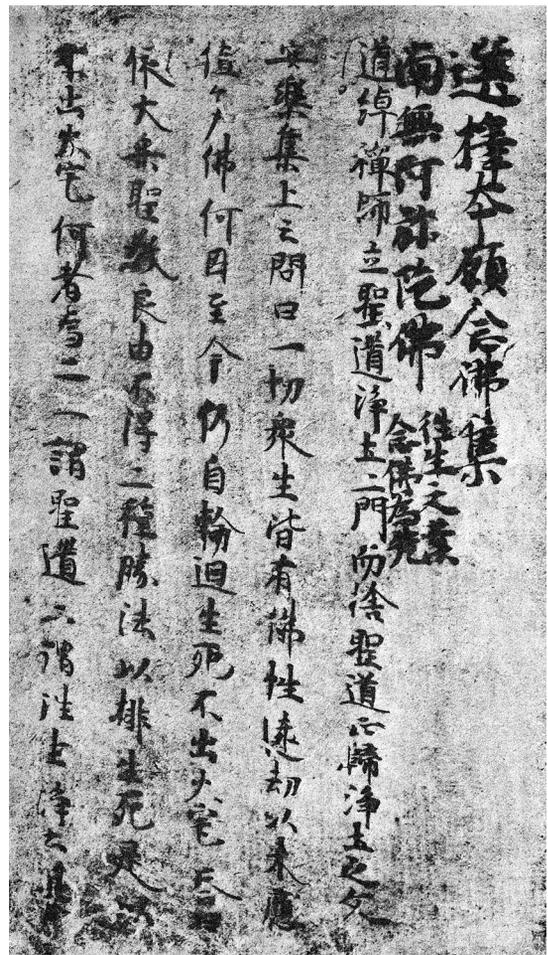
In the early eleventh century, *Ōjōyōshū* (Selection on Rebirth [in Pure Land]) written by Genshin (942–1017), strongly influenced the establishment of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan. Although the oldest *Ōjōyōshū* manuscript copy extant today was produced by hand in 996, while Genshin was still alive and only eleven years after he had completed the text, it was about two hundred years later, in 1171, that the oldest extant printed copy was produced.⁹ Even though it was reprinted in 1210 and 1253, these printed exemplars are rare today. Thus, in spite of the fact that *Ōjōyōshū* was widely influential, monks at the time did not tend to mass-produce it by printing. (See figure 2.)

This brings up the question of why this text was not printed soon after the completion. On this point one can consider the case of *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* (Selection on the Choice of the Original Vow of Amida Buddha), a famous commentary for Pure Land Buddhism written by Hōnenbō Genkū



2. *Ōjōyōshū* (Selection of Rebirth in Pure Land), version printed in the Kenchō period (1249–1255). Exemplar in the library of Ryūkoku University.

(1133–1212). Though it was printed soon after Genkū's death, he never intended it for the public use. *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* was originally dedicated to Kujō Kanezane (1149–1207).¹⁰ Hōnen asked Kanezane never to show it to others because Hōnen was afraid there would be those who would misunderstand his ideas; he permitted only a small number of disciples to copy *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū*.¹¹ When Hōnen condoned a copy, he wrote the title in his own hand in order to reveal that his discourse was properly “handed down” with his religious emotion or sacred faith for Amida Buddha (Amida Nyorai).¹² Therefore, it is clear that in the medieval period, Buddhist monks tended to use hand copying as way to limit the number of disciples who would have access to their writing. (See figure 3.)



3. Opening section of the oldest known copy of *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* (Selection on the Choice of the Original Vow of Amida Buddha) with the title written in the hand of Hōnenbō Genkū (1133–1212). Exemplar in the collection of the Rozan-ji Temple.

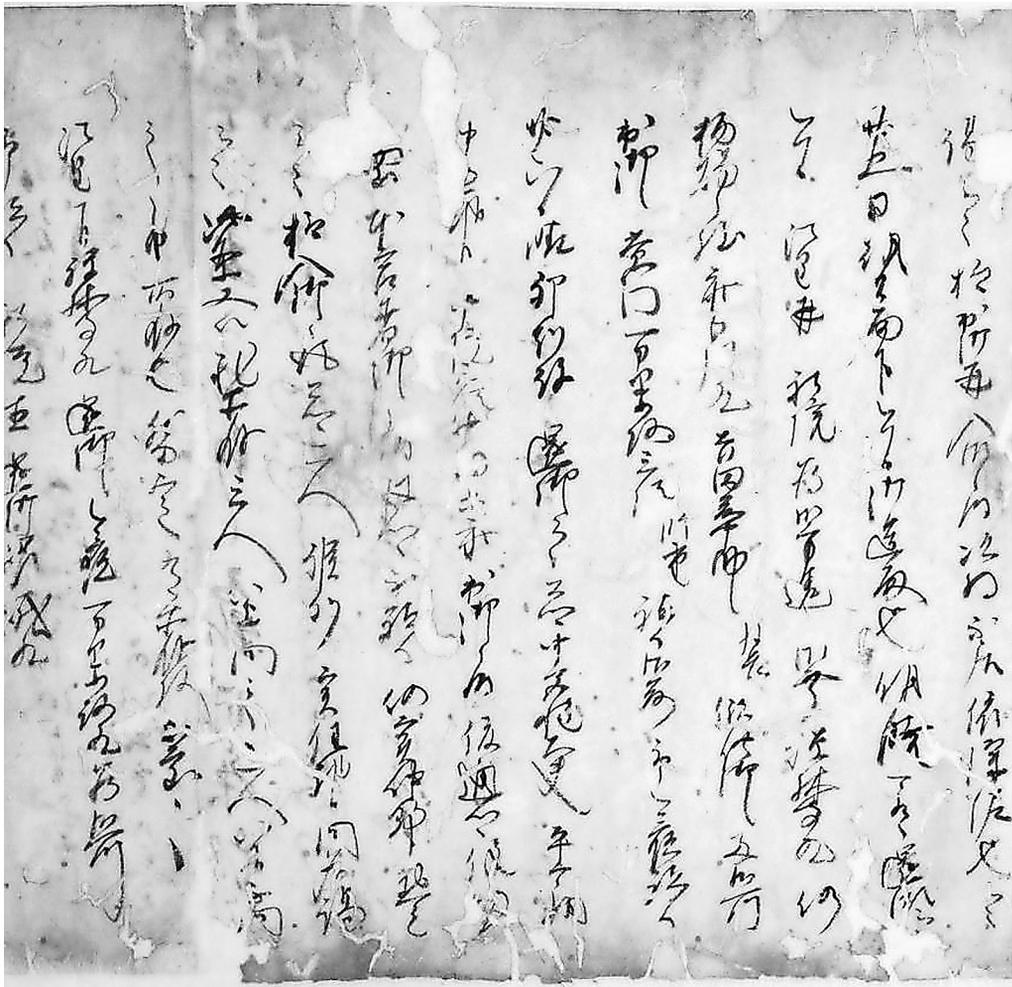
COPYING DIARY RECORDS IN THE ARISTOCRACY

After the tenth century, when the official systems of both state and court were changed fundamentally, diary records (*kokiroku*) appeared. Although the reason for this has been debated among scholars, Matsuzono Hitoshi, having examined different scholarly interpretations, claims that diary records in the early period were kept in order to establish authorized manuals for court rituals as practiced by emperors and the high aristocracy. Matsuzono assumes that the earliest diary records including those of emperors' were open in the court. The aristocracy usually checked these diary records in order to confirm precedents or quote them to ritual manuals.¹³ However, paralleling the development of court ritual in the Heian period (794–1185), the aristocratic clans established their own manners or customs and precedents. Diary records were helpful not only for themselves but also for their descendants, and these texts were exchanged within the limited lineages. For aristocrats in this period, behaving appropriately, in accord with precedents, during rituals was a very significant tool for maintaining political status. By using their own family diaries, they could protect their political status and even criticize manners of other houses. Therefore, it is more likely that diary records were never intended for public consumption. They were shared and copied by hand within a specific and exclusive lineage.

The effort to establish the ritual standards of a house developed into a kind of academic research. As a result, private libraries (*bunko*) were established in aristocratic and warrior houses. Though these libraries were open to the clan members and few other people, aristocrats tried to make connections with other lineages so that they could copy texts that they themselves did not possess. In the early Edo period, Emperor Gomizuno'o (1596–1680) and subsequent emperors worked on a collection project under the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868), which resulted in the establishment of the Kinri Bunko during the seventeenth century.¹⁴ A great number of diaries, ritual commentaries, and manuals, which were generally not open to the public, were collected from many aristocratic clans in the form of handwritten copies. In contrast to medieval collection practices, not all the titles in Kinri Bunko were necessarily collected for a particular reason. Though browsing works in the Kinri Bunko was still strongly restricted, the establishment of this library gave access to diary records and other texts of the aristocratic houses to a wider group of people. In the early modern period most

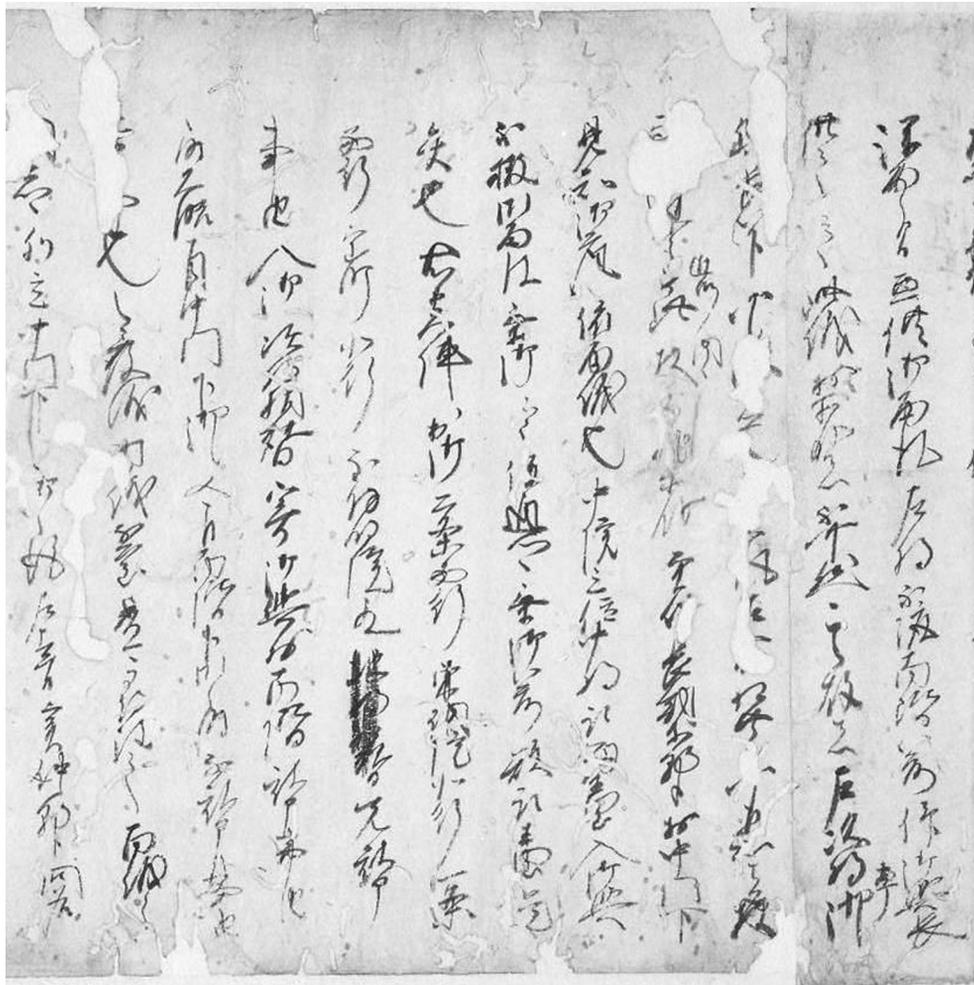
houses in the aristocracy also tried to establish their own libraries. As an example of this trend, we can examine the case of the *Sanemikyō-ki*.¹⁵ (See figure 4.)

Sanemikyō-ki is a diary record, that was kept by Sanjō Sanemi (1264–ca. 1325) between 1283–1310. After Sanemi's death, his manuscripts (*jihitsu-bon*) were left to his descendants and preserved by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1454–1537), who established a very substantial private library in his house in Kyoto.¹⁶ In the early eighteenth century the Sanjōnishi Bunko had been left to Sanjōnishi Kinfuku (1697–1745), who was still a young boy. In the same period, Maeda Tsunanori



4. Fragment of the original manuscript of *Sanemikyō-ki*, for the twenty-fourth day of the second month of 1292. Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute, the

(1643–1724), who was the lord (*daimyō*) of the Kaga domain, showed strong interest in all kinds of old documents and writings, and his collection project extended to the Sanjōnishi Bunko. Tsunanori supported Kinfuku financially and his daughter married Kinfuku; at the same time Tsunanori started researching the Sanjōnishi Bunko, made title lists, and copied several texts by hand. Later, in exchange for the access he was granted, Tsunanori offered to repair deteriorating rare books. In the process of Tsunanori's research, one of his largest discoveries in the Sanjōnishi Bunko was *Sanemikyō-ki* manuscripts, numbering about sev-



University of Tokyo. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Compare with a traced copy of the same text shown in figure 6 below.

enty scrolls. At first members of the Sanjōnishi family could not even determine whose diary record these manuscripts were. Tsunanori borrowed them, identified them as *Sanemikyō-ki*, compiled a list of these manuscript scrolls, and repaired damaged scrolls. The list he made attracted many aristocrats to the texts because only a very small part of the copy of *Sanemikyō-ki* had been known previously. As an adult Kinfuku became interested in his ancestor's diary record and copied a part of *Sanemikyō-ki*, which was gradually recopied and spread among other aristocratic houses. (See figure 5.)

About one hundred years later, in the early nineteenth century, a remarkable project to copy the *Sanemikyō-ki* was begun in the Tebori-Sanjō family. This family was the main branch of the Kan'in clan, under which the Sanjōnishi family also fell. Although the Tebori-Sanjō already possessed a recopied version of Kinfuku's *Sanemikyō-ki* copy, the set was still incomplete. Tebori-Sanjō Saneoki (1756–1823) borrowed the remaining sixteen scrolls of *Sanemikyō-ki* manuscripts directly from the Sanjōnishi. Under Saneoki's management, his son Kimiosa (1774–1840) and grandson Sanetsumu (1802–1859) were engaged in the copy work. Hino Suke-naru (1780–1846) also cooperated with the Tebori-Sanjō's copying project. Later Sukenaru introduced Kuze Michiaya (1782–1850) into the work as well. Thus, the copy in the Tebori-Sanjō was carried out as a group project. (See figure 6.)

Furthermore, at this time, the Tebori-Sanjō copied not only the text, but also the whole style of manuscripts, which included the exact shape of each letter with its calligraphic character and even drew the shape of the worm-eaten holes found in the paper of the original. Such a copy style is called *eisha* (traced copy). Since Sanjō Sanemi was not known as an excellent calligrapher, the exact copy would be of no use as a calligraphic sample. If the main goal were to research court ritual, only the text of *Sanemikyō-ki* without the calligraphic imitation would have been sufficient. Why, then, did Saneoki make an *eisha* copy of *Sanemikyō-ki*. (Compare figures 4 and 6.) Here we can confirm that, in the early modern period, the main point of research for diary records had drifted into philological (*shoshi-gaku*) issues in the aristocracy. The word “philology” or “philological” might not seem to be appropriate for use in this essay since in Western scholarship this concept has come to imply the study of classical texts and translation. However, in this essay these words will be used as the translation of *shoshi-gaku*, which has been developed as *komonjo-gaku* (diploma study or paleography) or *shiryō-gaku* (historiography), all of which imply careful consideration of the material aspects of manuscripts and their transmission or function. In Japanese scholarship this

field is not only appreciated as the basis for the writing of history, but it is also anticipated that it will develop into an independent field of study.

Before the Tebori-Sanjō copying project started, another copy of *Sanemikyō-ki* had been completed by Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'nori (1774–1880). Though this copy has not been found, it is supposed that it was produced as an *eisha* copy as well, because some parts of Tebori-Sanjō's second version, which was copied from Kin'nori's copy, have kept the style of the traced copy. Aristocrats who were interested in diary records very much appreciated Tebori-Sanjō's and Ōgimachi-Sanjō's *eisha*-style versions. For example, Takatsukasa Masahiro (1761–1849) borrowed these *eisha* versions soon after their completion.¹⁷

The common admonition among the aristocracy was, “don't let [the copy] out of the window” (*Sōgai ni idasu bekarazu*), which means that a text should be kept within a collection, out of sight, and thus maintained for use in a certain house exclusively. Nevertheless, despite the prohibition against giving a copy to other families and lineages, once a set of copies was produced from an original, it was in turn recopied by many other houses in order to build their own libraries for research on ritual and for other purposes. For example, Kajūji Tsuneitsu (1748–1805) recopied the Ōgimachi-Sanjō version because Tsuneitsu was Kin'nori's father-in-law. In spite of the fact that Kin'nori asked Tsuneitsu never to show the copy to others, Tsuneitsu secretly showed this copy to the Takatsukasa family, as mentioned above. Later, the Tebori-Sanjō also borrowed the Ōgimachi-Sanjō copy and made another version. It is not difficult to assume that Hino Sukenaru, who cooperated with the Tebori-Sanjō's copying project, mediated between the Ōgimachi-Sanjō and the Tebori-Sanjō because Sukenaru's wife and Kin'nori's wife were sisters and both were Tsuneitsu's daughters. Thus, Sukenaru not only gave advantage to the Tebori-Sanjō, but also benefitted from association with that clan. Sukenaru is thought to have introduced the Tebori-Sanjō version to the Yanagiwara family because Sukenaru's mother came from the Yanagiwara.¹⁸ Thanks to Sukenaru's cooperation, the Yanagiwara, by gathering material from the various versions, was able to complete one of the best copies of *Sanemikyō-ki*.

Thus while interest in texts such as *Sanemikyō-ki* increased more and more over time, diary records were not published in printed form in the premodern era.¹⁹ Though many were produced in the Edo period, they were always copied by hand through connections to relatives and other relationships in accord with the constraints of the traditional precedent of “not letting the copy out of the window.”²⁰

石欽神勝々々
 五过前宰相 高三位 恭继々 恭忠 忠久 基久
 祐顯 徽王丸亦恭候
 卯鞠 有卯會新伝出卯 方以 家雅以 後先以 益以以
 市 益季以 重經以 宋氏以 亦以 卯前被引至
 卯半及半更還卯市可參卯鞠之由 勅定隨及
 再三人教 事願之申障不象
 十日丙晴 栗太能氏奉任山門中 法被下衾宣下之
 間神輿歸塵已令神盪了仍今日可有卯鞠之市列
 見市領伏之間午刻着束帛有文帛 螺鈿太刀 先恭
 仙洞卷纏隨身 三人奇袴 未給頭卯鞠始三卯而卯塵宣敷並公 肉卯方
 座以分高 法皇先出卯 長領卯衣卯收袴 主上 紅卯袴以直衣
 器也

Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan (National Institute of Japanese Literature). Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

HAND-COPIED TEXTS IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP—
HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE AND ASAKAWA KAN'ICHI

While the number of published books increased more and more during the Edo period, diary records were published only after the end of the traditional aristocracy system with the collapse of Tokugawa shogunate. The establishment of the modern state changed all the court ritual absolutely. It was not necessary for each aristocratic house to individually record or research court ritual, and thus there was little need to continue to keep diary records secret.

At the same time academic interest in history was increasing partly under Western influence. The effort to describe general Japanese history had started during the Edo period, which saw the completion in 1798 of *Zokushigushō* (Rush Selection of the Sequel Historiography) by Yanagiwara Motomitsu (1746–1800) and in 1812 of *Gunsho Ruijū* (Collection of Mass Volumes) by Hanawa Hoki'ichi (1746–1821), though opportunities to access historical resources were not afforded equally to all scholars.²¹ In 1869 the Emperor Meiji (1852–1912) ordered Sanjō Sanetomi (1837–1891) to undertake as a national project an official historiography, as a continuation of *Rikkokushi* (Six National Histories).²² After several organizational changes in the government, this historiography project (*shiryō hensan jigyō*) became classified as an academic project and was placed in the Imperial University.²³

Academic interest in diary records and other historical documents (*komonjo*) also had been gradually increasing. A number of academic research projects were begun in 1873 in order to complete the historiography project at Mito and other remarkable private libraries (*bunko*).²⁴ After 1885 this research developed into a search for unknown documents possessed by regional houses or temples all over Japan because it was thought that the historiography project would be incomplete if the research were limited to well-known documents in eminent private libraries.²⁵ Many lists, catalogues, and hand copies were shelved in the Historiographical Institute for the reference. Based on these copies, in 1901 the Historiographical Institute started publishing two series: *Dai-Nihon shiryō* (Chronological Source Books of Japanese History) and *Dai-Nihon komonjo* (Old Documents of Japan). Also about the same time, some diary records were published. For example, publication began in 1897 of *Bunka daigaku shishi sōsho* (Historiographical Series of the College of Humanities), which included several titles of diary records. *Gyokuyō* (Leaves of Jade) and *Meigetsu-ki* (Record of the Bright Moon), both of which are basic diary records for the research of medieval Japan, were published

in 1906 and 1911, respectively. Scholars from the Historiographical Institute were involved to a large extent in these publication projects.²⁶

After these first publications the document project continued to develop in the Historiographical Institute. Before photographic reproductions of manuscripts began to be made in the early twentieth century in the Historiographical Institute, all the historical documents were copied by hand.²⁷ These copies can be categorized in two groups—*eisha* and *tōsha*. As I mentioned before, *eisha* is a precise copy, motivated by philological interest, of the original traced by skillful calligraphers. On the other hand, *tōsha* (transcribed copy) is simply the copy of the content of a text and was usually produced by copyists (*shajisei*). The section of copyists of the Historiographical Institute was composed of many kinds of people, some of whom eventually became professors.²⁸ They had engaged not only in copying texts, but also in helping scholars write manuscripts until 1946 when the section of copyists was officially abolished.²⁹ As the large-scale research of the document project began in 1887, a great number of hand copies were accumulated in the Historiographical Institute library in cooperation with copyists.³⁰ Before 1887 the Historiographical Institute already possessed five thousand *tōsha* and two thousand five hundred titles of *eisha*. The total of these copies increased to twice that in the next decade. By the 1940s the total number of *tōsha* had increased to over twenty-two thousand items, and by the 1960s *eisha* numbered up to eleven thousand titles. Finally the Historiographical Institute stopped producing *tōsha* because of ease of photographic reproduction, but the institute has continued to produce *eisha* for historiographical study (*shiryō-gaku*).

Some may argue that a photographic reproduction is certainly an effective way to capture all of the physical features of a document—the style of the calligraphy, the wear on the document, the holes in the paper, etc. However, in some important ways, the human eye is superior to today's photographic technology. For example, a well-trained calligrapher very carefully observes the light and dark shading of the ink of the original document, which can be of crucial significance for the interpretation of the manuscript. And, when characters are written on both sides of the paper, ink will have soaked through to the opposite side. Photographic reproductions of such a manuscript are often difficult to read because the two layers of text blur into one. In the process of hand copying the calligrapher carefully distinguishes the text on the one side from that on the reverse side. (For a good example of the visual confusion that results in photographic reproductions of documents written on both sides of thin paper, see figure 7.)

大けし誠或失法表極孤宗之意而由極祖塔
 之顛墜也切歎
 大和向俯垂一視之意或為不刊之證
 正長四年六月二日
 龍惺 足跡
 水野 吳九洲
 用鳳
 庫元
 信以三信打す如環雲色悟治之毛一之古也
 三信打をけあし一之毛一之古也
 信以三信打す如環雲色悟治之毛一之古也
 三信打をけあし一之毛一之古也
 信以三信打す如環雲色悟治之毛一之古也
 三信打をけあし一之毛一之古也

7. Rokuon nichiroku, fragment of the original manuscript, sheet 3, showing a letter to the Zen monk Zuikei Shūhō (1392–1473), dated second day of the sixth month of 1460. Five volumes of the original manuscript are in the

心知院新被燒破者因累年積弊
 亂於國聖福寺住持以...
 宣示年中... 住持... 日... 庫... 和... 議...
 白... 產... 微... 薄... 之... 祖... 塔... 荒... 廢... 香... 灯... 將... 危... 是... 以... 住...
 為... 住... 持... 老... 旦... 官... 法... 三... 十... 經... 以... 助... 神... 皇... 子... 逆... 心... 茲... 奉... 旨...
 達... 勝... 之... 地... 殿... 上... 同... 白... 尔... 學... 守... 其... 議... 又... 其... 年... 中... 錄... 可...
 太守以寺之在州內... 法... 出... 之... 狀... 計... 用... 剛... 和... 為... 庫... 院... 王... 年...
 大... 年... 上... 四... 議... 推... 入... 不... 轉... 由... 是... 其... 淺... 益... 堅... 於... 太... 守... 之... 法... 令...
 未... 止... 倘... 及... 年... 世... 課... 及... 許... 太... 守... 請... 即... 或... 違... 吳... 台... 謹...

collection of the main library of the University of Tokyo and fragments, among them this document, are in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

In 1906 soon after the start of publication at the Historiographical Institute, Asakawa Kan'ichi came to Japan with a plan to collect Japanese documents in order to develop Japanese studies in the United States.³¹ The materials that Asakawa collected eventually were divided and kept in two libraries, the East Asian section at the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University and at the Library of Congress.³² Through the collection project Asakawa established a scholarly friendship with Mikami Sanji (1865–1939), who had been the director of the Historiographical Institute between 1899 and 1919, and with other scholars in the Historiographical Institute.³³ Mikami helped Asakawa greatly with his collection project. The bulk of Asakawa's collection was hand copies since he avoided bringing valuable rare books out of Japan. Therefore, the goal of this collection project was not to establish a rare book library, but rather to make historical documents available for academic research in the United States. Fortunately, in the early twentieth century when he worked on the collection project, a number of copyists were engaged in copying historical documents in the Historiographical Institute. Though I have not yet researched the entire collection at Yale University, I assume that copyists in the Historiographical Institute produced several of the hand copies that Asakawa brought to the United States.³⁴

For example, in 1890 the Historiographical Institute copyists handcopied *Rokuon nichiroku* (Daily Record of Rokuon [Temple]), a diary that Keijo Shūrin (1440–1518) and other Zen abbots at the Rokuon-in Temple in Kyoto kept between 1487–1651.³⁵ (See figure 7.) In 1903 supplementary research results were added to the copy. Though this copy was in *tōsha* style, that is, copied for the contents of the text rather than being an exact copy of the original, the researcher used red ink to record in detail the condition of the diary and the results of philological investigation. (See figure 8.) Since the Rokuon-in Temple had been the head of the official hierarchical Zen system in the Muromachi period (1393–1573), *Rokuon nichiroku* was regarded as one of the most significant and basic historical documents. In 1905, two years after the additional research, the University of Tokyo Library, through the good offices of Miura Hiroyuki (1871–1931), who was a professor at the Historiographical Institute at that time, purchased the *Rokuon nichiroku* manuscripts. It was the next year that Asakawa came back to Japan to gather materials for the collection project. Because Miura and Asakawa were close colleagues, Asakawa is thought to have recognized the significance of *Rokuon nichiroku*.³⁶ In fact, *Rokuon nichiroku* in the Asakawa Collection at Yale was a precise hand copy done at the Historiographical Institute, including the

philological investigation in red ink and the copier's or researcher's signature and red seal.³⁷ Today, these two copies—i.e. the copy in the Yale University Collection and the one in the Historical Institute—are by far the most valuable ones. Tragically, in 1923 all of the 157 volumes of *Rokuon Nichiroku* manuscripts preserved in the University of Tokyo Library were destroyed by fire with the collapse of the buildings in the Kantō earthquake. However, five volumes and some fragments, which fortunately had been borrowed by the Historiographical Institute for research use, escaped that conflagration.³⁸ Because no photographic records remain of *Rokuon nichiroku* manuscripts, these two copies are the only ones that give us visual evidence of the appearance and the content of the original with philological information. Later, when *Rokuon nichiroku* was published in a typeset edition, the Historiographical Institute's copy was used as an original text.³⁹

In this way the Historiographical Institute helped Asakawa's collection project by offering high-quality hand copies to him. In exchange, Asakawa also helped the Historiographical Institute add titles to its document project. For example, today in the Historiographical Institute library, one can find copies of three historical documents that were formerly owned by Asakawa. In 1907 when Asakawa was in Japan building his collection, two of the documents in question were copied by the Historiographical Institute.⁴⁰ One is *Jōge kokyō sojō* [a petition (compiled in 1818 by ward leaders of) the old Kyoto area], which was a *tōsha* style copy.⁴¹ (See figure 9.) It may have been the original that was donated to the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University later as a part of *Kyōto komonjo* (Old Documents of Kyoto), but I have not yet been able to inspect the acquisition records to confirm this.⁴² The other is *Asakawa monjo* (Documents of Asakawa [Kan'ichi]), which was an *eisha* style copy of *Shimogyō-chū deiri no chō* (Account Book of Income and Expenditures of Lower Kyoto Township).⁴³ The original is now lost, though the copy made with a fountain pen is included in the Asakawa collection.⁴⁴ Asakawa might have had the original of the text in his possession and made this copy for the Yale library in his own hand. During his two-year stay in Japan between 1907 and 1909, and even a couple of years after his return to the United States, he was affiliated with the Historiographical Institute as a junior faculty member.⁴⁵ In 1917 Asakawa returned to Japan again for the last time and worked mainly on his own personal projects. In 1918 the Historiographical Institute made an *eisha* copy of *Ōi monjo* (Documents of Ōi), the original of which was owned by Asakawa.⁴⁶

Later Asakawa suggested to Yale Japanese alumni that they purchase Japan

工書

廿五日晴天ノ節 雨大降 予 醉 衰 故 不 知 連 得 辰 刻 止 耶
 川 出 帶 五 更 者 為 位 上 故 幸 自 南 壽 寺 佩 經 者 之
 由 晃 首 座 告 來 經 然 予 天 者 欲 進 一 盞 不 成 故 已 刻 止
 席 菜 庵 進 為 予 不 知 勿 也 持 系 御 字 幸 部 冷 面
 酒 進 之 僧 名 德 多 座 上 之 外 者 又 淨 口 德 多 座 者
 善 佛 心 未 了 之 為 如 家 故 予 推 獎 尤 厚 分 急 八 月 前
 予 大 座 佛 之 傍 之 予 進 之 予 上 為 二 盞 砂 之 頃 刻 去
 若 連 予 大 飲 之 念 佛 亦 來 以 上 四 人 予 主 次 中 過 亦 來
 予 睡 中 故 不 知 布 就 如 室 同 師 來 同 師 故 予 不 知 所

8. Inscribed copy of 1890 with additions made in 1903 of *Rokuon nichiroku*, vol. 13, for the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, year uncertain, but assumed to be either 1597 or 1598. Upper

〇高野下野
六月十六日
未刻
六月十六日
六月十七日
六月十八日
六月十九日
六月二十日
六月二十一日
六月二十二日
六月二十三日
六月二十四日
六月二十五日
六月二十六日
六月二十七日
六月二十八日
六月二十九日
六月三十日

高野下野 未刻 南深口ノ南ニ來訪持系尺干矣見
首座曰尺干者遠里少野ノ事ナリ年官ニ事ナリ能者
人足進故也此宿舎ノ時止所根湯根少野ノ事ナリ
頃刻細遠里少野ノ事ナリ來訪持系尺干矣及夕
陽者能者也
一盞進シ去成在座淨土ノ中房アリ卒
土海一胆茶子印賜シ傳者竟善也酒進シ右放卷
時ニ克儀ノ節也年者故頃刻而事ナリ承普座安雅也
方丈乃淨更ニ我句御而ニ事ナリ酌シ御而御大工
日三ハ力量ノ誘臨高岳ノ事ナリ長尾ノ事ナリ被遠里少野

margin notes on the right comment note the condition of the text.
Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph
from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

幸甚幸甚の他撥用を勿令新令に任じ給ふ共後年
に於て詮議を不办せしむるに及ばば願上り同
友の力に任じ上下古案に照し町代を一因に任じ願
文等より受取候

上古京

立賣親八町代惣介

玉町代若水徳右衛門

文政元年癸亥十二月

年寄 深正序 京

尾町代若水徳右衛門

年寄 九多 徳右衛門

9. Jōge kokyō sojō, twentieth-century inscribed copy, showing the end of the text of the petition, followed by the date of the entry (the twelfth month of 1818) and the signatures of

因之て夫成而都市中と其大に区別ある名義を
時備て 中城之に親有仕合事ある行年若年
之段に中教然と成り熱強を中城名と成りし
古格に後市井一統安定仕合上承續之仕と重
之親有仕合事ある且又古くは町代夫町中と稱
之に是れ連所分と仕向り流 所用向と云
中城不之区別と相成り所仕所と年寄古事
論市中一統是と云 中城通名符おも新我低
次不次少不仕終之者重し今所仕向物と上
古不併之町代世給仕向不仕双方と云

the leaders of each area of Kyoto City. Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

有他人之妨多一子孫之中致競辱之
輩若米之時者可為不孝人之上者為公
方之御沙汰可被慶罪科侯仍為後隆
寄附之狀如件

應永十八年十月十七日

治部共浦滿弘

10. *Nanhō-in monjo*, twentieth-century traced copy, third sheet of the scroll, showing a document of a commendation written by Akamatsu Mitsuhiro (fl. ca. early fifteenth century), dated the seventeenth day of the

寄進

嵯峨南芳庵播磨國佐用

庄之内本位田郷事

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tenth month of the eighteenth year of the Ōei period (1411). Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

documents in order to enhance the Yale Japanese collection. In 1934 Asakawa donated his huge collection to the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University.⁴⁷ Throughout this project, copying projects and exchanges continued between Asakawa and the Historiographical Institute. Three photographic reproductions of historical documents included in the Yale Association of Japan Collection, were made for the Historiographical Institute—*Tōdai-ji monjo* (Documents of Tōdai-ji Temple), *Kōfukuji kaisho-mokudai saisai hikitsuke* (Miscellaneous Record of the Meeting Hall by the Proxy in Kōfukuji Temple), and *Nishi-kamogō kenchi-chō* (Book of Land Inspection for Western Kamo Township), compiled in 1586 and 1589.⁴⁸ The production date of these reproductions was 1933, and the photographs were taken as rectigraphs (*rekuchi gurafu*), the photograph system used until the early 1940s in the Historiographical Institute.⁴⁹ It is assumed that these documents were copied at the Historiographical Institute before the institute shipped the originals to the United States. Kuroita Katsumi (1874–1946), who had been also Asakawa’s colleague at the Historiographical Institute, cooperated with Asakawa in the Yale Association of Japan Collection project. Also the Historiographical Institute now has an *eisha* titled *Kuroita Katsumi-shi shozō monjo* (Documents in the Possession of Kuroita Katsumi), which is the copy of *Nanhō-in monjo* (Documents of Nanhō-in Temple) that Kuroita possessed at that time.⁵⁰ Since the original of *Nanhō-in monjo* is now shelved in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, it is possible that Kuroita donated the original of the text to Yale Association of Japan Collection after making the *eisha* copy at the Historiographical Institute. (For the traced copy, see figure 10.)

CONCLUSION

This essay has described aspects of the history of copying texts in Japan by examining several typical cases in each period—medieval, Edo, and modern. In spite of the fact that printing technology had been available since the eighth century, the tradition of hand copying developed throughout the medieval period. In the Edo period, particularly after the eighteenth century when printing culture progressed rapidly, the tradition of hand copying persisted. Thus, continuing prominence of this tradition should be discussed not only in relation to technological developments in printing, but also in light of value placed on communicating specific cultural information in Japan. The copying of diary records based on exclusive exchange within limited groups of aristocrats may have come partly from Bud-

dhist traditions (particularly in the esoteric or Zen Buddhism), where Buddhist teachings were handed down from the master to the disciple personally. Buddhist clergy were obliged to spread the teachings among many people, and in fact since the Song dynasty, the complete Buddhist canon was periodically published in China. During that time in Japan hand copying was regarded as religious practice and therefore the preferred method for transmitting texts. The emphasis on hand copies can be considered one of the distinguishing characteristics of Japanese culture vis-à-vis other East Asian textual traditions.

From the perspective of the dissemination of information in modern society, the tradition of hand copying texts might be regarded as unusual and even limiting, but it is also true that the tradition of hand copying supported modern Japanese scholarship in the field of historiography in a special way. As is evident in the case of the Historiographical Institute, hand-copying activities helped Japanese scholars develop fields such as *shiryō-gaku* (philological study) and organize hand copiers, who enabled Japanese scholars to collect and research a large number of historical documents. These activities also definitely influenced Japanese studies in the United States. The Asakawa collection at Yale University and at the Library of Congress, composed largely of hand copies, is regarded as equal to collections of hand-copied texts in the largest scale libraries in Japan.⁵¹

TABLE 1
COPIES OF SANJŌ SANEMI'S (1264–ca. 1325) SANEMIKYŌ-KI

COPY NUMBER	WHO MADE THE COPY	COMMENTS	VERSION COPIED	DATE OF COPYING PROJECT	TYPE OF COPY	WHERE COPY IS LOCATED
Original	Sanjō Sanemi (1264–ca. 1325)	—	His own original manuscript	1283–1310	original (<i>jihitsubon</i>)	Takeda Foundation; Maeda Foundation; Waseda University; Imperial Household Agency; Historiographical Institute
—	Sanjōnishi clan (branch of Kan'in clan): Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1454–1537, heir); Sanjōnishi Kinfuku (1697–1745, heir)	Successfully inherited from their ancestors	Inherited Sanjō Sanemi's manuscript	—	—	—
—	Maeda Tsunanori (1643–1724; Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's father-in-law)	Identified the Sanemikyōki in Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's library; repaired damaged scrolls; made copies of some works in Sanjō-nishi's library	—	—	—	—
#1	Sanjōnishi Kinfuku (1697–1745; heir)	—	His own ancestor's original	Early 17th century	transcribed copy (<i>tōshū</i>)	National Institute of Japanese Literature
#2	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'nori (1774–1800)	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori (wife is a daughter of Kajūji Tsunetsu's)	—	Late 18th century	traced copy (<i>eishū</i>)	undiscovered
#3	Tebori-Sanjō clan (branch of Kannin clan)	—	Incomplete copy of Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's copy	Early 19th century	traced copy	[Ise] Shrine Library

COPY NUMBER	WHO MADE THE COPY	COMMENTS	VERSION COPIED	DATE OF COPYING PROJECT	TYPE OF COPY	WHERE COPY IS LOCATED
#4	Tebori-Sanjō Saneoki (1756–1823, father) Tebori-Sanjō Kimioa (1774–1840, son) Tebori-Sanjō Sanetsumu (1802–1859, grandson) w/ Hino Sukenaru (1780–1846) and w/ Kuze Michiaya (1782–1850)	Hino Sukenaru (mother is a Yanagiwara; wife is a daughter of Kajūji Tsuneitsu's)	Group project to copy 16 missing scrolls from Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's copy	Early 19th century	traced copy	[lse] Shrine Library
#5	Takatsukasa Masahiro (1761–1849)	Got copy from Kajūji Tsuneitsu	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's copy and Tebori-Sanjō clan's group copy	Early 19th century	partly traced copy	Imperial Household Agency
#6	Kajūji Tsuneitsu (1748–1805, Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's father-in-law)	—	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's version	Early 19th century?	—	undiscovered
#7	Yanagiwara clan	Got copy from Hino Sukenaru. Yanagiwara Motomitsu (1746–1800) adopted Sukenaru's sister. Motomitsu's sister is Sukenaru's mother. Sukenaru's cousin Yanagiwara Naomitsu (1772–1812) married Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'ori's sister.	Tebori-Sanjō's two versions Sanjō-nishi Kinfuku's	Early 19th century	transcribed copy	Imperial Household Agency
#8	Tebori-Sanjō second version	—	Sorjō Sanemi's original Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's Sanjō-nishi Kinfuku's	Middle 19th century	traced copy transcribed copy	[lse] Shrine Library

NOTES

1. The Historiographical Institute has experienced many organizational changes and changes to its name since the early Meiji period (1868–1912). In this essay I will uniformly refer to this organization as the “Historiographical Institute” as the translation for the name in Japanese name “Shiryō hensanjo.”
2. In Japanese scholarship, diaries kept by aristocrats are generally called *kokiroku*, which will be translated “diary record” in this essay.
3. In 1991 the Historiographical Institute began publishing the text of *Sanemikyō-ki* by Sanjō Sanemi (1264–ca. 1325) as number 20 of the series Dai-Nihon kokiroku (Old Diaries of Japan) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952–).
4. This is the famous *Hyakumantō darani* (Dhāranī in One Million Stupas). In memory of the people who died in the civil war along with Emi no Oshikatsu (706–764), Empress Shōtoku dedicated these one million stupas containing printed *dhāranī* to the ten great temples. See *Hyakumantō darani* (Dhāranī in One Million Stupas) in Hōryūji Shōwa shizaichō henshū i’inkai, ed., *Hōryūji no shihō* (Treasures of the Hōryū Temple), vol. 5 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1991).
5. In the eighth century, in addition to the imperially sponsored sutra-copying projects, imperial princes and the great temples also undertook such copying projects, which were carried out, however, for relatively personal purposes or limited use.
6. See Sakaehara Towao, ed., *Nara jidai no shakyo to daiiri* (Sutra-Copying and Imperial Palace in the Nara Period) (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 2000). See also Yamashita Yumi, “Nihon kodai-kokka ni okeru issaikyō to taigai ishiki” (Buddhist Canon and the International Consciousness in the Ancient State of Japan), *Rekisho Hyōron* 586 (1999), pp. 31–44.
7. For more on *Heike nōkyō*, see Komatsu Shigemi, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū* (Research on Sutra Dedicated by the Taira Clan) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976).
8. They are called *shōsoku-gyō* (sutra of letters [of a deceased person]). For example, in 1304 when Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317) copied the *Lotus Sutra* in memory of his father, Emperor Gofukakusa (1243–1304), he copied it onto the back of 170 letters written by Emperor Gofukakusa. See Bunkachō ed., *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai taizen* (Major Collection of National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties), vol. 7 (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1997), pp. 650–651.
9. See Hayami Tasuku, *Genshin* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), p. 118.
10. Ōhashi Shunnō, “Kujō Kanezane no negai wo irete” (Accepting the Wish of Kujō Kanezane), *Honen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998), chap. 7.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 174–179.
12. See *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū*, Rozanji version. This, the oldest extant version of this work, is preserved in the Rozanji Temple in Kyoto. For a published edition of this Rozanji version, see *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū*, Ishi’i Kyōdō, ed., *Shōwa-shinshū Hōnen shōnin zenshū* (New Shōwa Period Edition of the Complete Collected Works of Sage Hōnen) (Tokyo: Jōdoshūmusho, 1955).

See also Tōdō Yūhan, comp., *Senchakushū taikan* (General Survey of *Senchakushū*) (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1975); and Shinran (1173–1263), “Keshindo-kan kōjo” (Postface to the Volume of the Land of Manifested Buddha) of *Kyōgyōshinshō* (Selection of Verifi-

- cation of [Pure Land] Through Teachings and Practices), in *Teihon Shinran shōnin zenshū* (Definitive Edition of the Complete Works of the Sage Shinran), ed. Shinran shōnin zenshū kankōkai, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1970).
13. Matsuzono Hitoshi, “Ōchō-nikki hassei ni kansuru ichishiron” (A Tentative Essay on the Birth of Dynastic Diary Records), in his *Ōchō-nikki ron* (Theory of Dynastic Diary Records) (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 2006).
 14. See Tajima Isao, “Kinsei kugebunko no hensen to zōshomokuroku” (Changes in the Aristocratic Libraries and Their Catalogues in the Early Modern Period), in *Kinri kugebunko kenkyū* (Research on the Imperial and Aristocratic Libraries), ed. Tajima Isao, vol. 1 (Kyoto: shibunkaku shuppan, 2003), pp. 15–49.
 15. For more on the copying of *Sanemikyō-ki*, see Kikuchi Hiroki, “Sanemikyō-ki’ shahon no keisei to kugebunko” (The Development of Copies of *Sanemikyō-ki* and Aristocratic Libraries), *Kinri kuge bunkokenyū*, ed. Tajima Isao, pp. 221–245.
 16. See Kikuchi Hiroki, “Sanemikyō-ki’ no denrai kōsei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu” (A Consideration on the Transmission and the Construction of *Sanemikyō-ki*), *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, 2000), pp. 19–38.
- On Sanjōnishi Sanetaka’s biography, see Haga Kōshirō, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1959). For additional research on Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, see Miyakawa Yōko, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka to kotengaku* (Sanjōnishi Sanetaka and Classical Studies) (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1995).
17. The Takatsukasa Bunko is also one of the most remarkable private libraries in the early modern period. See Nakamura Kazunori, “Takatsukasa-ke bunko no shoshiteki kenkyū” (A Philological Study of Takatsukasa Library), *Shoryōbu kiyō* (Bulletin of the Department of Imperial Books and Mausoleum of the Imperial Household Agency), 44 (Tokyo: Kunaichō shoryōbu, 1992), pp. 33–51.
 18. Basically the Hino and the Yanagiwara belonged to the same clan and had a strong connection with each other. For example, Sukenaru’s uncle, Yanagiwara Motomitsu (1746–1800) adopted Sukenaru’s sister. In addition, Motomitsu’s son, i.e. Sukenaru’s cousin, Yanagiwara Naomitsu (1772–1812), let his son marry Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin’noru’s daughter.
 19. Though quite a few diary records were published in Hanawa Hoki’ichi (1746–1821), comp., *Gunsho ruijū* (Collection of Mass Volumes), 29 vols., and in Ōta Tōshirō, comp., *Zoku gunsho ruijū* (Successive Collection of Mass Volumes), 37 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1923–1933), they are all extracts related to particular events. For example, “Shōan san’nen daijōe ki” (Record of the Enthronement Ceremony in 1301), a section of *Sanemikyō-ki*, is contained in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 17; and *Sanemikyō chūnagon haiga ki* (Record of Sanemi’s Reception of Appointment as Middle Counselor), another section of *Sanemikyō-ki*, is contained in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 11.
- When the *Gunsho ruijū* was published for the first time in the Edo period through woodblock printing, it was edited into 530 volumes and the *Zoku gunsho ruijū* into 993 volumes. In the modern period in the production of the moveable-type edition, the volumes were reorganized and compiled into 29 volumes and 37 volumes, respectively. My reference here is to the modern, moveable-type edition.
20. Matsuzawa Yoshiyuki claims that the service for the nobility, such as the Konoe family and other regent (*sekke*) families by their subordinates (*kerai*), was significant in the society

- of the aristocracy. As compensation of the service, the regents allowed their subordinate families to access diary records that were in the possession of the regents. See Matsuzawa Yoshiyuki, “Kinsei no kerai ni tsuite” (On Subordinate Households in the Modern Period), *Nihonshi kenkyū* (*Journal of Japanese History*) 387 (1994), pp. 34–37.
21. Yanagiwara Motomitsu, *Zokushi gushō*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Kokushi taikai kankōkai, 1930–1931).
 22. The *Six National Histories*, compiled from the eighth through the tenth centuries, present Japanese history chronologically from the mythical age to the late ninth century. Although the emperor’s order for the writing of the continuation of this work was aspirational, he did not have any concrete program for completion of the project attached to it. Sanjō Sanetomi, who was prime minister at that time, was designated “honorary” president of the Bureau of Historiography. Scholars made many attempts to gain a clear conceptualization of the project and the system by which they would carry out the research and writing. In 1891 the project, under the title *Dai-Nihon hen’nenshi* (Chronological History of Great Japan), was fully underway. However, in 1893 political treason forced the project members to cease their work, leaving the writing of this history uncompleted. Finally the writing was carried out as an academic project that resulted in the publication of *Dai-Nihon shiryō* (Chronological Source Books of Japanese History).
 23. The Imperial University was the forerunner of the University of Tokyo. Through a few more organizational changes, the Historiographical Institute carried out the project.
 24. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700) established the historiographical institution called Shōkōkan, including a *bunko*, at Mito in order to continue work on the *Dai-Nihon-shi*, which was completed in 1906 in 397 volumes.
 25. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, comp., *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū* (Historical Materials on the History of the Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2001), p. 555.
 26. For example, *Meigetsu-ki* by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), which was kept between 1180–1235, was published by Kokusho kankōkai in Tokyo in 1911. Editors for the project were Sakamoto Hirotarō (1880–1946), Wada Hidematsu (1865–1937), and Yashiro Kuniji (1873–1924). At that time all of them were affiliated with the Historiographical Institute and engaged in writing *Dai-Nihon shiryō*, section 4, which covers the years from 1185–1221. It is clear that they published *Meigetsu-ki* in connection with their project at the Historiographical Institute. *Gyokuyō* by Kujō Kanezane (1149–1207), which was kept between 1164 and 1200, also was published by Kokusho kankōkai in 1906–1907.
 27. *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, pp. 741–743.
 28. For example, Tanaka Yoshinari (1860–1919), who became a professor of medieval Japanese history, started his career as a copyist in 1874. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
 29. See “Shokuin-roku” (Record of Public Officials), sec. 2, ch. 3 in *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*.
 30. *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, p. 555.
 31. For Asakawa’s biography, see Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no “Nipponjin”: Asakawa Kan’ichi no shōgai* (The Last “Japanese”: The Life of Asakawa Kan’ichi) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1983). On his activities with respect to collecting Japanese materials, see Kaneko Hideo, “Yale daigaku toshokan to Asakawa Kan’ichi” (Yale University Library and Asakawa Kan’ichi),”

- Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan bunken shiryōbu, 1990), pp. 35–40.
32. Most of the Asakawa collection at Yale University is now housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library as rare books, while quite a few titles are still shelved in the Sterling Memorial Library. For the latest Asakawa Collection list at Yale University, see “Yale daigaku-zō Nihon monjo korekushon mokuroku” (Catalogue of the Collection of Japanese Documents at Yale University), *Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku*, vol. 11, pp. 41–93.
On the Asakawa Collection at the Library of Congress, see Beikoku gikai toshokan-zō Nihon kotenseki mokuroku kankōkai, ed., *Beikoku gikai toshokan zō Nihon kotenseki mokuroku* (Catalog of Japanese Rare Books in the Library of Congress) (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2003).
 33. See Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no “Nipponjin,”* pp. 96–100, and Kaneko Hideo, *Yale daigaku toshokan to Asakawa Kan’ichi*, p. 36.
 34. I thank Professor Edward Kamens, Professor of Japanese Literature, Yale University; Professor Suzuki Takatsune, University of Niigata; and Ellen Hammond, Curator of the East Asian Library at Yale, for facilitating my research of the Asakawa collection at Yale University.
 35. One of copyists was Fujisono Ken’i (dates unknown), who was a copyist from 1875 to 1882. See “Shokuin-roku” in *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, pp. 364–370.
 36. Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no “Nipponjin,”* p. 96. See also Asakawa’s letter no. 121 in Asakawa Kan’ichi shokan henshū iinkai, comp., *Asakawa Kan’ichi shokanshū* (Collected Letters Written by Kan’ichi Asakawa) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1990).
 37. The copy is shelved in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, call number B1-1-1~10.
 38. In this greatest of natural disasters in the history of modern Japan, most of the building on the main campus of Tokyo University collapsed. Miraculously the main building of the Historiographical Institute and a few small stacks buildings belonging to the Historiographical Institute stood firm. These buildings, designated as a National Important Cultural Properties, now stand preserved in a new location next to the Botanical Garden of the University of Tokyo in Koishikawa and serve as an annex to the university’s museum.
 39. For the typeset edition, see *Rokuon nichiroku*, ed. Tsuji Zen’nosuke, et al., 6 vols. (Tokyo: Taiyōsha, 1934–1937). Tsuji was the director of the Historiographical Institute at that time.
 40. The Historiographical Institute hired an extra copyist named Honda Zenhei (dates unknown) to reproduce historical documents that Asakawa possessed. See “Shokuin-roku,” *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, under 1907, p. 381. The title of this document contained in the original is *Osorenagara sumishōmon no koto* (Deed of the Solution [Issued] Respectfully). This document is preserved as the eleventh group, which used to be preserved by the Lower [Old] Kyoto township. See Asao Naohiro, “Asakawa Kan’ichi to Shimogyō-monjo,” *Nihonshi kenkyū*, 241 (1982), pp. 86–92. This document, divided into fifteen sections, includes books, hand scrolls, and individual documents on paper and includes records from 1636 to 1850. However, the majority of the materials in *Kyōto komonjo* were manufactured during the course of the case surrounding the inspection of ward leaders in 1818. *Kyōto komonjo* is preserved in Beinecke Library at Yale, under call number 2.17.1–15, per the listing in *Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku*, first cited in note 32 above.

41. The Historiographical Institute call number for *Jōge kokyō sojō* is 2071.62-51.
42. *Kyōto komonjo*, Beinecke Library, 2.17.1~7.
43. *Asakawa monjo*, Historiographical Institute call number, 3071.36-106. It is assumed that Asakawa Kan'ichi purchased this document though I have not been able to confirm the date of his acquisition. This document actually includes only one title, *Shimogyō-chū deiri no chō*. The original, which is now lost, was compiled on the eighteenth day of the sixth month in 1573 and copied by the Historical Institute in the sixth month of 1907.
44. Beinecke Library call number, D164. It may be that the original document also is included in *Kyōto komonjo*, but confirmation must wait an opportunity for me to continue my research in the Yale collection.
45. See "Shokuin-roku" between 1918 and 1921, *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, pp. 388-390. (Cited first in note 25 above.) For Asakawa's second stay in Japan, see Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no "Nipponjin,"* pp. 101-110.
46. *Ōi monjo* is a group of fourteen titles written in the late sixteenth century that are assumed to have once been in the possession of the Ōi family in Kai province (now Yamanashi prefecture). The Historiographical Institute call number for this is 3071.36-101. The original is now lost, and no copy is included in the Asakawa collections, either at Yale or in the Library of Congress.
47. See the Yale website for a description of the size of the Asakawa Collection, www.eastasianstudies.research.yale.edu/asakawa.html. Other Japanese scholars are currently continuing to do research on topics related to the materials that Asakawa donated to Yale University and to the Library of Congress. The results of this work will be published at some date in the future.
48. Respectively, Beinecke Library call numbers, 2.1, 2.3 and 2.5; and *Yale daigaku shozō monjo*. Historiographical Institute call number, 6800-100. All three of these titles are compiled together in one copy book. *Tōdai-ji monjo* (Documents of Tōdai-ji Temple), formerly in the possession of the Tōdai-ji temple, includes several titles covering 1055-1372, which are bound together in a hand-scroll format. This title in the collection at Yale is mounted as a folding screen, "*byōbu*."
49. In the first decade of the twentieth century the Rectigraph Company developed the first camera-based photocopying machine. The rectigraph used sensitized paper to produce white on black images of documents that could be rephotographed to produce black on white images. The Haloid Company, which acquired Rectigraph in the mid-1930s, continued to produce its copiers until the early 1960s and eventually expanded its operations becoming the Xerox Corporation. Editorial thanks goes to Yasuko Makino, Japanese bibliographer at Princeton University's East Asian Collection for her assistance in identifying sources on rectigraph copying machines.
50. *Kuroita Katsumi-shi shozō monjo* in the collection of the Historiographical Institute, call number, 3071.36-139, was copied in 1927. The original is in the Beinecke Library at Yale. The Nanhō-in Temple, which was a part of the Tenryū-ji Temple in Kyoto, originally held this document, now bound as a hand scroll, comprising seven titles written between the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century.
51. For this opinion, see Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no "Nipponjin,"* p. 99. See also, Komine Kazuaki, "The Asakawa Purchase of Japanese Books at the Library of Congress," paper presented in session 188 at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York, 2003.

GLOSSARY

- Akamatsu Mitsuhiro 赤松満弘
 Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来
 Asakawa Kan'ichi 朝河貫一
Asakawa monjo 朝河文書
 Bunka daigaku shishi sōsho 文科大学史
 誌叢書
 bunko 文庫
 byōbu 屏風
 daimyō 大名
Dai-Nihon hen'nen-shi 大日本編年史
Dai-Nihon shiryō 大日本史料
Dai-Nihon-shi 大日本史
Dai-Nihon komonjo 大日本古文書
 darani (dhāranī) 陀羅尼
 Edo 江戸
 eisha 影写
 Emi no Oshikatsu 恵美押勝
 Fujisono Ken'i 藤園賢意
 Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家
 Fushimi 伏見
 Genshin 源信
 Gofukakusa 後深草
 Gomizuno'o 後水尾
Gunsho ruijū 群書類従
Gyokuyō 玉葉
 Hanawa Hoki'ichi 塙保己一
 Heian 平安
 Heike 平家
Heike nōkyō 平家納経
 Hino 日野
 Hino Sukenaru 日野資愛
 Hiroshima 広島
 Honda Zenhei 本田善平
 Hōnenbō Genkū 法然房源空
 Hōryū-ji 法隆寺
Hyakumantō darani 百万塔陀羅尼
 ipponkyō kuyō 一品経供養
 Ise 伊勢
 issaikyō 一切経
 Itsukushima 巖島
 jihitsu-bon 自筆本
 jikyōsha 持経者
Jōge kokyō sojō 上下古京訴状
 Kaga 加賀
 Kai 甲斐
 Kajūji Tsuneitsu 歡修寺経逸
 Kan'in 閑院
 Kantō 関東
 Keijo Shūrin 景徐周麟
 kemari 蹴鞠
 Kenchō-ji 建長寺
 kerai 家礼
 Keshindo-kan kōjo 化身土卷後序
 Kikuchi, Hiroki 菊地大樹
 Kimiosa 公修
 Kinnori 公則
 Kinri Bunko 禁裏文庫
 Koishikawa 小石川
Kōfukuji kaisho-mokudai saisai hikitsuke
 興福寺会所目代濟濟引付
 kokiroku 古記録
 Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan
 国文学研資料館
 komonjo 古文書

- komonjo-gaku 古文書学
 Kōmyō 光明
 Konoe 近衛
 Kujō Kanazane 九条兼実
 Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美
Kuroita Katsumi-shi shozō monjo
 黒板勝美氏所蔵文書
 Kuze Michiaya 久世通理
Kyōgyōshinsō 教行信証
Kyōto komonjo 京都古文書
 Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀
 Matsuzawa Yoshiyuki 松澤克行
 Matsuzono Hitoshi 松蘭斎
Meigetsu-ki 明月記
 Meiji 明治
 Meiji Tennō 明治天皇
 Mikami Sanji 三上参次
 Mito 水戸
 Miura Hiroyuki 三浦周行
 Motomitsu 紀光
 Muromachi 室町
 Myōren-ji 妙蓮寺
 Nanhō-in 南芳院
Nanhō-in monjo 南芳院文書
Nishi-kamogō kenchi-chō 西賀茂郷檢地帳
 Ōei 応永
 Ōgimachi-Sanjō 正親町三条
 Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'nori
 正親町三条公則
 Ōi 大井
 Ōi monjo 大井文書
 Ōjōyōshū 往生要集
Osorenagara sumishōmon no koto
 乍恐濟証文之事
 Ōta Tōshirō 太田藤四郎
 rekuchi gurafu レクチグラフ
Rikkokushi 六国史
 Rokuon-in 鹿苑院
Rokuon nichiroku 鹿苑日録
Rozan-ji 廬山寺
 Ryūkoku daigaku 龍谷大学
 Sakamoto Hirotarō 坂本広太郎
Saneimikyō chūnagon haiga ki
 実躬卿中納言拝賀記
Sanemikyō-ki 実躬卿記
 Sanetsumu 実万
 Sanjō Sanemi 三条実躬
 Sanjō Sanetomi 三条実美
 Sanjōnishi Bunko 三条西文庫
 Sanjōnishi Kinfuku 三条西公福
 Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆
 sekke 撰家
Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū
 選擇本願念佛集
 shakyōjo 写経所
Shimogyō-chū deiri no chō
 下京中出入之帳
 Shinran 親鸞
 shiryō hensan jigyo 史料編纂事業
 Shiryō hensanjo 史料編纂所
 shiryō-gaku 史料学
 Shōan sannen dajjōe ki
 正安三年大嘗会記
 Shōkōkan 彰考館
 Shokuin-roku 職員録
 shoshi-gaku 書誌学
 shōsoku-gyō 消息経
 Shōtoku 称徳

Sōgai ni idasu bekarazu

窓外に出だすべからず

Taira 平

Takatsukasa 鷹司

Takatsukasa Bunko 鷹司文庫

Takatsukasa Masahiro 鷹司政熙

Takeda 武田

Tanaka Yoshinari 田中義成

Tebori-Sanjō 転法輪三条

Tebori-Sanjō Saneoki 転法輪三条実起

Tenryū-ji 天龍寺

Tōdai-ji 東大寺

Tōdai-ji monjo 東大寺文書

Tokugawa 徳川

Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀

tōsha 謄写

Tsuji Zen'nosuke 辻善之助

Wada Hidematsu 和田英松

Yamanashi 山梨

Yanagiwara 柳原

Yanagiwara Motomitsu 柳原紀光

Yanagiwara Naomitsu 柳原均光

Yashiro Kuniji 八代国治

Zen 禅

Zoku gunsho ruijū 続群書類従

Zokushigushō 続史愚抄

Zuikai Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳

Financial Aspects of Publishing Local Histories in the Ming Dynasty

JOSEPH DENNIS

How much books cost to produce in imperial China and how those costs were paid are important questions in book history. Understanding the financial aspects of publishing is critical to determining affordability and mapping readership, which are in turn important to understanding the significance of books in Chinese society and culture. Unfortunately, financial data are rare, and what little exists is difficult to interpret. These problems have led scholars to opposite conclusions. In early work on the subject, Wilt Idema and Chun Shum (Shen Jin) suggested that books were too expensive for most people to afford.¹ More recently, Kai-wing Chow, Joseph McDermott, and Cynthia Brokaw have argued that by the late Ming books were affordable to a broader reading public, which Chow characterizes as including not only officials and merchants, but also a wide range of skilled workers.² Chow stresses that production costs dropped in the late sixteenth century due to near-universal adoption of the “craftsman script” typeface and cheap bamboo paper, and that book market segmentation meant a person of moderate means could afford a variety of inexpensively printed books. Although Chow’s economic analysis is the most substantial to date for the Ming (1368–1644), his conclusions are based on a small number of sources. To put such arguments on a firmer foundation more data are needed. The purpose of this essay is to add to the store of data and examine the significance of this new information to the ongoing debate. The data are both qualitative and quantitative and relate to both the editing and physical production of local histories.

Local histories are a rich and largely untapped source for book history. They are more likely than other genres of Ming books to contain information on production costs because of their close connections to the bureaucracy and

its need to track expenses. Some even contain copies of the administrative orders related to compilation and printing. Additional financial information can be found in prefaces, postfaces, and the principles of compilation sections (*fanli*). Because local histories were compiled in every jurisdiction and the place of production is often known, studying them can enrich our understanding of geographic variations in book publishing.

Using financial information found in local histories to understand the publication of other types of books does require caution. After all, local histories were non-commercial books, at least in the sense that making a profit from sales was not the primary motivation for publishing them.³ Economic calculations for a county magistrate who had government funds, willing or unwilling donors, space in the yamen for compilation and printing offices, volunteer scholarly labor, and clerks who could write out the text and supervise block cutting were different from those for commercial publishers. Nevertheless, much of the information presented herein can inform our understanding of the broader publishing world in the Ming dynasty.

Although the local history appeared as an important genre in the Song and by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century had replaced earlier genres such as “map guides” (*tujing*), this study covers only the Ming because the number of surviving Song and Yuan local histories numbers only in the dozens.⁴ Of these, almost none are original editions, which are far more likely to contain financial information than are reconstructions and reprints. Some information can be gleaned from Song and Yuan prefaces reprinted in later editions and authors’ collected works, which survive in substantial number. But not all prefaces are equally useful. The ones most likely to give production details are secondary prefaces written by low-ranking contributors, such as Confucian-school instructors and students. Lead prefaces tended to be literary pieces written by higher-ranking administrators or famous scholars who were less familiar with, or less interested in discussing, production details. It was these literary prefaces that were often copied into later editions and collected works.⁵ Thus, although a limited study of the financing of Song and Yuan histories is possible, the Ming sources are far richer.

Materials for this essay were drawn from my review of approximately five hundred Ming local histories, or about half of the 1,014 titles still extant.⁶ The temporal and geographic distribution of my sample reflects the distribution of surviving imprints: most come from eastern China, and most were published

after 1454, when compilation of the *Da Ming yitongzhi* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Ming) spurred publication of numerous local histories that are still extant.

This essay is divided into four parts, beginning with an overview of how local-history projects were initiated. It will then discuss the categories of expenses incurred in producing a local history. The essay's third part presents quantitative information on costs and compares it to similar information found in other sources. The essay concludes with an exploration of financing methods.

INITIATING A LOCAL HISTORY PROJECT

The compilation of a local history could be ordered by the court, the administrator of a superior territorial unit, or a local administrator, or undertaken upon individual initiative of a local person. Some projects started at the highest level. In 1376 the imperial court ordered locales across the empire to submit histories to the capital.⁷ In 1418 the court issued rules of compilation and ordered new submissions.⁸ Similar orders followed in 1454, 1520, 1524, and in the Chongzhen era (1628–1644).⁹ Most were issued in connection with compilation of comprehensive works, but the 1520 order resulted from the Zhengde emperor's desire to read local histories during his visit to Nanjing.¹⁰

Many local projects were initiated by officials from superior administrative units. For example, the 1542 *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) was compiled pursuant to an order of the Henan grand coordinator requiring all subordinate units to submit histories.¹¹ Gushi was ordered to compile a complete work, but in other cases, subordinate units only had to collect and submit materials to be combined and edited into a history of the superior unit. A local yamen would keep a manuscript copy of submitted materials, which were often expanded, polished, and published. This happened with materials used in the 1537 *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture). After subordinate county magistrates provided materials for the new prefectural history, several magistrates decided to publish separate county histories.¹² Such follow-up came not only from magistrates, but also from local residents.¹³

The projects described above started with superiors. The majority of county and subprefecture histories, however, were initiated by local administrators and scholars acting independently of higher-level officials. Compiling a history, especially from scratch, was time consuming, and if a magistrate did not start one

until well into his term, it was unlikely to be finished unless he drew heavily on preexisting work. As a result, many official local histories were based on “private histories” (*si zhi* or *si sheng*) compiled by a single local person working without support or recognition from the local administration. For example, Zhou Wanjin (dates unknown), an out-of-office *juren* degree holder from Neihuang county, Beizhili, spent years working on a private county history without managing to complete it. In 1523 he showed his work to the magistrate, who then opened a history-compilation office, hired Zhou, and brought in the Confucian-school instructor and his students to help Zhou complete the project.¹⁴ But not all authors of private histories were selected to work on later official histories. Local community school teacher Liao Benxiang compiled a private history of Chaling subprefecture, Huguang, in the Zhengde era (1506–1522), but his work became merely one source for the official 1525 edition, and he was not involved in its compilation.¹⁵

CATEGORIES OF PRODUCTION EXPENSES

Although local histories were noncommercial publications, records of their costs can shed light on production expenses for commercial, family, and religious publishers as well. Like other publishers, publishers of local histories bought source materials and production supplies, paid editorial personnel and craftsmen, fed workers, gave gifts to those who assisted in the compilation or wrote prefaces, and incurred incidental expenses, such as for transportation and storage. Some expenses, such as those for hiring and feeding block cutters, were monetized and generally unavoidable, while others, such as salaries for editorial personnel, could often be limited or avoided altogether by recruiting volunteer labor. (See figure 1 for a list of supervisors, illustrators, calligraphers, and block cutters for a local history project.)

There is no single local history for which the documentation fully describes the expenses involved. Instead it is necessary to sift through the voluminous, but fragmentary record, sampling broadly across time and space, to create a composite picture. In this section I will use qualitative sources to describe the various labor and material inputs before turning to quantitative sources in the next section. Qualitative description is required because numerical records are limited to figures for woodblocks, paper, and craftsmen’s wage and board costs. But other types of expenses were incurred and also need to be discussed.



督工人禮房吏馬國珍

繪圖人方春

寫字人辛朝聘、張充讓

南孟冬

刻字人蘇茂元 胥廷義

胥廷義 蘇李揚

胥廷義 蘇孟英

胥廷義 蘇進忠

胥廷寬 蘇茂祥



1. Names of supervisor, illustrator, calligraphers, and block cutters for the 1541 *Weinan xian zhi* (History of Weinan County), comp. by Nan Daji, "Xiuzhi houji" (Postface on Producing the History), p. 1b.

Obtaining Source Materials

A typical initial concern in compiling a local history was how to obtain access to the wide range of sources needed. Textual sources were essential, especially previous local histories, genealogies, literature, stone inscriptions, and government records. Some compilers obtained additional materials through interviews and observation. The number of works consulted could be large, as is suggested by the 1494 *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]), which lists 107 source books, and the 1474 *Hangzhou fu zhi* (History of Hangzhou Prefecture), which lists 62 sources.¹⁶ [For a list of sources consulted in the 1512 *Songjiang fu zhi* (History of Songjiang Prefecture), see figure 2.]

Typically, many documents and books were available at little or no cost, through copying, borrowing, and gifts. Government records could be copied from the yamen, and local people donated materials. In a 1551 (Jiajing 30) order regarding compilation of the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), the Guangdong education intendant ordered that materials be gathered from the public in the following way.

First issue a big-character proclamation (*dazi gaoshi*) to clearly notify the entire county's scholars and commoners that those who know of local people, past or present, who possess unused talent; or who were virtuous or righteous in poverty or adversity and have yet to be commemorated; or who know which current government policies should be followed and which should be changed are to forthwith submit reports to the instructor's office in the county yamen to serve as documentation for carrying out the compilation.¹⁷

Proclamations were typically posted on the yamen gate, which would account for evidence that knowledge of ongoing compilations spread beyond the small circles of compilers, such as references to people submitting biographies of their relatives.¹⁸ (See figure 3 for a text related to the approval of a local history project.)

Because most compilers were local literati and administrators, many had personal copies of important historical, literary, biographical, and geographical works. In fact, key editorial personnel often had substantial book collections. Wang Yuanbin, the editor of the 1585 *Tengxian zhi* (History Teng County), gave his fellow compilers use of over one thousand *juan* from his own collection.¹⁹ As

顧或上海舊志	盧能蘇州府志
姑蘇志	青龍雜誌
歲時樂事	百川學海
岳珂程史	慈溪黃氏日鈔
楊太史山居新話	曹氏貞溪編
陶九成南村輟耕錄	書史會要
圖繪寶鑑	黃文獻公集
戴叔能九靈山房集	陳衆仲安雅堂集
王逢梧溪集	楊廉夫東維子文集

2A-D. Long list of works consulted in compiling the 1512 *Songjiang fu zhi* (History of Songjing Prefecture), comp. by Gu Qing, "Canju jiuzhi

參據舊志并引用諸書

雲間志三卷

宋紹熙四年十月奉議郎特差知華亭縣楊潛新館州州學教授胡林卿信州州學

教授林至監惠民南局朱端常等修

嘉禾志三十二卷

元至元戊子博士徐碩修

松江郡志八卷

元大德己亥正月知府張之翰府學教授四明劉蒙修今謂之前志

續松江志十六卷

元至正十七年郡人錢全袞修

松江府志三卷

正統間府學教授孫鼎等修今謂之新志

雲間通志十八卷

成化九年郡人錢崗修

上海縣志八卷

弘治十七年邑人唐錦修

張衍水利綱領

姚文灝浙西水利書

衛氏淇水流慶錄

開封朱氏世譜

京兆杜氏世譜

嚴陵邵氏世譜

東光劉氏世譜

漁溪王氏潛德錄

晉照寺續古錄

靜安八咏集

佛祖統紀

船子機緣集

北磻文集

泐季潭詩集

一修纂名氏

翰林院侍讀學士 郡人顧清

七

二

古樂府

張思廉玉笥集

張允弼詩集

貝助教清江集

謝子蘭龜巢摘橐

邵復孺蛾術橐

孫大雅滄螺集

宋學士文集

方希古遜志齋集

金長史覺非齋集

袁海叟在野集

董良史西郊笑端集

稽谿周氏雙壽堂集

國朝名臣錄

周文襄公年譜

葉文莊公水東日記

金處和三吳水政錄

金藻三江水學

本道崇尚禮教督命輯理誌稿已成刊刻有日所有前
項書板計算共一百一十葉每二葉用梨木板一塊兩
面刊刻共用板五十五塊每塊該銀一分併刻字工食
印刷紙劄通共銀十兩相應動支官銀已經核付戶房
查得支剩嘉靖十九等年均平銀一十兩八錢九分八
釐七毫零於內堪以動支回付到案准此緣係動支銀
兩刻誌事理本縣未敢擅專擬合通行申稟為此早
縣今將緣由另具書冊理合備申伏乞
照詳示下施行須至申者
一都御史周 批仰照支給刊刻繳

964

3A

3A-C. Petition for permission to print and the approval to print the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al., "Xiuzhi wenyi" (Administrative Documents Regarding Compilation of the Local History), pp. 3a-4a (rpt. pp. 963-965).

<p>惠州府興寧縣為脩輯誌書事奉府帖文抄蒙 欽差提督學校廣南等處提刑按察司副使張 案驗為 申飭學政事款開各縣印刷誌書一部候按臨時送查 等因奉此緣照本縣誌書原有刻板歲久散失無存本 年七月內蒙 本道按考長樂興寧二縣師生帛收推恩查考無有分 付何不即加脩輯家牌坐委陞任教諭盛繼恭修已將 誌稿呈送 本道覆訂取照得興寧小邑建設自古誌俗紀載未宜 獨闕今蒙</p>

<p>一巡按御史蕭 批准支用繳</p> <p>一布政司批仰候</p> <p>撫按批示施行繳</p> <p>一分守道批仰候</p> <p>撫按衙門詳示施行繳</p> <p>一分巡道批仰候</p> <p>撫按詳示查照動支施行繳</p> <p>一本府批仰候</p> <p>撫按衙門施行</p> <p>一脩志官姓名</p>

members of the elite, compilers could draw on networks of friends and colleagues to obtain unpublished manuscripts by local authors, genealogies, and other rare materials. Sometimes key sources were found in the homes of common people. In the process of compiling the 1440 history of Guangchang county, Jiangxi, the compiler's son asked all around the local area for the Yuan-dynasty edition of that county's history and obtained the first volume from the home of a farmer and the second volume from the home of lacquer artisan Liu Wenxing.²⁰

Gift giving and lending were important means of circulating books in the Ming, and old histories were most welcomed by compilers of new editions.²¹ In 1547 (Jiajing 26) Jiao Xicheng (1519 juren) was compiling the history of Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong, and wrote a letter to Cong Pan (1485–1510) asking for old county histories. Cong, a native of Wendeng, another county in Dengzhou, had his son put a cover on a local history manuscript compiled by his father and deliver it to Jiao.²² Such sharing of related histories was not uncommon. In 1502 Zhang Yuanzhen (1437–1506), the compiler of a Nanchang prefectural history, gave a copy of his work to Zhou Jifeng, who was compiling a history of Ningzhou, one of Nanchang's subordinate subprefectures.²³ Local literati used such lending and gifts of local histories to make connections with administrators and other scholars. For example, when compilers of the 1671 *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History Hengzhou Prefecture) were looking for copies of old editions, Wang Zhixie, a student at the Hengyang county Confucian school, gave the prefect a copy of the 1593 edition that he had bought and “kept as a treasure” in his home. The prefect turned it over to the compilers.²⁴

Compilers regularly approached collectors for sources, especially old local histories, and many allowed access to their collections. In 1533 the printed edition of the Song-dynasty Jiading-era (1208–1224) history of Luhe, Nanzhili, was no longer extant, but compilers of a new edition got a handwritten copy from a book collector.²⁵ In the case of Zhang Yuanzhen, discussed above, his gift of the Nanchang history reciprocated a favor Zhou Jifeng had done for him three years earlier. In 1499 Zhou had lent Zhang his unfinished manuscript for a history of Ningzhou subprefecture.²⁶ Zhou's willingness to share was continued by his grandnephew Zhou Qiyong, who allowed the compiler of the 1543 *Ningzhou zhi* (History of Ningzhou [Subprefecture]) to use his entire collection, including two Song-dynasty local histories and eighty-nine other titles.²⁷ The younger Zhou was a recently retired official who initiated the compilation of a history of Ningzhou and convinced the local administration to hire his friend Gong Xian

as compiler.²⁸ Gong had just compiled Zhou's genealogy, and the resulting history discusses fourteen generations of the Zhou family, so perhaps Zhou's motivation for granting access to his books was not entirely altruistic.²⁹

Local history compilers also looked to local-school libraries and government offices for books. The compilers of the 1564 *Bozhou zhi* (History of Bozhou [Subprefecture]) noted that Bozhou had no book collectors, so they had to rely on books placed in the Confucian school in the 1520s by former magistrate. Those books were the twenty-one histories; *Wenxian tongkao* (Comprehensive Examination of Culture and Institutions); *Yuhai* (The Jade Sea); *Wenxuan* (Selections of Refined Literature); *Chuxue ji* (Record of Initial Learning); and the histories of Zhongdu (Fengyang), Bozhou's superior prefecture, of Guide, its neighboring prefecture, of and Luyi, its neighboring county.³⁰

When donations or access were not forthcoming, books and documents had to be purchased or copied. The purchase of materials for use in local histories can be traced back at least to the early Yuan. When Feng Fujing compiled the 1298 *Changguo zhou tuzhi* (History of Changguo Prefecture with Illustrations), he bought materials from local commoners (*limin*).³¹ Unpublished draft histories done by local scholars were often key sources for new editions, and although the compiler or his descendant was usually willing to freely share the manuscript, this was not always the case. Magistrate Wang Luan's preface to the 1489 *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County) notes that he purchased a damaged manuscript of the county history from the family of Zhong Shijie (dates unknown), a local man who had compiled the work in his retirement. Zhong had wanted to publish it, but died before doing so.³² Obviously, the family and the magistrate considered the manuscript to have monetary value.

There was, in fact, a market for local histories in the Ming. Cao Xuequan (1547–1646), wrote that he bought Nanzhili local histories while stationed in Nanjing and bought Henan and Huguang local histories from descendents of local notables and gentry.³³ Descendants of Guo Nan (retired 1447), the compiler of the 1441 *Shangyu xian zhi* (History of Shangyu County), used imprints as loan collateral.³⁴ In 1618 the magistrate of Xinchang, Zhejiang, complained that according to precedent, whenever a censorial official came to town, he was expected to present him a copy of the local history, but because the woodblocks had burned, the magistrate had to buy surviving copies, which were becoming increasingly rare and more expensive with each purchase.³⁵

However, even when compilers were willing to pay, they were not always

able to acquire an important source. A compiler of the 1552 history of Lüeyang county, Shaanxi, wrote that an earlier edition existed, but he could not consult it because it was “secreted away by a selfish person.”³⁶ Such a refusal was the exception, in light of official pressure to allow access and a general desire to help shape the representation of one’s native place and people.

Local-history compilers sometimes had to search for key sources outside of their immediate area. They could learn of potentially useful sources from reference works, such as Ma Duanlin’s *Wenxian tongkao*, and sometimes had to incur travel costs to get them.³⁷ For example, in the Hongwu era (1368–1399), a compiler from Xingguo, Huguang, went to the Palace Library in Nanjing to make a copy of a Song edition he needed.³⁸ In another case, after Ye Chengzong was appointed compiler of the 1640 history of Licheng county, Shandong, he bought many books for the project locally but had to get a copy of the *Qi sheng* (Historical Records of Qi), a Shandong history first published in 1351, from Shangqiu, Henan, about two hundred kilometers southwest of Licheng, and a copy of *Jinyu ji* (Collected Works of Jinyu) by Licheng native Yin Shidan (jinshi 1547), from the Jin region west of Shandong.³⁹

Books and government records were not the sole sources for local histories. Although some merely digested other works, many also drew on interviews and inscriptions collected in the field. Despite a superficial similarity, in fact, there is substantial variety in the scope and coverage of local histories. Many compilers covered only a small number of elite people and institutions in the administrative seats, while others included a greater range of social classes, locales, and topics. The compilers of the 1548 history of Ninghai subprefecture, Shandong, claimed that they interviewed recluses, gentry, patriarchs, old fishermen, village elders, mountain monks, Daoists, cart drivers, and artisans.⁴⁰ The researcher for the 1585 history of Teng county, Shandong, government student Shen Yong (dates unknown) traversed the county recording inscriptions and interviewing gatekeepers and old people, and then gave his notes to the editor.⁴¹ The costs for such research would have been the researchers’ salaries, if any, transportation, lodging, plus minimal amounts for notepaper, brushes, and ink. Transportation costs would have varied depending on the mode of transportation, extent of travel, and the availability of government lodging. In some cases the costs may have been substantial, as when Xu Mu, a local commoner (*buyi*) who illustrated the 1642 history of Wu county, Suzhou prefecture, spent two months traveling around the county, sketching while on a boat, and preparing the final drawings after his return.⁴²

Compiling and Editing the Text

Both the editorial and production work for local histories were typically done in the school or yamen of the subject jurisdiction with personnel and materials brought to the site. Schools and yamen were the preferred sites because they were under governmental control, had sufficient space for editorial and production workers, and were where the cut woodblocks generally were stored.⁴³ This section of the essay will examine who came to do the editorial work, how they got there, and the costs involved, as well as variations in the general pattern. The next section will address the same questions for the physical production.

Labor was the largest cost in producing a local history. In addition to wages for printing craftsmen, editorial personnel and preface authors were sometimes paid. Most editorial staffs consisted of instructors and students at local schools and local degree holders, and while no doubt many worked on local histories for free, some were paid. Administrators occasionally hired outside literati to compile their local histories.

Out-of-office local degree holders residing in their native places were one of the most important groups of editorial personnel. Local-history projects were a way for officials to provide meaningful work and income to men of their class. Some local degree holders had not yet received official posts, others were between assignments, on mourning leave, sick leave, or retired.⁴⁴ A substantial number were men who had passed the provincial examination and worked on a local history while studying for the metropolitan examination. Some *juven* eventually gave up on ever attaining the *jinshi* degree and supported themselves through literary work, including the writing of local histories. Some compilers had served briefly in office but were unable to secure further positions.⁴⁵ A typical case is the 1574 *Wuxi xian zhi* (History of Wuxi County). In 1572 (Longqing 6) Zhou Bangjie became Wuxi magistrate and was upset about the poor condition of the existing local history. So he visited Qin Liang (1515–1578), a retired *jinshi*, presented him with money, and asked him to revise it. Qin accepted, and the project began.⁴⁶ Payments could be in the form of “book money” (*shubi*) paid in a lump sum, or salaries paid for the duration of the project, as in the case of the *Tengxian zhi*, for which a compilation office was opened, a group of Confucians scholars (*ru*) invited, and “brushes, paper, and salaries” provided.⁴⁷ The group consisted of Wang Yuanbin, the local book collector mentioned above, five locals who were former officials, three *juven* degree holders, and one government student.⁴⁸

Like editorial staff, preface authors were sometimes paid. Various types of people wrote prefaces to local histories. Sometimes it was only the lead compiler and sponsoring local official, but often a superior official or an outside literatus contributed a preface as well. It is this last type that was most likely a paid contribution. One such case is that of Su You (*jinsi* 1526), a retired governor-general and author, who was asked to write a preface to the 1564 history of Bozhou, Nanzhili. As a compiler traveling on business passed through Su's hometown of Puyang, Beizhili, he presented Su with a copy of the history and "book money" (*shubi*) provided by the Bozhou magistrate.⁴⁹ Payments could be made not only to outsiders, but also to local school officials. Assistant Confucian-School Instructor Feng Bo's postface to the 1504 *Yanshi xian zhi* (Yanshi County History) records that the magistrate "sent money over to the school office and asked me to write a postface."⁵⁰ While it is well known that literati were paid to write prefaces for other types of publications, Feng was then serving as a local official. While it is not clear whether such payments were common, this case does suggest that Confucian-school instructors could supplement their salaries through literary work, including work on local histories.

A former instructor could also be retained to finish a history begun during his tenure. In 1551 Sheng Ji, the instructor at the Xingning county Confucian school was working on the county history when he received a promotion outside of Xingning. Magistrate Huang Guokui had just arrived in the fall of 1550 and wanted Sheng to finish the history. County clerk Pan En petitioned the Guangdong superintendent of schools for permission to keep Sheng on, not as the Confucian-school instructor, but as a local-history compiler. The superintendent agreed, noting that previous Xingning officials neglected their duty to publish a history, and ordered that Sheng be given a quiet office in the county yamen, treated "generously according to guest ritual," and be supplied with "necessities, money, paper, woodblocks, etc."⁵¹

Although most local-history editors other than administrators and Confucian-school instructors were locals, some were hired from outside. Nonlocals tended to come from the same general area as the history on which they worked. For example, Zhang Yuanyi, a native of Shanyin county, Shaoxing prefecture, was hired to polish the 1579 history of Xinchang, another county in Shaoxing. Zhang was a student of the famous literatus Tang Shunzhi (1507–1560) and considered a capable scholar, but he had repeatedly failed the civil service examinations.⁵² Zhang also served as a collator of the 1587 Shaoxing prefecture history.⁵³ Other

editors traveled substantial distances to work on local histories. The magistrate of Puzhou, Henan, sent a letter and book money to Deng Fu (*juren* 1516) at his home more than six hundred kilometers away in Changshu county, Suzhou prefecture.⁵⁴ Deng then traveled to Puzhou to compile the history, which was published in 1527. One might assume this to be part of the late Ming “commodification of writing” described by Kai-wing Chow, but the phenomenon pre-dates the Ming.⁵⁵ Literati such as Deng Fu, who came long distances, probably commanded higher fees than local hires.

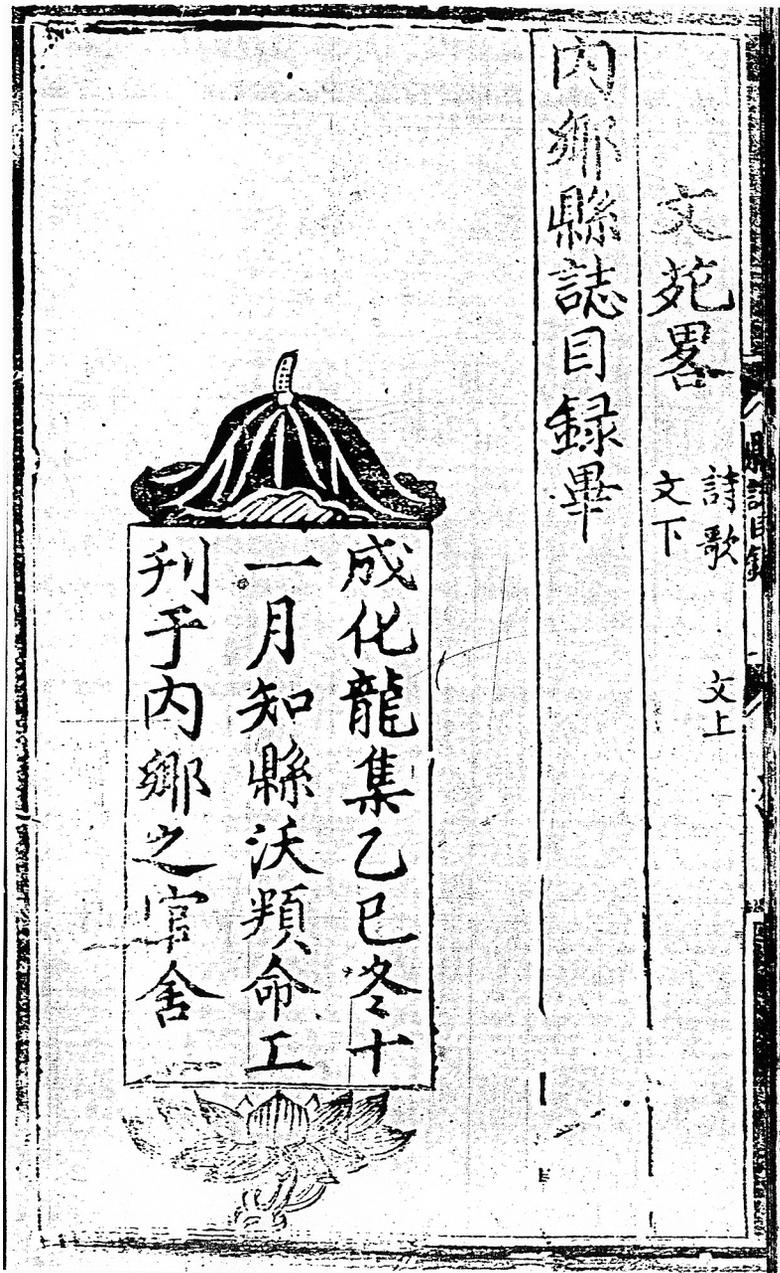
Obtaining and Cutting Woodblocks

Like editorial work, the physical production of local histories was usually done in the yamen or school of the subject locale. (See figure 4.) Occasionally, blocks were cut in other locations, for example, the blocks for the 1537 *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture) were “cut in a humble home” (*zai caoshe ke*), that of Liu Fu, the editor.⁵⁶ This section will examine who did the physical production, how they were retained, where they got materials, and the costs involved.

Before cutting a text, woodblocks had to be obtained. When woodblocks were not available locally, they had to be shipped to the production site. Pear woodblocks for the 1600 history of Huai ren, a poor county in northern Shanxi, were purchased 700 *li* away with money donated by the magistrate.⁵⁷ Although the place of purchase was not recorded, it may have been Beijing, which was approximately seven hundred *li* from Huai ren via the Sanggan river. When the manuscript for the 1637 history of Lianzhou prefecture, Guangdong, was completed, “pear and jujube were gathered in Gaoliang; block cutters were called in from Fengcheng.”⁵⁸ Mt. Gaoliang was about two hundred kilometers east of Lianzhou, and Fengcheng was on the Gan river near Nanchang, Jiangxi, more than eight hundred kilometers from Lianzhou.⁵⁹

How local officials found outside craftsmen is rarely recorded, but for the 1549 history of Longqing subprefecture, the magistrate dispatched someone to Beijing, sixty kilometers to the south, to hire block cutters.⁶⁰ More commonly, a history simply notes that craftsmen were “summoned” (*zheng jiang* or *zhao gong*) or “recruited” (*mu gong*).⁶¹ When the manuscript for the 1585 history of Qingyun county, Beizhili, was finished, the magistrate wanted high-quality block cutting, but in his view the county had no skilled craftsmen (*liangjiang*). Thus, he sent a letter and money to an official he knew who was serving in Tianchang, Nanzhili, asking him to retain craftsmen. Tianchang was located about fifty kilometers

4. Printer's colophon for the 1485 *Neixiang xian zhi* (History of Neixiang County), comp. by Hu Kuang, table of contents, last page. Text reads, "In the winter, the eleventh month, of the year Chenghua *yisi* (1485) when the Dragon [stars] aligned, Magistrate Wo Pan ordered workers to cut blocks in the government offices of Neixiang."



northwest of Yangzhou and about six hundred kilometers from Qingyun, but they were linked by river and the Grand Canal.⁶²

This is not to suggest that most blocks for local histories were cut by outside cutters.⁶³ In many cases the block cutters are recorded as being locals. The blocks for the 1383 history of Yongzhou prefecture, Huguang, were cut by a local surnamed Zhao.⁶⁴ The 1527 history of Yangwu county, Henan, notes, “Townsmen Zhang Zuo and Zhao Tang copied the text and cut it into wood.”⁶⁵ The blocks for the 1552 history of Chongyi county, Jiangxi, were cut by Liao Can, a student at the local Yinyang school.⁶⁶ And the 1627 history of Pinghu county, Zhejiang, records that a local commoner (*zimin*) named Zhang Qixian was both the calligrapher and block cutter.⁶⁷

In some cases, manuscripts for local histories were sent out for the writing of the fine copy or printing. A transport supervisor took the manuscript for the 1621 *Ganzhou fu zhi* (History of Ganzhou Prefecture) 300 kilometers to the Jiangxi provincial capital, Nanchang, where document clerks wrote out the text in preparation for printing. The sheets of the fine copy were assembled into volumes and shipped back to Ganzhou for block cutting.⁶⁸ When the manuscript for the 1494 *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]) was complete, the magistrate sealed and delivered it to “skilled block cutters in the capital” and requested a preface of Lin Han (1466 *jinshi*). “Capital” (*jingshi*) refers to the northern capital, Beijing, where Lin was serving as chancellor of the Directorate of Education.⁶⁹ The 1537 history of Yanling county, Henan, also was printed in Beijing, a distance of more than seven hundred kilometers. An official who was a Yanling native, Liu Ren, compiled the history while home on mourning leave. When Liu completed the manuscript, the magistrate said to him, “In the capital, all of the scholars’ calligraphy and block cutters’ graphic styles are excellent. I am willing to donate from my salary to help have it cut.” Thus, when he returned to Beijing, Liu took the manuscript with him.⁷⁰ The 1497 history of Tingzhou prefecture, located in southwestern Fujian, was printed in Nanjing, a distance of over one thousand kilometers by the likely water route. Tingzhou prefect Wu Wendu, a native of Nanjing, sent his manuscript to his *jinshi* classmate, Liu Zhen, who was serving as chancellor of the Nanjing Directorate of Education and asked him to have it printed.⁷¹ When woodblocks for histories were cut outside of the subject locale, they were presumably shipped back to the locale, with or without imprints, because the primary market for local histories was in the subject locale.

They were typically printed on demand from blocks held in the local yamen or school, and the people who paid for cutting would want the blocks.

In all Ming-dynasty cases for which I have information, woodblocks for first editions of local histories were cut by hired craftsmen. Numerous prefaces mention that the magistrate or prefect called in craftsmen, and administrative orders related to publication of local histories often refer to craftsmen's wages. In addition, I have not found block cutters described as yamen staff or corvée laborers, and print craftsmen (*shuajiang*) are almost never found on lists of local government employees. A rare exception is one staff printing position (*shuajiang*) in 1565 in the Guizhou Provincial Administration Commission branch office in Pu'an subprefecture.⁷² Nothing, however, suggests that this person printed the 1565 *Pu'an zhou zhi* (History of Pu'an Subprefecture). The only evidence of a first-edition local history printed by yamen staff craftsmen comes from the Song dynasty. The *Anxi xian zhi* (History of Anxi County) was printed by the local government's own "Book Printing Office" (Yinshuju) in the county yamen.⁷³ In such cases an analysis of production costs would need to account for staff costs, such as, for example, the six-tael annual salary of the Pu'an staff printer.

The craftsman corvée system had largely collapsed by the mid-Ming, and even in the early Ming, donations funded the printing of local histories. Officials donated from their salaries to print the 1368 *Cangwu jun zhi* (History of Cangwu Commandery), the 1383 *Yongzhou fu zhi* (History of Yongzhou Prefecture) and the 1413 *Yingchuan jun zhi* (History of Yingchuan Commandery).⁷⁴ Two local elderly scholars paid to print the 1421 *Jinxi xian zhi* (History of Jinxi County).⁷⁵ In all of these cases, no staff or corvée printing craftsmen were mentioned.

As with editors, fees for calligraphers and block cutters no doubt varied with quality and reputation. An administrator could save money by having yamen clerks or cheap laborers write out the fine copy for transfer to the woodblocks.⁷⁶ For example, the text of the 1555 *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture) was written out by three yamen clerks and five farmers (*nongmin*). The farmers' calligraphy was acceptable, yet inelegant. (See figure 5.) Farmer Zhu Gao's characters often drift from side to side as the page progresses, are unbalanced, and contain tentative strokes.⁷⁷ A yamen clerk and two "commoners of the neighborhood" (*jiemin*) did the mediocre calligraphy of the 1554 history of Yancheng county, Henan.⁷⁸ (See figure 6.)

It was possible to avoid such problems by looking outside the local area for craftsmen. The magistrate of Hui county, Henan, hired a man surnamed Chu from

終於宋宋中原主也元何人哉若弘霸之割蓋
天朝之也媚人毒人莫弘霸若也天何能容哉
旱而大雨亦昭昭矣

按人品之殊心迹殊之也其端蓋始于一念之
差由辨之不早辨耳嗚呼見不賢而內省仲尼
之訓昭如也觀斯傳者抑亦自勵其靖共歟

安慶志卷之三十一 終

農氏項沐寫

5. Calligraphy by farmer Xiang Bian in the 1555 *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture), comp. by Li Xun et al, *juan* 31, p. 2b (rpt. p. 1678). Calligrapher's name and status are written at the bottom of the first column on the right.

陵岡潰奔道經於郟城之北

禮房吏王朝選

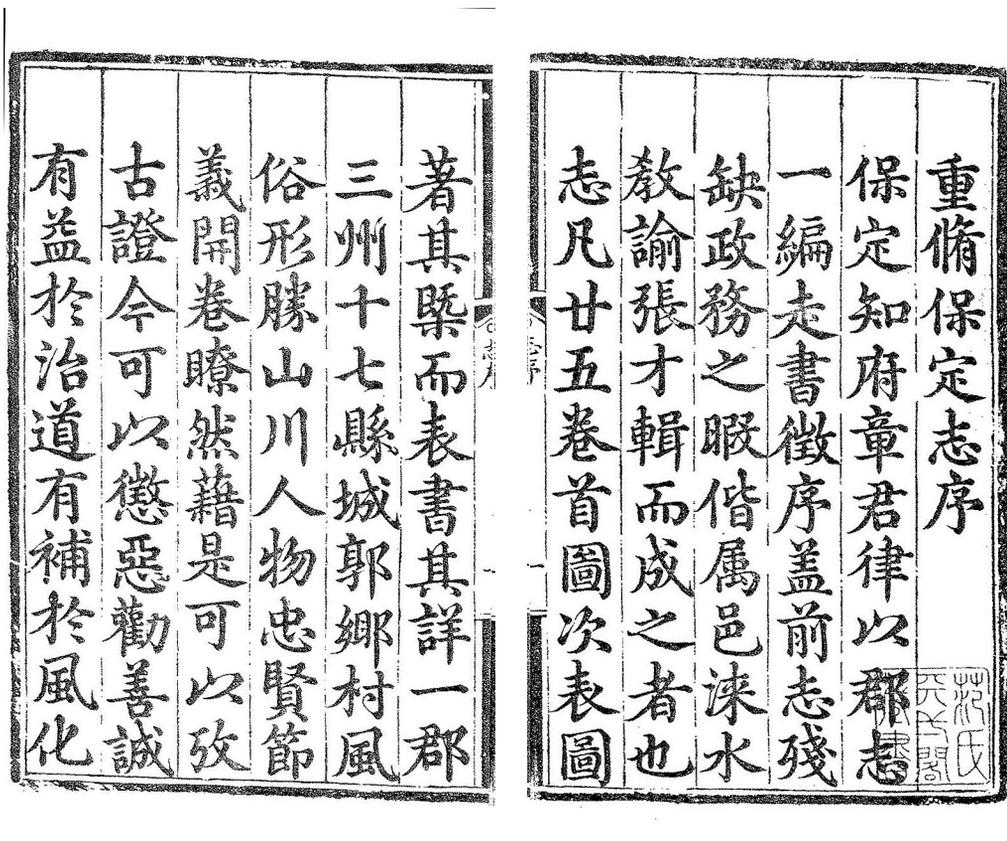
街民李寶

李兆書

郟城縣志卷之十二終

6. Calligraphy credit lines in the 1554 *Yancheng xian zhi* (History of Yancheng County), comp. by Zhao Yingshi et al., *juan* 12, p. 34b (rpt. p. 938), indicating that the calligraphy was written by Wang Chaoxuan, a yamen clerk, and Li Bao and Li Zhao, local commoners.

Kaifeng, the provincial capital about one hundred kilometers away, to write out the text of the county history and to help polish the manuscript).⁷⁹ And as seen above, the manuscript for the 1537 history of Yanling county, Henan, was taken more than seven hundred kilometers to Beijing because of the high-quality calligraphy and block cutting available there.⁸⁰ The tremendous range of calligraphic quality found in local histories can be seen in the accompanying illustrations. (See figures 7, 8, and 9.)



7. High-quality calligraphy found in 1472 preface to the 1494 *Baoding fu zhi* (History of Baoding Prefecture), comp. by Zhang Cai, Xu Gui, et al., “Chongxiu Baoding zhi xu” (Preface to Reedited Edition of the History of Baoding), pp. 1a–b.

之與係學校必庶而富而後有成績於是均徭役
平賦歛慎刑罰卹困窮由是民日嚮安得務本以
資衣食乃惟學宮歲久朽壞聖賢遺像日就剝落
無以廣士子嚮慕之心而於祀典弗稱謀及僚友
捐俸廩購材因瓦父老富民量力資助由是百需
告備乃撤撤構拓舊址汗者平之虛者實之卑者
崇之隘者廣之剝者飾之曾不踰年廟宇孔仞儀
像孔嚴講堂齋舍高明宏敞儲廩有庾會食有堂

9. Moderately misaligned characters written by a farmer found in 1555 *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture), comp. by Li Xun et al., *juan* 16, p. 65a (rpt. p. 853).

NUMERICAL DATA ON PRODUCTION COSTS

Having surveyed various costs for which we have no hard figures, I will now turn to those for which we do. Table 1 below summarizes numerical information on local-history production costs. Relevant portions of the Chinese texts can be found in Appendix 1. Following the table is an analysis of the data and comparison to information on xylographic-printing costs presented by Kai-wing Chow in his 2004 book, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* and Martin Heijdra in his 2004 article, “Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia.”⁸¹

Publishing costs for woodblock-printed books can be divided into one-time expenses and recurring expenses. The main one-time expenses were for acquiring or compiling a text, buying woodblocks, and paying the wages and board of copyists and block cutters. The main recurring expenses were for buying paper and ink, and also paying wages and board of printers and binders. To date, scholars have a limited understanding of these costs, separately and in total, across space and time. Reconstructing costs and comparing them to incomes and the costs of other goods and services will give us a better understanding of the business of publishing and the affordability of books.

In 2004 Kai-wing Chow brought together some of the limited available information and estimated that late Ming block-cutting costs were between 0.10 to 0.15 taels per folio page.⁸² His figure was based on numbers found in two books. The first was a 1554 edition of *Yuzhang Luo xiansheng wenji* (Collected Works of Mr. Luo of Yuzhang) by Luo Congyan (1072–1135), printed in Sha county, Fujian. It required 83 blocks for 161 folio pages, and cost 24 taels for “high-quality cutting” (*xiuzi*).⁸³ That comes to about 0.15 taels per folio page. The second source for Chow was *Linzi quanji* (Complete Works of Master Lin) by Lin Zhaoen (1517–1598). According to the text, its blocks were cut in Nanjing from 1629 to 1631 and cost 300 taels for “over 1500 blocks,” and “nearly three-thousand folio pages,” or about 0.1 taels per folio page with double-sided cutting.⁸⁴ The text is actually a little under 2,500 folio pages, and thus, assuming that the 300 taels was not a rough figure as well, the cost would have been about 0.12 taels per folio page. These two figures, although important, are separated by seventy-five years of time, come from different regions, and do not break down the costs of wages, board, and woodblocks.

Table 1 provides more detail on specific costs and is a step towards filling in

gaps in the larger picture of publishing costs. In evaluating these figures, however, we must keep in mind that four of the eleven figures explicitly included paper costs, and others may have, but none revealed how many copies were printed or the cost of the paper. This introduces a potentially large margin of error because the larger the run, the higher the paper cost, and the biggest print run for most local histories would have been the first run, when imprints were made for people and offices connected to the project and interested locals.⁸⁵

The only known print run for a pre-Qing local history is the one hundred copies made by Wang Zhen for his movable wooden-type edition of the *Jingde xian zhi* (History of Jingde County), published in 1298.⁸⁶ Because movable type is disassembled and reused, this figure likely approximates the number of copies Wang expected to give away or sell, if not immediately, then within a reasonable time. If the text had been printed from cut blocks, the initial run could have been smaller because more copies could have been printed quickly in case of greater-than-expected demand. Although this figure suggests a ceiling for initial print runs in counties similar to Jingde in 1298, over the course of the Ming the potential audience grew due to the expanding educated population and the genre's deeper penetration into local society. The number of local histories being produced began increasing in the Southern Song, though compilation of local histories down to the circuit level only became mandatory in 1296 under the Yuan. In the Ming, periodic edicts beginning in 1376 required compilation all the way down to the county level. This stimulated publication and increased interest.⁸⁷

Some evidence, however, suggests that the margin of error introduced by the unspecified paper costs was not large enough to render the figures in Table 1 unusable. Most important are sources implying that people with no connection to a local history project paid for their own copies. If that was the case, then the cost of such copies would not have been included in the figures taken from prepublication petitions, the sources for most figures in Table 1. After an initial print run, cut blocks were stored and local histories were printed on demand. For example, after the blocks for the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* were cut, the magistrate had them placed in the home of compiler Gan Ze in order to “make it convenient for commoners to print copies” (*bian min yinxing*)⁸⁸ The magistrate would not have paid for such copies. A record in the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]) notes that the cut blocks were put in the Confucian-school library and that, “when worthy scholar gentry who travel through here or who live

here want copies, the paper's [cost] should be calculated and craftsmen ordered to print it."⁸⁹ (See figure 10 for text describing printing on demand.)

Assuming that unaffiliated individuals paid for their own copies, that still leaves an unknown number of imprints made for compilers, donors, government offices, officials, schools, and preface authors. Most county histories list no more than a dozen editorial personnel, but that number could be several dozen for provincial histories. In addition, some local histories list dozens of donors. If each contributor and donor received one free copy in the initial run, then these copies, plus those sent to government offices, the local Confucian school, and preface authors, probably added up to between twenty and one hundred complimentary copies in most cases. A few people, such as the magistrate, main author, and major donors, may have received additional complimentary copies. To reflect this ambiguity, I have used a "<" (less than) symbol in the "per-page block-cutting cost" column of Table 1 for those titles that included paper or unnamed costs among the listed costs. For the 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*, I have used a ">" (greater than) symbol because the craftsmen's board was donated, thereby reducing the total cost.

If we assume various numbers of imprints included in the figures, then rough estimates of paper costs can be made by using paper prices and sheet sizes found in other sources. Although there was a great range in paper prices in the mid- and late Ming, common, bamboo printing paper was relatively cheap, and as Lucille Chia has observed, many late-imperial local histories were printed on bamboo paper rather than on more expensive papers such as mulberry.⁹⁰ Kai-wing Chow's summary of known paper prices lists the kind of bamboo paper used by commercial publishers in the 1640s as costing 0.026 taels of silver per one hundred sheets.⁹¹ Chow's figure comes from Ye Mengzhu (b. 1623), who, writing in the 1690s, recalled that in his youth in Shanghai bamboo paper was sold in seventy-five-sheet reams (*dao*) at a price not exceeding 0.02 taels.⁹² He did not, however, record the size of the sheets sold at this price.

There is, however, other evidence of common dimensions. The 1589 edition of the *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Regulations of the Great Ming) notes that 1.2 million sheets of *bangzhi* (civil service examination paper) were requisitioned decennially and that the required dimensions were 4.4 x 4 *chi* (150 x 136 cm).⁹³ A 1580 memorial, written by Minister of Works Zeng Shengwu (b. 1532, retired 1582), lists sheet sizes for three types of paper the ministry requisitioned: *da bai bangzhi* (large, white, civil service paper) was 4.65 x 4.5 *chi* (158 x 153 cm), *bai*

頴志采撫編次凡三閱月訂定惟儘公餘脫稿隨壽諸梓則越十月起筆自三月朔畢工於十有二月終其爲工費亦煩矣惟工銀呈於兵備道動支本州無礙官銀二十有一兩而工人日用飲食則倍焉乃自出俸餘及畧爲措處資給分毫不與里甲相干也爲照各處書板俱置諸學宮雖兩京亦置於國子監并府學蓋以公論所在非但不能增減事實亦且不致損失也今置厨一座用板藏於儒學尊經閣上之右面東與史厨並列凡遊於斯生於斯之賢士大夫有欲印者當計紙張命工就印幸勿以勢相挾而典守義氣師友亦幸勿以其勢而屈從毋使一日出閣則斯志之幸也景蒙敬識

10. Text describing the storage of the blocks for and printing of copies on demand for the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al., *juan* 20, p. 5b. See the ninth and tenth lines from the right for the text reading “when worthy scholar gentry who travel through here or who live here want copies, the paper’s [cost] should be calculated and craftsmen ordered to print it.”

dazhong jia zhi (white, large/medium thick paper) was 3.9 x 3.8 *chi* (133 x 129 cm), and *bai da Kaihua zhi* (white, large Kaihua paper) was 5.05 x 4.45 *chi* (172 x 151 cm).⁹⁴

Cynthia Brokaw found that publishers of woodblock-printed books in Sibao, Fujian, in the early twentieth century bought sheets of paper the size of door leaves by the *dao*, which, for them was a one-hundred sheet ream. The paper was cut one *dao* at a time into eight, twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four sections based on the size needed for a particular imprint. The twenty-four-cut paper produced a half-folio page roughly 16 cm high by 11 cm wide.⁹⁵ Adding margins of 14% margin to the width and 19% to the height would yield a full-folio page measuring 19 x 25 cm. Twenty-four such pages could be cut from a 150 x 76 cm sheet. Illustrations in the 1637 *Tiangong kaiwu* (Devices for the Exploitation of Nature) show papermakers drying sheets that look to be approximately this size, and using frames that appear slightly shorter than wide.⁹⁶

If we assume that publishers of local histories in the Ming used similar-sized sheets of paper, then we can use actual page sizes and book lengths to calculate the approximate number of sheets needed for each imprint. The average measurements of fifty-nine local histories from 1510 to 1642, listed in Table 3, were 25.2 x 33.2 cm, including the blank spaces for the margins. The printed area averaged 21.1 cm high by 29.2 centimeters wide. Thirty such folio pages could be cut from a 172 x 151 cm sheet of paper, twenty-four from a 158 x 153 cm sheet, twenty from a 133 x 129 cm sheet, and twelve from a 150 x 76 cm sheet.

The average length of eleven local histories in Table 1 is 663 folio pages, thus one copy would require 22.1 sheets of 172 x 151 cm paper, 27.6 sheets of 158 x 153 cm paper, 33.2 sheets of 133 x 129 cm paper, or 55.25 sheets of 150 x 76 cm paper. If the paper, like that of Ye Mengzhu's youth, cost 0.02 taels per 75 sheets, it would mean a per-copy paper cost of 0.006 taels, 0.0074 taels, 0.0089 taels, or 0.015 taels, respectively. The paper for 100 copies would have cost 0.6 taels, 0.74 taels, 0.89 taels, or 1.5 taels, respectively. The average production cost of the ten titles used to calculate average length was 120 taels, and thus, cheap paper for 100 copies would have been less than 1.25% of the total cost.

If more expensive paper were used, or if Ye Mengzhu's figure refers to a smaller-sized paper, these figures would have to be adjusted accordingly. For example, according to Shen Bang's 1593 *Wanshu zaji* (Miscellaneous Records of the Wan[ping]Yamen), when the Ministry of Rites published a new edition of the *Da Ming huidian* (1589), it used 11,600 sheets of *lianqizhi* (a high-quality printing

paper), at a cost of 9.28 taels, or 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, about triple the cost of Ye Mengzhu's paper.⁹⁷ We can tell that the paper for the *Da Ming huidian* came in large sheets because Shen's entry on the expenses of the Taipusi (Court of the Imperial Stud) includes *lianqi zhi* at the same price but specifies that it was "large" (*da*).⁹⁸ From Zeng Shengwu's 1580 memorial, we know that sheet dimensions described as "large" were either 158 x 153 cm, or 172 x 151 cm, while the one described as "large/medium" was 133 x 129 cm. If we use the smaller "large" sheet, the 158 x 153 cm sheet, then at 0.08 taels per 100 sheets the average-sized local history would require 27.6 sheets at a cost of 0.022 taels per copy, or 2.2 taels for 100 copies. This is less than 2% of the average total production cost of 120 taels.

The above calculations were done for the titles as a group, but they can also be done for individual titles. For example, the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* is 214 folio pages long, each folio page is 24.7 cm high by 34.2 cm wide (including margins), and it cost 38.56 taels for "wood for blocks, craftsmen's wages and board, printing paper, etc." If we assume a 158 cm by 153 cm sheet-size costing 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, then printing one copy would require 8.9 sheets at a cost of 0.0071 taels. Paper for one hundred copies would be 0.71 taels, or 1.8% of the total cost. In sum, if in fact the figures in Table 1 include paper for not more than one hundred copies, then the margin of error introduced by the unknown paper costs was likely under 10%. The cost of paper as a percentage of total production cost is presented in Table 2, which makes different assumptions about sheet size and paper costs. The table calculates separate figures based on assumptions of 50, 100, or 200 complimentary copies.

This analysis is not inconsistent with Martin Heijdra's analysis of xylographic printing costs in the nineteenth century. His figures are based on an 1834 article from the *Chinese Repository*, a missionary publication, which compares the costs of printing Chinese Bibles by various methods, most likely in Batavia, Dutch East Indies. Heijdra lists paper as constituting 4.0% of the total cost of blocks, tools, transcription, cutting, printing, binding, and paper, assuming the printing of 100 copies of a 500-page book.⁹⁹ He goes on to calculate costs of these items assuming print runs of 2000, 5000, and 7000 copies, and shows that as the number of copies increases, the percentage of the total cost made up by paper also increases. This occurs because the block cutting is a one-time cost, unless the blocks wear out, while paper costs increase with every copy made. For a 5000-copy edition, paper would be the largest single cost and constitute 41.5% of the total cost.

Although paper costs loomed large in economic calculations for printing

Chinese Bibles, they were less important in publishing local histories because for magistrates the definition of success differed from that for missionaries. While missionaries wanted to print and distribute the maximum number of Bibles at the lowest unit cost, magistrates mainly wanted the blocks cut. In fact, the act of cutting the blocks was considered the essential indicator of completion. This is clear from prefaces, which routinely praise magistrates for getting the blocks cut but never praise them for distributing a large number of copies. Although magistrates did present copies to their superiors and a small number of other individuals, they were not funding large-scale printing and distribution. Cutting blocks for a local history was more akin to repairing a bridge or a school; it was a worthy infrastructure project for which the magistrate would be praised, but much of the actual use would come later. Most local histories were finished late in a magistrate's term of office, and he would move on to another post soon after publication, leaving behind a record of his successful administration. Paper costs for future government-paid copies, such as copies provided to visiting officials, would come out of a different magistrate's budget and not be part of the publishing magistrate's original calculations.

In addition to the potential error created by unknown paper costs, three of the figures in Table 1 have a second problem: they may have included editorial costs, which as we have already seen, were often monetized, at least in part. When the *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yong'an County) compilation began, the magistrate gave ninety strings of cash to the assistant magistrate and clerk "to manage the project's expenses," but the text does not describe the expenses.¹⁰⁰ The *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County) lists the amounts of donations but not the expenses. The per-page costs of these two titles were substantially higher than the other.¹⁰¹ A third figure that may have included editorial costs is that for the 1588 *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture). One hundred-fifty "and some" taels were approved for the "local history compilation costs" (*xiu zhi zhi fei*), but costs were not itemized.¹⁰²

A final difficulty in using these figures is that none of my sources record printing and binding costs separately. Some include wages and board for "craftsmen," while others list only "cutters." For example, the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* lists both "craftsmen's wages and food" and "printing paper" among the costs, suggesting that the total figure included printing and binding of the initial copies.¹⁰³ The labor costs for the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* are phrased more narrowly as, "cutter wages and food" (*ke zi gong shi*).¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the text also mentions printing paper,

implying that printing costs were included. Heijdra lists printing and binding as being approximately the same as the cost of paper in a 100-copy print run, about 4% of the total.

Even though most of these figures contain ambiguities, the set as a whole is nonetheless useful in assessing book production costs between 1510 and 1642. Of the eleven figures, ten are for books of known length and cost. The per-page costs of cutting without adjusting for editorial, paper, printing, and binding costs, ranged from 0.091 to 0.437 taels per page, and averaged 0.201 taels per page. Throwing out the three figures that may include editorial costs, the per-page cost ranged from 0.091 to 0.232 taels per page, and averaged 0.16 taels per page. If we assume that the cost of paper, printing, and binding one hundred copies was included in the figures given, and subtract 10% to reflect those costs, the average cutting cost would be about 0.14 taels per folio page.

The local histories in Table 1 reveal additional information that makes possible rough calculations of the relative proportions of wages, board, woodblocks, and paper. The 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]) records that the craftsmen's daily necessities, food, and drink (*gongren ri yong yin shi*) were double the craftsmen's wages (*gongyin*).¹⁰⁵ From the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi*, we know that its pear woodblocks were 5.5% of the ten taels it cost for blocks, cutter wages, food, and printing paper. If paper was 4.4% (assuming 100 copies printed from 150 cm by 136 cm sheets costing 0.08 taels per hundred) and we split the remaining 90.1% along the lines of the *Yingzhou zhi*, then a rough breakdown of costs for the *Xingning xian zhi* would be: 60% craftsmen's food, drink, and daily necessities; 30% craftsmen's wages; 6% woodblocks; 4% paper.

Another way to determine relative proportions of total costs would be to use the 42 tael figure from the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* to calculate a per-page cost for craftsmen's food, drink, and daily necessities, and apply that to the two titles closest in time, the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* and the 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*. The Yingzhou board cost was 42 taels divided by 302 pages, or 0.14 taels per page. Applying that to the *Qizhou zhi*, which was 214 pages, would mean 29.76 taels out of 38.56 taels total, or 77%, went to the craftsmen's board. Assuming 10% for woodblocks and paper would mean only 13% went to wages. Applying the 0.14 taels per page board figure to the 207-page 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*, which lists costs of 34 taels for "only the craftsmen's wages, wood for blocks," would mean 29 taels out of 63 total (for blocks, wages, and board), or 46%, went to board.¹⁰⁶ If the blocks cost about 2 taels, 32 taels out of 63, or 51% would have been for wages. These

calculations suggest substantial variation in the ratio of wages to board costs, but do show that board costs made up a large part of the total.

The variability of costs also applies to woodblocks. The *Xingning xian zhi* price for pear woodblocks, 0.01 taels per block, is much lower than previously known late Ming prices, which range from 0.03 to 0.4 taels per block. Shen Bang's 1593 *Wanshu zaji* lists prices from 0.1 taels to 0.4 taels, figures which represent the expenses of various government offices in Beijing and the nearby Wanping.¹⁰⁷ Kai-wing Chow argues that those prices would have been for more expensive woods, such as jujube, and that since all of the prices came from a single text, the price differences reflected differences in block size and quality.¹⁰⁸ One other source is the Wanli era (1572–1620) edition of *Fangce zang* (Rectangular-Folio Tripitaka), printed in Zhejiang, which records a price of 0.03 taels per block for pear wood.¹⁰⁹ The *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) price of 0.01 taels is noteworthy because it is just one third of the previously known lowest price, is three decades earlier than Shen Bang's prices, and comes from eastern Guangdong. The fact that the 1552 Xingning price was only one-fortieth of the high-end 1580s Beijing price shows that we still need to find many more prices from different times and regions to be confident that we understand Ming wood-block costs.

We also should not assume that magistrates publishing local histories always tried to use the cheapest blocks. The blocks of the Zhengtong-era (1436–1450) history of Xincheng county were made from red jujube (*huazao*).¹¹⁰ Just as a magistrate who wanted a high-quality book could retain skilled editors, calligraphers, and block cutters, he could also use high-quality materials, both blocks and paper.

For those magistrates who wished to reduce costs, cutting blocks on both sides was an option. Figures for the *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) reveal how much could be saved. If the blocks were cut on one side only, fifty-five additional blocks would have been needed at a cost of 0.55 taels. This would have meant a 5.5% increase in the total cost (listed as blocks, cutters' wages, board, and printing paper). Despite the higher cost of cutting on one side only, the publishers of the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) and 1642 *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County) chose this option. (For a notation on choices made with respect to one-sided or two-sided block cutting, see figure 11.) This probably was done to maintain quality. A block cut on both sides would have worn more

詩賦	首卷	序貳拾玖葉	舊序肆葉	目錄叁葉	文移貳葉	修志姓氏叁葉	凡例貳葉	末卷	序肆葉	通共拾貳冊叁拾卷計壹千貳百伍拾壹葉	通共板刻計柒百貳拾貳片內	雙面板刻伍百貳拾捌片	單面板刻壹百玖拾肆片	目錄	四
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11. Notation on the number of blocks cut on one side and two sides for the 1588 [Wanli] *Xinxiu Nanchang fu zhi* ([Wanli-Era] Newly Edited History of Nanchang Prefecture), ed. and comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al., table of contents, p. 4a. Text of the statement is in the ninth column from the right.

quickly than a block cut on one side because pressure would be applied twice for each imprint. According to Lucille Chia, pear wood blocks could be used to print approximately 2,000–3,000 copies before needing repairs.¹¹¹ I have found nothing to suggest that initial print runs were anything near that size, so even if the blocks wore twice as fast as those cut on one side, hundreds of crisp prints could be made at lower cost during the tenure of the magistrate who sponsored the project. The repair or recutting of cheaply cut blocks would be a later magistrate's problem.

Another way to save money was to reuse surviving blocks from previous editions. When the *Wuwei zhou zhi* (History of Wuwei Subprefecture) was recompiled and printed in 1528 (Jiajing 7), 50–60% of the blocks for the previous edition were already lost. To save money and to honor the original compilers' efforts, the magistrate reused the surviving blocks without alteration.¹¹² (See figure 12.)

One of the local histories listed in Table 1, the 1510 *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji), sheds light on both the pace of cutting and block cutters' earnings for high-quality work. (See figure 13.) Fifteen block cutters worked over a period of seven and one-half months, putting in 1,600 workdays (*gong*). The text was 1,030 folio pages. Thus, on average, each folio page took 1.55 workdays to cut, or in other words, one cutter could complete about two-thirds of a block per day.¹¹³ The total of "labor, board, and other costs" was 110 taels of silver. If 30% was for the block cutters' wages, that cost would be 33 taels, and the daily wage would be 33 taels for 1,600 workdays, or 0.02 taels. If 45% was for the block cutters' wages, the daily wage would have been 0.03 taels. The fifteen block cutters each worked an average of 106.7 days during the 225 day period. If the block cutters all were paid the same rate, each would have received about two to three taels for the project. This figure seems reasonable in light of the six-tael annual salary of the staff printer in the Pu'an, Guizhou, provincial-administration-commission branch office as of 1565, discussed above.

The wage rate could also be expressed in terms of amount paid per number of characters cut. Yang Shengxin estimates that block cutters could cut 100–150 characters per day and were paid 0.02 to 0.05 taels per one hundred characters.¹¹⁴ To convert the 0.02 taels per day wage for the *Guiji zhi* to a piece rate requires a count of characters per page. Each folio page of the 1510 *Guiji zhi* has 20 columns with space for 20 large characters or 40 small characters per column. Thus, a full page would have 400 large characters, plus about seven to nine small characters



12. End of a preface printed from blocks originally cut for the imperially-mandated compilation of the 1520 edition to *Wuwei zhou zhi* (History of Wuwei Prefecture), comp. by Wu Zhen, Hong Xuan, et al., “Chongxiu Wuwei zhouzhi xu” (Preface for the Reedited History of Wuwei Prefecture), pp. 3b–4a, and reused unaltered in printing the 1528 supplemented edition. Elegant calligraphy written by Wu Zhen.

along the page crease for the title, *juan*, and page number. Few pages, however, are full. Based on character counts of sample pages, approximately 70% of each page was filled, 90% by large characters and 10% by small, which would mean about 316 characters per page, large and small. At 1.55 days per block, the block cutters did the equivalent of about 204 characters per day. Calculated as a piece rate, their wage was about 0.0135 taels per one hundred characters. That is one-third below the low end found by Yang.

命縱集以較讐縱重公盛舉雖衰老頓荒不敢固辭
遂繙閱各本正其譌補其闕而秩其次第無所于
者仍舊空之惟以儒學官書為據游付刊手王廷珊
夏存誠等十有五人端相鋟梓經始于正月二十五
日落成于九月十日凡一千六百工板五百一十五
幅一千三十前志續志共一部該一十有二冊其傭
餐等費悉出于公俸之捐銀計一百一十兩民不知
勞事咸就緒噫數百年廢墜舊典一旦遇公舉而必

13. Details on the production time, costs, etc., for the 1510 reprinting of the 1201 *Guiji xu zhi* (Continuation History of Guiji), comp. by Shi Su, Zhao Hao, et al., comp., postface, p. 2a.

FINANCING

To understand the economics of Ming local histories, we need to know the sources of the money for production costs, not just how much they cost to produce and purchase. The compilation of local histories was widely recognized as one of a local official's duties, but there was little agreement on how to pay for printing. Although superior-government officers often ordered subordinates to compile local histories, the superior-government officers rarely paid. Almost all first editions were published by local governments with funds raised in a variety of ways. Most commonly, local administrators and compilers donated money, but government funds were also used, especially money from fines, litigation fees, and programs designed to cover magistrates' office expenses. In some cases, one or more local individuals donated, and, in others, funds were raised through the *lijia* (administrative community) and mostly likely through lineage organizations.

An administrator's duty to compile a local history is routinely discussed in his preface. As Xiong Wenhan explains in the 1548 *Ninghai zhou zhi* (History of Ninghai Subprefecture),

The duty for a state to have a dynastic history, a locale to have a local history, and a family to have a genealogy is the same. There has long been a saying that compares descendants' not compiling a genealogy to being unfilial. That being so, can an official who fails to compile a local history be considered loyal?¹¹⁵

A Jiangxi surveillance official wrote circa 1544, "compiling a local history is a primary duty in local administration."¹¹⁶ Compilers traced their duty to that of Zhou dynasty overseers of feudatories (*zhifang shi*), who were responsible for maintaining local maps, and emphasized that even the sage Zhu Xi (1130–1200) valued local histories. As Song Ji (dates unknown) explained in his 1438 preface to his *Pengcheng zhi* (History of Pengcheng), "When Master Zhu governed Nankang military prefecture, the first thing he did upon arrival was to consult the local history. Commentators say he understood administrative duties, and local histories relate to the administrative system (*zhengti*). They are not insignificant."¹¹⁷

Although the duty to compile was recognized, there was not agreement on whether the government should pay for printing, and if so, how. This issue can be seen in the 1536 reprinting of the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]). After the original blocks were cut, the magistrate stored them in

the compiler's home, but within a few years, someone took away seventeen blocks. The new magistrate had the missing blocks re-cut from an original imprint, paying for it out of his salary, even though, in the words of a postface author, "those who discuss it say, 'this certainly cannot be viewed as being outside the scope of his official duties.'"¹¹⁸

Local officials often sought permission before spending government money. Assistant Magistrate Lü Jingmeng wrote in his postface to the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]):

Getting the production money was troublesome. I submitted a request to the military defense circuit (*bingbeidao*) for the craftsmen's wages only and spent twenty-one taels of this subprefecture's unrestricted government silver, but the craftsmen required twice as much for their daily food and drink. Thus I took some extra money from my own salary and made arrangements for a very small amount of other money; I did not ask the administrative community units (*lijia*) for it.¹¹⁹

Military defense circuits were multiple-prefecture jurisdictions for military affairs. Benjamin Elman has argued that there was a link between military needs and local history production, which may explain the defense circuit's willingness to support the project, if only in part.¹²⁰

Getting permission to spend government funds before beginning to cut the blocks caused problems for local administrators if they only had estimated rather than actual costs. If the project went over budget, administrators would have to cover the difference.¹²¹ In some cases, an official simply declared that the local history was a government project and used unspecified funds. A preface to the 1376 history of Chaozhou prefecture, Guangdong, notes that the previous edition's blocks had been stored in the prefectural-school library, but were damaged as the Yuan dynasty collapsed. In 1375 an assistant censor visited Chaozhou and asked about the local history. When he learned that the blocks had been damaged, he made its restoration and printing an "internal government project" (*gong nei shi*).¹²² Superiors also could allow local officials to use whatever funds they had that were not otherwise spoken for. The grand coordinator of Huguang province let the prefect of Changde use "unrestricted government funds" (*wu'ai guanqian*) to compile and publish the 1538 history. The grand coordinator simply required an expense report and list of compilers.¹²³

More commonly, however, when the government paid, funds came from

named sources. Publication of the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) was financed by “equalization silver” (*junping yin*). The Xingning magistrate requested and received permission to spend the money, writing, “It is on the record that there is an internal account balance of 10.8987 taels and a bit from the equalization silver for 1540 (the nineteenth year of the Jiajing era) and other years.”¹²⁴ His petition was approved by six different offices: the prefecture, the provincial surveillance commission branch office, the provincial administration commission branch office, the provincial administration commission main office, the regional inspector, and the grand coordinator. This path through the bureaucracy was relatively short—publication of the 1597 *Fu’an xian zhi* (History of Fu’an County) was approved by twelve different offices and officers.¹²⁵

“Equalization” was a program designed to simplify tax payments, cover the magistrate’s office expenses, and replace some of the *lijia* requisitions.¹²⁶ Categories of expenses covered by equalization silver are listed in the 1547 history of Zhangping county, Fujian, and included paper, brushes, ink, seal mud, as well as wages, food, and drink for copyists and craftsmen. The *Zhangping xian zhi* (History of Zhangping County) records that the amount of equalization silver collected from the *lijia* in the year of publication was 349 taels of silver, of which 149.5 taels had not yet been allocated.¹²⁷ Such an amount would have been more than enough to pay publication costs. In the absence of equalization silver or a similar program, the *lijia* was often directly responsible for providing these types of expenses.¹²⁸ This, plus the fact that some magistrates proudly recorded that they did not bother the *lijia* or “the commoners” (*min*) to finance the local history, suggests that others did.¹²⁹

One clear case in which *lijia* units were assessed for publishing a local history is the 1618 reprinting of the 1579 *Xinchang xian zhi*. Because the old woodblocks had burned, Xinchang magistrate Zheng Dongbi decided to have new blocks cut from an extant imprint (*fanke*). He calculated the number of characters, divided the cost equally among Xinchang’s thirty administrative communities (*li*), and called in craftsmen. The cost to each *li* was “two and some *qian*” (*er qian ling*), or a total of six and some taels.¹³⁰

In addition to direct assessment, administrators could also tap already-collected *lijia* funds. The magistrate of Fengrun county, Beizhili, received permission to spend up to 42.856 taels of “assignable reserve silver” (*paisheng yin*) for cutting and printing the 1570 *Fengrun xian zhi* (History of Fengrun County). *Paishengyin* was money set aside by the *lijia* to meet unexpected taxes.¹³¹

Money collected by magistrates in local court cases were a major source of funding. Publication of the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) was paid for with “the document, board, and other fees from the criminal Zhang Quan et al.”¹³² Chaoyang county magistrate Huang Yilong described his financing plan for the 1572 *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County) as follows:

I plan to use confiscated ill-gotten gains and fines collected in cases under my sole jurisdiction (*zi li cisiong zangfa*) for the expenses: monetary gifts of encouragement to local scholars, labor of Confucian students and copyists, and the various supplies, craftsmen, etc.¹³³

By “*zi li cisiong*” the magistrate meant minor cases that were not normally subject to appellate review. Although he controlled the underlying cases, he still needed permission to spend money derived from them.¹³⁴

Magistrate Su Minwang financed the 1594 *Yong’an xian zhi* (History of Yong’an County) with 90 strings of cash (*min*) paid into the county treasury for the redemption of crimes. Su transferred the money to the assistant magistrate and clerk for use in the project.¹³⁵ Similarly, the 1544 *Guangxin fu zhi* (History of Guangxin Prefecture) was financed with fines paid to redeem crimes and “confiscated illicit profits and similar monies.”¹³⁶

Money collected from tax cheats was used to pay for the 1597 *Fu’an xian zhi* (History of Fu’an County). Fu’an magistrate Lu Yizai’s petition explains that a 1581 flood swept away the 1559 edition’s blocks and all but a few imprints. Lu described his plan to finance the recompilation:

Production materials can be supplied from excess document paper. Other expenses can be paid from [funds collected from those who] cheated on their cultivated field, garden, or other taxes; we will not bother the commoners with an additional burden.¹³⁷

Rents newly assessed against home owners who had encroached on the neighboring Confucian-school grounds covered a portion of the expenses for the 1600 *Gutian xian zhi* (History of Gutian County). When county magistrate Liu Riyi was recompiling the history, he discovered the encroachment. About a century earlier a local person had been given a piece of land cut from the school archery grounds in exchange for land needed for a new town wall. Subsequent owners of the parcel built numerous small homes on the adjacent school property. Instead of having them demolished, the magistrate ordered compensation, some

to be paid as rent to the school and some to be paid to the yamen to support the local history project.¹³⁸ Before finding this source of funds, the magistrate wrote that he did not dare take the money from the treasury or assess the people, so his only choice was to donate from his salary, and use money from redemption of crimes and excess stored grain.¹³⁹

The 1544 *Yongfeng xian zhi* (History of Yongfeng County) provides evidence of two types of funding: money collected in the magistrate's court and contributions by officials. Yongfeng was subordinate to Guangxin prefecture, which was compiling a prefectural history. The Yongfeng magistrate gathered materials and submitted them to the prefecture. The Jiangxi grand coordinator ordered the Guangxin prefect to use fines paid to redeem crimes for the compilation and publishing costs. As with the *Fu'an xian zhi*, the local people were not to be bothered with a levy, because that would "further demonstrate the government's sympathy for the people." The grand coordinator's order came down via the assistant surveillance commissioner, who broadened the financing language to include not only fines, but also confiscated illicit profits and similar monies (*ren fan zang shu deng yin*) held by the prefecture and the subordinate county government.¹⁴⁰ After submitting materials for the prefectural history, the county magistrate turned them into a manuscript for a county history, and he, along with the vice-magistrate, Confucian-school instructor and assistant instructor, paid for its publication out of their own salaries. Apparently, all of the county's money from fines had already been spent on the prefectural history.¹⁴¹

These examples of local officials using money from named sources outside of general revenues shows that local funds were not fungible. Most local administrators did not use general revenues or special levies to finance local histories. Instead, they sought funds collected from wrongdoers. This practice was not confined to local yamen; the Southern Imperial Academy had a system in which fines received from officials and students were used to repair and supplement woodblocks used to print a variety of texts.¹⁴²

The most commonly mentioned financing method was donations from salary by one or more local administrators and school instructors.¹⁴³ Although there are numerous examples of financing by a single magistrate or prefect, the cost of producing a local history could be more than a magistrate or prefect's annual salary, and many sought donations from their colleagues.¹⁴⁴ According to the *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming), a county magistrate's annual salary was only 27.49 taels and a prefect's annual salary was 62.05 taels, but Table 1 shows sixteenth-century county-history production costs ranging

from ten to ninety taels and one large work published in 1640 as costing more than 298 taels.¹⁴⁵ However, few officials lived on their salaries alone, and clearly many local officials could afford to either pay for the local history or to front the money and be reimbursed from sales, donations, or levies. Some officials may have even profited from publishing local histories. An administrative order contained in the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) warns local officials that they must not use the local-history project to extort money from the local people, which suggests that perhaps such extortion was not unknown.¹⁴⁶

Although references to local administrators' donations are common, not all Ming officials who wanted to publish a local history could afford to do so with their own funds. In the fall of 1368, the year of the Ming founding, Zhuo Chiliang was appointed to a position in the registry office of Wuzhou, Guangxi. Shortly after arriving, Zhuo recompiled the local history and wanted to publish it, but could not afford to do so. Luckily, soon thereafter a newly arrived assistant prefect, Fan Wenli, used his salary to have it printed.¹⁴⁷

In many cases in which a magistrate donated funds, he did not cover the entire production cost. His donations simply led off a fundraising campaign that spread the cost among local officials and gentry, or covered limited expenses, such as those for recutting a few blocks or unbudgeted expenses. For example, an assistant prefect paid out of his own salary those expenses that exceeded the government funds allocated for publishing the 1556 *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (Guangdong).¹⁴⁸ Excess costs were probably incurred because approved expenditures were based on estimates submitted to higher officials before cutting began and did not always reflect actual costs.

Officials were more likely to donate in times of local budgetary distress than when those pressures were absent. Such distress could come from rebellions, natural disasters, or persistent poverty.¹⁴⁹ An unusual situation occurred when the Zhengde emperor visited Nanjing in 1519–1520 and wanted to read local histories from around the region. Shangyuan, one of Nanjing's two urban counties, had an unpublished manuscript, but no money for printing. According to Shangyuan magistrate, Bai Siqi, public funds had been exhausted by the suppression of the Prince of Ning's rebellion, so Bai asked each of his colleagues to donate funds to print the *Shangyuan xian zhi* (History of Shangyuan County).¹⁵⁰ Such donations were a relatively painless way for a magistrate to do a documented good deed that would reflect well on his administration.

Superior administrative units also could obtain contributions from sub-

ordinate units. The 1503 history of Fuzhou prefecture, Jiangxi, was published with money and woodblocks provided by magistrates of Fuzhou's subordinate counties.¹⁵¹ The reverse, however, does not seem to be true. I have no evidence of superior units paying to print subordinate units' local histories.

Another funding source was local donors. Most commonly recorded are donations from the compilers themselves and local gentry. The compiler of the 1441 *Shangyu xian zhi* (History of Shangyu County), Guo Nan, expanded and published a manuscript drafted in the Yongle era (1401–1424) by a local commoner Yuan Hua and polished by his elder brother Yuan Xuan, a teacher of children. Guo, a retired assistant prefect, obtained the manuscript, collated it, added an account of the Ming soldiers' entrance into the county at the fall of the Yuan, and then paid for the cutting and printing with his own money.¹⁵²

Where a group of scholars jointly compiled a local history, they all might donate to the cost of its publication. The 1457 (Tianshun 1) *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (Guangdong) was first drafted by Deng Lian, the Confucian-school instructor, in response to the 1454 imperial edict to recompile local histories. After sending the completed manuscript to the court, Deng and several local scholars decided to expand and print it. When the additions were finished, they all donated money for publication.¹⁵³ A compiler's family members might also contribute.¹⁵⁴ The cutting of the 1597 *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) was paid for by compiler Yu Jishan (1580 *jinshi*) during a time of crisis. Yu's addendum to his 1597 preface explains why he paid rather than asking the magistrate to provide funds:

The history is complete, ordered, and error free. I want to give it to Suzhou [prefecture] block cutters and have calculated the workers' costs to be about sixty taels of silver. Because over the last year the locale has been repeatedly invaded and its material resources declared "diminished," I dared not bother the government [purse] and so donated half of a year's income to complete the history.¹⁵⁵

Not all local donors were compilers. An individual local man Zou Xian (1431–1498) paid the entire cost of cutting the thirty-six *juan* 1494 *Wuxi xian zhi* (History of Wuxi County). The local history's preface described Zou as a "local learned man," but who had no degree.¹⁵⁶ In fact, Zou was a wealthy grain merchant and art collector.¹⁵⁷ Xu Zhidao, an elderly local commoner (*qimin*), paid to publish the 1515 *Dantu xian zhi* (History of Dantu County).¹⁵⁸

Several prominent individuals paid a portion of the publishing costs for the 1542 edition of the *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County).¹⁵⁹ Its compilation was initiated by order of the Henan grand coordinator to Runing prefecture, Gushi's superior administrative unit, which ordered its subordinate counties and subprefectures to deliver copies of published local histories and "the writings of sages and worthies of ancient times or today."¹⁶⁰ Those like Gushi that had no published local history were to immediately submit a compilation plan to the education circuit intendant's office and, when the work was complete, to send a printed copy to the prefectural yamen. Though Gushi county lacked a published history, nine years earlier its magistrate had hired prefectural Confucian-school student Ge Chen (*juren* 1528) to compile one. Before the manuscript was finished, the magistrate left office, and it was not published. When Magistrate Zhang Ti took office, he looked for the local history and learned that Ge Chen still resided in the county and had his original work. Magistrate Zhang wanted to finish the project, and "prepared book money (*shubi*) to hire Master Ge, a fine man, to help do it."¹⁶¹ In 1541 the work was completed and the Confucian school submitted an expense report to the education intendant stating:

We invited with due propriety the county's students and officials [to participate]. We began [compiling the local history] on the first day of the third month and finished on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. When done, we had it cut. The fine copy was written out by Document Clerk Xu Bing and four others. The host official (*ynliguan*) Yang Sui and others voluntarily took care of the craftsmen's food and expenses. Only the workers' wages (*gongjia*) and cost of wood for blocks are included in this calculation, which totals thirty-four taels of silver.¹⁶²

A postface gives more information on the local history's financing:

How is it that in the past the history of Gushi was neglected, yet today it comes together? The group of gentlemen gathering was the confluence of people. Completing the project in two months was the confluence of time. The appearance one after another of those who donated money out of devotion to duty was the confluence of financing. When the three confluences combined, the history was completed. The esteemed participants' names are recorded in the prefaces, but we cannot leave out the names of the humble toilers. The host official Yang Sui took care of

feeding the craftsmen. National University Student Yi Cunxu and host officials Yi Xi and Peng Weiyan fed the copyists.¹⁶³

Another technique for dividing expenses was for a donor to pay for printing a designated number of blocks or specific blocks. The 1505 *Jiangle xian zhi* (History of Jiangle County) was paid for by two “righteous commoners” (*yimin*) and the county administrators. The two commoners, Weng Jing and Yu Sheng, each paid for the cutting of twenty blocks, and Magistrate He Shilin and other officials paid for the rest.¹⁶⁴ In 1552 after fifty blocks were found to be missing from magistrate Zhang Ti’s 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*, discussed above, the new magistrate, Shi Huai, had them recut from an existing imprint. Shi’s blocks are identifiable by their inscription, “Huangshan shuyuan” (Mt. Huang Academy), which refers to his native place, Huangshan village, Dong’e county, Shandong, whereas Zhang Ti’s blocks are inscribed, “Nanjiong caotang” (Nanjiong’s Rustic Hall), following Zhang’s style name.¹⁶⁵

In at least one case, that of the 1621 *Ganzhou fu zhi* (History of Ganzhou Prefecture), a publishing house covered printing costs. After the fine copy was written out in Nanchang, it was returned to Ganzhou, where Publishing House Head Mr. Yu (Tangzhang Yu gong) gave it to block cutters and covered the cost himself. Mr. Zhu of the revenue office (*sichu*) provided food for all of the assembled artisans, and the work was finished in four months.¹⁶⁶

It was also possible to fund a local history with small donations from many donors. Typically, the administrator would make the first contribution to encourage other contributions.¹⁶⁷ Seventy-four local donors, plus the Shaoxing prefect and Xinchang county magistrate, financed the 1477 *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County). The prefect and magistrate kicked off a fundraising drive with personal donations and thereafter, “donations of silver came like swarming ants, contributions like a bubbling spring. Small donors did not mind giving one or two cash; large donations did not exceed five or ten *shi* [of rice].”¹⁶⁸ (For this list of donors, see figure 14.) Genealogies show that most donors were from fifteen of the twenty Xinchang lineages listed in the local history’s section on local lineages, so perhaps contributions were solicited from lineage leaders.¹⁶⁹ Forty-nine people contributed to the publication of the 1641 *Yongnian xian zhi* (History of Yongnian County), and fifty-four contributed to the 1585 *Changshan xian zhi* (History of Changshan County).¹⁷⁰

授之餘合詞為纂修之請始雖謙讓終則樂從凡例
必酌古而準今筆削不徇私而違衆事蹟雖微而必
錄始末無遠而不書綱舉目張門分類析遂成盛典
可謂奇才若不經營以梓行抑恐抄謄之紙貴深有
歉於獨力迺遍于千眾緣伏壘

邑宰乍興鄉人鼓舞揮金如聚蟻捐俸若湧泉
不嫌一錢二錢多不過五石十石公輸子便來刊就楮
先生即與印行將見一邑之內不出戶而可知千載

纂刊新昌志疏

伏以

禹貢職方紀載開端於往聖山經地志編摩接踵於
後賢光賁人文功垂世教顧茲南明之小邑實為東
浙之名區山川秀麗而土物清奇風俗淳龐而人材
傑特奈何志書之久闕是以考覈之無憑達士與嗟
名邦見鄙人所病也吾實憾焉茲蓋伏遇

貳教先生鱸鄉莫公江南仕族吳下偉人諸生於講

皇太子親書

章允明

陳履長

俞廷芳

石廷持

章希柔

陳之悅

呂中順

王尚明

丁大輝

王茂英

俞廷彰

胡端禎

石右道

求尚連

王廷用

張宗堅

王希聲

呂廷益

石秉和

蔡丕昭

何球

章瑄

徐景新

蔡守廉

潘大道

石景成

劉恩馴

袁容

俞廷式

呂好道

徐用昌

趙益新

呂廷烈

王叔安

俞林行

陳景和

俞林光

三公器

梁以元

趙希正

何友

俞

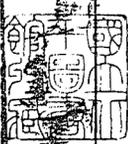
潘孔

梁公操

張棘

唐孟能

古臣才



之間一舉目而畢見自此流芳於一世十世百世從
今傳信於百家千家萬家豈惟吾邑之事永播于無
窮而諸公之名亦同垂于不朽共成美事皆賴知音

謹疏

成化十二年八月吉日庠生張燦等謹疏

助刊姓氏

呂好惠
張輔廷
呂好山
吳永潤
呂丕元

張蘊文
呂好遠
俞廷琰
呂好瑞
王以安

俞廷器
陳懷廷
潘孔奇
張仁廷
呂廷彰

呂景明
張待廷
俞用威
呂廷實
俞廷實

The relative sizes of donations can be seen in a donations list from the 1640 *Jiangyin xian zhi*. Three officials and eleven local gentry donated a total of 298 taels. Another five people on the list had the amount of their donations blackened out, perhaps for nonpayment. A total of 112 taels was given by the officials and 186 taels by the local gentry. Two people, the magistrate and a local, donated 200 taels, about two-thirds of the total.¹⁷¹ From these records we can see that local-history projects, like many local infrastructure projects in the Ming dynasty, were financed jointly by administrators and locals.

CONCLUSION

This essay has provided new information on the economics of book production in Ming China and illustrated a method for further research. Data presented in tables 1 through 3 make possible cost estimates for craftsmen's wages, living expenses, and production materials. Data on funding show that local histories were financed locally by donations, levies, and government funds, most of which came from named sources, especially money collected in magistrates' courts. Although this project has uncovered substantial new information, it also reveals that we are still at an early stage of research on the economics of book publishing in imperial China. For example, the fact that pear-wood blocks used to print a 1552 history in Guangdong cost only 0.01 taels per block suggests that woodblocks could be very cheap. But we also know that that price was only one-fortieth the price of high-quality blocks used by the Beijing government in the 1580s. This suggests significant cost variation depending on time, place, and type of book, and we need more data before we can confidently make broad conclusions about how to characterize publishing expenses. Ascertaining the affordability of books to readers is an even greater challenge because if we wish to make informed conclusions, we need not only price and wage data across time and space, but also ways to determine the disposable income of people in various occupations.

Nonetheless, and despite these challenges, this study shows that much can be learned about the economics of book publishing in imperial China by casting a wide net for scattered pieces of information contained in local histories. Previous scholarship did not consider local histories to be important sources for the study of the book industry. However, through careful analysis of the minutiae contained therein—by poring over the comments and complaints of the compilers and preface writers, by scrutinizing the work of craftsmen, by

mapping out movements of compilers, materials, and manuscripts, by examining administrators' petitions concerning publication—a fascinating portrait emerges of how officials, scholars, and even common people worked to compile, finance, and publish local histories. While a single local history may reveal little, in the accumulated data from numerous local histories, patterns begin to emerge. In terms of listed production costs, we have seen here that mid- to late Ming local histories ranged in cost from as little as ten taels to over three hundred seventy taels, which on a per-page basis would be 0.091 to 0.437 taels. Although most of these figures contain ambiguities regarding the exact costs covered, especially the amount of paper included in the listed cost, we can get a rough idea of costs.

There is still much more to be found in local histories. Material for this project was drawn from a review of only one-half of the approximately one-thousand extant Ming local histories. Compare that to the more than six-thousand surviving Qing and Republican local histories, and it is clear that additional useful information remains to be gleaned from these sources, especially since later local histories are even richer in economic information related to publishing. It is possible to construct a set of data stretching from the origin of the genre to the early twentieth century, and although it would be much thinner for the earlier period, such data would nevertheless be an important contribution to both our understanding of publishing history and economic history in China.

APPENDIX I

RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THE SOURCES FOR FIGURES IN TABLE I, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

1. *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji) of 1520, in Shaoxing Prefecture, Zhejiang
 付刊手王廷珊，夏存誠，等十五人端相鋟梓。經始於正月二十五日，落成於九月十日，凡一千六百工。板五百一十五，幅一千三十。前志、續志，共一部，該一十有二冊。其傭、餐、等費，悉出于公俸之捐，銀計一百一十兩，民不知勞。

The [text] was delivered to the fifteen cutters, Wang Tingshan, Xia Cuncheng, etc. They began work on the twenty-fifth day of the first month and finished on the tenth day of the ninth month, altogether 1600 workdays. There were 515 woodblocks and 1,030 leaves. The original history and the supplemental history were [published] together as one set consisting of twelve fascicles. The 110 taels of

silver for wages, board, and other costs, were all donated by officials; commoners were not bothered.¹

2. *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) of 1530, in Huguang 刊刻誌書板木，並匠作工食、印刷紙、等項，估計價銀叁拾捌兩五錢陸分。

The cost for woodblocks, craftsmen's wages and board, printing paper, and other items for publishing the local history, is calculated to be 38.56 taels of silver.²

3. *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]) of 1536, in Nanzhili 其為工費亦煩矣。惟工銀呈於兵備道。動支本州無礙官銀二十有一兩，而工人日用飲食則倍焉。乃自出俸餘及略為措處資給分毫，不與里甲相干也。

Getting the production money was troublesome. I submitted a request to the military defense circuit (*bingbeidao*) for the craftsmen's wages only and spent twenty-one taels of this subprefecture's unrestricted government silver, but the craftsmen required twice as much for their daily food and drink. Thus I took some extra money from my own salary and made arrangements for a very small amount of other money; I did not ask the administrative community units (*lijia*) for it.³

4. *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) of 1542, in Henan 獨工價板木算該銀三十四兩。

The craftsmen's wages and wood for blocks alone were thirty-four taels of silver.⁴

5. *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) of 1552, in Guangdong 書板計算共一百一十葉，每二葉用梨木板一塊，兩面刊刻共用板五十五塊。每塊該銀一分，併刻字工食、印刷、紙劄通共銀十兩。

The book's blocks are calculated as follows: In total there are one hundred and ten leaves, every two leaves uses one pear woodblock carved on two sides. The total number of blocks needed is fifty-five. Each block costs one *fen* of silver, and with the cutters' wages, food, and printing paper, the total cost is ten taels.⁵

6. *Fengrun xian zhi* (History of Fengrun County) of 1570, in Beizhili 見剩銀四十二兩八錢五分六毫，欲於數內動支公用。

Currently remaining [in this account] are 42.8506 taels. We wish to use up to this amount for the public purpose [of printing the local history].⁶

7. *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture) of 1588, in Jiangxi
南昌府，據各縣查明，堪以動支銀壹百伍拾餘兩。

Nanchang Prefecture, in accordance with the reports of each county, may use 150 and some taels of silver [for the project].⁷

各州縣查報學租等項銀兩准動支以充修志之費。其南、新二縣租銀今年先支一半，其一半俟十六年分徵收補支。

Each subprefecture and county is allowed to use the reported silver from school land rents and other sources for the expenses of compiling the local history. The two counties of Nan[chang] and Xin[jian] should provide half of the rent silver this year, and wait until the sixteenth year [of the Wanli reign] to collect and provide the other half.⁸

通共拾貳冊、叁拾卷、計壹千貳百伍拾壹葉，通共板刻計柒百貳拾貳片內，雙面板刻伍百貳拾捌片，單面板刻壹百玖拾肆片。

There are a total of 12 fascicles, 30 chapters, and 1,251 leaves. Altogether there are 722 cut blocks, of which 528 blocks are cut on two sides and 194 cut on one side.⁹

8. *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yong'an County) of 1594, in Fujian.

又檢閱庫中，得所自理贖鍰幾九十緡，以付邑主簿夏秉彝，典史陳策經紀其費。

I then examined the treasury and took out nearly ninety strings of cash paid for the redemption of crimes in cases under my sole jurisdiction and gave it to Assistant Magistrate Xia Bingyi and Clerk Chen Ce to manage the expenses.¹⁰

9. *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) of 1597, in Henan

志成。不揣蕪謬，欲付之吳門劖劂氏，計工費約六十金。年來地方屢侵，物力告訕。不敢以煩公家，善減損歲資之半成之。

The local history is complete. Although I have written it poorly, I wanted to give it to Wumen (Suzhou) block cutters. Their wages will be about sixty taels of silver. In recent years the area has been repeatedly invaded and its material resources declared diminished. I dare not trouble the public purse so have donated half of a year's income to complete it.¹¹

10. *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County) of 1640, in Nanzhili¹²

江陰縣	■■■ ¹³	JIANGYIN COUNTY	■■■
知縣馮士仁	銀一百兩	Magistrate Feng Shiren	100 silver taels
縣丞孫旭	銀十兩	Vice Magistrate Sun Xu	10 silver taels
典史王崇文	銀■■■	Clerk Wang Chongwen	■■■ silver
教諭譚振舉	銀二兩	Instructor Tan Zhenju	2 silver taels
守備		COMMANDANTS:	
鮑道傳	銀■■■	Bao Daochuan	■■■ silver
鄒瀚	銀■■■	Zou Han	■■■ silver
鄉紳		LOCAL GENTRY:	
陳繼芳	銀二十兩	Chen Jifang	20 silver taels
李鵬翀	銀一百兩	Li Pengchong	100 silver taels
貢修齡	銀■■兩	Gong Xiuling	■■ silver taels
張友譽	銀二十兩	Zhang Youyu	20 silver taels
楊永清	銀三兩	Yang Yongqin	3 silver taels
曹璣	先輸銀十兩	Cao Ji	Previously paid 10 silver taels
沈鼎科	銀■■■	Shen Dingke	■■■ silver
趙士春	銀四兩	Zhao Shichun	4 silver taels
徐遵湯	銀十兩	Xu Zuntang	10 silver taels
朱士烈	先輸銀五兩	Zhu Shilie	Previously paid 5 silver taels
徐公燮	銀六兩	Xu Gongxie	6 silver taels
夏維新	銀四兩	Xia Weixin	4 silver taels
■■■	銀四兩	■■■	4 silver taels

II. *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County) of 1642 in Nanzhili

鳩工雕板則昉於壬午季春之，竣於八月既望。計版葉二千二百有奇。糜金三百七十兩有奇。

Block cutting began on the first day of the last month of spring of [1642] the *renwu* year and finished on the sixteenth day of eighth month. The number of blocks and leaves was 2,200 and some. Expended silver was 370 and some taels.¹⁴

APPENDIX NOTES

1. Postface to *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji), comp. by Shi Su, Zhao Hao, et al. (1510), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 2715, imprint held in National Central Library, Taipei.
2. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) (1530), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1962), *juan* 9, pp. 70a–b.
3. Preface to *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al., (1536), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
4. Preface and postface to *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County), comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
5. Sheng Ji et al., comp., *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) (1552), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 964.
6. “Kezhi gongyi” (Administrative Documents on the Cutting of the [Blocks for] the History), *Fengrun xian zhi* (History of Fengrun County), comp. by Wang Nayan, Shi Bangzheng, et al. (1570), rpt. in *Sikuquanshu cunmu congshu* (Tainan, Taiwan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996), p. 519.
7. “Wenyi” (Official Communications), *Nanchang fu zhi* (Nanchang Prefecture History, comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al. (1588), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 2 (rpt. p. 20).
8. Ibid.
9. Table of contents to *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture), comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al. (1588), p. 4 (rpt. p. 19).
10. Preface to *Yong’an xian zhi* (History of Yong’an County), comp. by Su Minwang et al. (1594), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 3b (rpt. p. 6).
11. Addendum to the 1597 preface to *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County), comp. by Bao Ying et al. (1659), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 7 (rpt. p. 15).
12. Prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comp. by Feng Shiren et al., (1640; Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003), rpt. p. 21.
13. The number of missing characters is unclear. It presumably says “contributors” or the like.
14. Prefatory matter to *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County), comp. by Niu Ruolin et al. (1642), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), rpt. p. 164.

TABLE 1.
PRODUCTION OF LOCAL HISTORIES

DATE, TITLE, AND PROVINCE	TOTAL LISTED COST	ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL COST	NO. OF BLOCKS	CUT ON 1 SIDE OR 2	FOLIO PAGES IN TEXT	COST PER WOOD BLOCK	NO. OF BLOCK CUTTERS	WORK DAYS	WAGE COSTS	BOARD COSTS	PER-PAGE BLOCK- CUTTING COST
1510 <i>Gujiji</i> <i>zhi</i> Zhejiang	110 taels	"wages, board, etc."	515	2	1,030	?	15	1,600	?	?	<0.107 taels
1530 <i>Qizhou</i> <i>zhi</i> Huguang	38.56 taels	"wood for blocks, craftsmen's wages, and board, printing paper, etc."	214	1	214	?	?	?	?	?	<0.180 taels
1536 <i>Yingzhou</i> <i>zhi</i> Nanzhili	63 taels	wages, "daily needs," drink, food	?	?	302	?	?	?	21 taels	42 taels for "daily needs, drink, food"	0.209 taels
1542 <i>Gushi</i> <i>xian zhi</i> Henan	34 taels	"only the craftsmen's wages, wood for blocks"	?	?	207	?	?	?	?	copyists' and cutters' "food and necessities" were donated	>0.164 taels
1552 <i>Xingning</i> <i>xian zhi</i> Guangdong	10 taels	pear woodblocks, "cutters' wages, food, printing paper"	55	2	110	1,500 (0.1 taels)	?	?	?	?	<0.091 taels

DATE, TITLE AND PROVINCE	TOTAL LISTED COST	ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL COST	NO. OF BLOCKS	CUT ON I SIDE OR 2	FOLIO PAGES IN TEXT	COST PER WOOD BLOCK	NO. OF BLOCK CUTTERS	WORK DAYS	WAGE COSTS	BOARD COSTS	PER-PAGE BLOCK-CUTTING COST
1570 <i>Fengrun xian zhi</i> Beizhili	Up to 42.85 tael	“paper, wages, food”	?	?	206	?	?	?	?	?	<0.208 tael
1588 <i>Nanchang fu zhi</i> Jiangxi	150 “and some” tael	compilation costs and supplies, including paper	722	528 on 2, 194 on 1	1,251	?	?	?	?	?	<0.12 tael
1594 <i>Yong’an xian zhi</i> Fujian	nearly 90 strings of cash	project costs	?	?	206	?	?	?	?	?	<0.437 tael
1597 <i>Gushi xian zhi</i> Henan	about 60 tael	Suzhou block cutters’ costs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1640 <i>Jiangyin xian zhi</i> Nanzhili	298 tael	donations for unspecified costs	?	?	903	?	?	?	?	?	<0.330 tael
1642 <i>Wuxian zhi</i> Nanzhili	370 “and some”	compilation, illustrations, calligraphy, block cutting	2200 “and some”	1	2200 “and some”	?	?	?	?	?	<0.162 tael

TABLE 2.
PAPER COSTS OF THREE LOCAL HISTORIES, ASSUMING THE USE OF PAPERS OF
FOUR DIFFERENT SIZES AND PER-SHEET COSTS

Paper A: 0.02 taels per 75 sheets, each sheet 150 cm by 76 cm
 Paper B: 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, each sheet 172 cm by 151 cm
 Paper C: 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, each sheet 150 cm by 136 cm
 Paper D: 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, each sheet 150 cm by 76 cm

DATE, TITLE, (PROVINCE)	TOTAL LISTED COST	ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL COST	NO. OF FOLIO PAGES	FOLIO- PAGE SIZE WITH MARGINS (CM)	PAPER SHEET- SIZE	FOLIO PAGES PER SHEET	SHEETS PER COPY	PAPER COST FOR N COPIES (TAELS)				PAPER AS % OF TOTAL COST FOR N COPIES					
								50 SHEETS	100 SHEETS	200 SHEETS	500 SHEETS	50 SHEETS	100 SHEETS	200 SHEETS	500 SHEETS		
1530 <i>Qizhou</i> <i>zhi</i> (Huguang)	38.56 taels	“wood for blocks; craftsmen’s wages; and board, printing, paper, etc.”	214	24.7 x 34.2	A	12	17.8	0.24	0.48	0.95	0.6%	1.2%	2.5%	0.6%	1.2%	2.5%	2.5%
					B	30	7.1	0.28	0.57	1.14	0.7%	1.5%	2.9%				
					C	24	8.9	0.36	0.71	1.42	0.9%	1.8%	3.7%				
					D	12	17.8	0.71	1.42	2.85	1.8%	3.7%	7.4%				

DATE, TITLE, (PROVINCE)	TOTAL LISTED COST	ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL COST	NO. OF FOLIO PAGES	FOLIO SIZE WITH MARGINS (CM)	PAPER SHEET-SIZE	FOLIO PAGES PER SHEET	SHEETS PER COPY	PAPER COST FOR N COPIES (TAELS)			PAPER AS % OF TOTAL COST FOR N COPIES		
								50 SHEETS	100 SHEETS	200 SHEETS	50 SHEETS	100 SHEETS	200 SHEETS
1552 <i>Xingning xian zhi</i> (Guangdong)	10 taels	pear woodblocks, "cutters" wages, food, printing paper"	110	23.2 x 36.5	A	12	9.2	0.12	0.25	0.49	1.2%	2.5%	4.9%
					B	28	3.9	0.16	0.31	0.63	1.6%	3.1%	6.3%
					C	20	5.5	0.22	0.44	0.88	2.2%	4.4%	8.8%
					D	12	9.2	0.37	0.74	1.47	3.7%	7.4%	14.7%
1588 <i>Nanchang fu zhi</i> (Jiangxi)	150 "and some" taels	total compilation costs and supplies, including paper	1,251	27.1 x 30.6	A	10	125.1	1.67	3.33	6.67	1.1%	2.2%	4.4%
					B	35	50.0	2.00	4.00	8.01	1.3%	2.7%	5.3%
					C	20	62.55	2.5	5.0	10.0	1.7%	3.3%	6.7%
					D	10	125.1	5.01	10/02	20.03	3.3%	6.7%	13.3%

TABLE 3
 SIZE OF PRINTED AREA PER HALF-FOLIO PAGE (CENTIMETERS)

DATE	ISOO	PROVINCE	HEIGHT	WIDTH
1500	<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i>	Huguang	22.0	14.5
1501	<i>Ningxia xin zhi</i>	Shaanxi	21.0	15.6
1513	<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i>	Sichuan	21.5	14.6
1515	<i>Guanghua xian zhi</i>	Huguang	20.8	14.3
1517	<i>Jianchang fu zhi</i>	Jiangxi	22.3	14.5
1517	<i>Yuanzhou fu zhi</i>	Jiangxi	21.5	14.8
1521	<i>Huating xian zhi</i>	Nanzhili	20.0	12.7
1524	<i>Dongxiang xian zhi</i>	Jiangxi	19.8	13.9
1525	<i>Yanping fu zhi</i>	Fujian	20.8	14.5
1526	<i>Pujiang zhi lue</i>	Zhejiang	19.2	14.8
1528	<i>Hui da ji</i>	Guangdong	20.0	13.5
1529	<i>Qizhou zhi</i>	Huguang	20.8	15.0
1530	<i>Hui'an xian zhi</i>	Fujian	18.0	14.7
1530	<i>Tongzhou zhi</i>	Nanzhili	22.1	13.7
1530	<i>Youxi xian zhi</i>	Fujian	18.8	14.0
1531	<i>Mianyang zhi</i>	Huguang	19.0	13.3
1535	<i>Changde fu zhi</i>	Huguang	21.3	14.5
1536	<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i>	Jiangxi	20.3	15.7
1536	<i>Haimen xian zhi</i>	Zhejiang	20.3	14.4
1536	<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i>	Huguang	23.0	15.5
1536	<i>Shixing xian zhi</i>	Guangdong	20.6	14.1
1537	<i>Neihuang xian zhi</i>	Beizhili	21.0	15.8
1537	<i>Sinan fu zhi</i>	Guizhou	20.9	14.1
1539	<i>Qinzhou zhi</i>	Guangdong	20.9	14.6
1540	<i>Yingshan xian zhi</i>	Huguang	20.8	14.8
1541	<i>Jianning fu zhi</i>	Fujian	19.8	14.0
1541	<i>Yunyang xian zhi</i>	Sichuan	20.7	13.6
1542	<i>Nanxiong fu zhi</i>	Guangdong	19.2	14.5
1543	<i>Ruijin xian zhi</i>	Jiangxi	22.0	15.8
1543	<i>Shaowu fu zhi</i>	Fujian	22.0	14.2
1546	<i>Hanyang fu zhi</i>	Huguang	18.3	13.8
1547	<i>Qishui xian zhi</i>	Huguang	22.6	15.2
1548	<i>Laiwu xian zhi</i>	Shandong	22.5	14.4
1549	<i>Pu'an zhou zhi</i>	Guizhou	20.5	14.5
1549	<i>Wucheng xian zhi</i>	Shandong	21.5	16.0
1550	<i>Guangping fu zhi</i>	Beizhili	25.0	18.0
1550	<i>Xundian fu zhi</i>	Yunnan	21.0	14.8
1551	<i>Badong xian zhi</i>	Huguang	19.7	13.8
1551	<i>Quwo xian zhi</i>	Shanxi	21.5	14.1
1552	<i>Anxi xian zhi</i>	Fujian	18.5	13.5
1552	<i>Linqu xian zhi</i>	Shandong	21.9	13.9
1552	<i>Xingning xian zhi</i>	Guangdong	19.5	16.0
1553	<i>Jiayang xian zhi</i>	Fujian	21.0	13.7
1553	<i>Luhe xian zhi</i>	Nanzhili	21.6	14.1
1554	<i>Yancheng xian zhi</i>	Henan	21.1	15.5
1555	<i>Mahu fu zhi</i>	Sichuan	28.8	17.5
1557	<i>Anji zhou zhi</i>	Zhejiang	19.7	13.8

DATE	1500	PROVINCE	HEIGHT	WIDTH
1562	<i>Gaochun xian zhi</i>	Nanzhili	20.5	14.5
1567	<i>Yizhen xian zhi</i>	Nanzhili	20.5	14.2
1570	<i>Ruichang xian zhi</i>	Jiangxi	20.6	14.5
1572	<i>Hai Zhou zhi</i>	Nanzhili	20.0	14.0
1572	<i>Linjiang fu zhi</i>	Jiangxi	22.3	15.5
1573	<i>Cili xian zhi</i>	Huguang	22.4	15.0
1575	<i>Luzhou fu zhi</i>	Nanzhili	27.1	15.0
1576	<i>Chenzhou zhi</i>	Huguang	20.5	14.0
1579	<i>Xinchang xian zhi</i>	Zhejiang	19.2	14.4
1588	<i>Nanchang fu zhi</i>	Jiangxi	22.8	13.4
1621	<i>Chengdu fu zhi</i>	Sichuan	24.3	15.0
1640	<i>Jiangyin xian zhi</i>	Nanzhili	22.0	14.2
	n=59	Average	21.1	14.6
	~Paper size/folio page, with margins		25.2	33.2

NOTES

1. See Wilt L. Idema, *Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), pp. lviii–lix; and Idema, “Review of Evelyn Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch’ing China* (1979),” *T’oung Pao* 66.4–5 (1980), pp. 314–324; and Shen Jin, “Mingdai fangke tushu zhi liutong yu jiage” (The Circulation and Prices of Ming–Dynasty Commercially Published Books), in *Guojia tushuguan guankan* (*National Central Library Bulletin*) 1 (June 1996), pp. 101–118. Also see Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), pp. 190–192.
2. Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), chapter 1 and p. 302. Joseph P. McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), pp. 25–31. Cynthia J. Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in Qing and Republican Periods* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), p. 552.
3. For discussion of the non-commercial nature of local histories, see Martin Heijdra, “Town Gazetteers and Local Society in the Jiangnan Region During the Qing Period,” translation of Mori Masao, “Shindai Kōnan deruta no kyōchinshi to chiiki shakai,” *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 62.4 (2004), pp. 1–53.
4. On Song local histories, see James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Histories and Their Place in the History of Difangzhi Writing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1996) 56. 2, pp. 405–442; and Peter Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001), pp. 37–76. On Yuan local histories, see Timothy Brook, “Native Identity under Alien Rule: Local Histories of the Yuan Dynasty,” in Richard Brutnell, ed., *Pragmatic Literacy East and West, 1200–1330* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 235–245.
5. For a study of printing of pre-1400 local histories, see my “Early Printing in China Viewed From the Perspective of Local Histories,” in Lucille Chia and Hilde DeWeerd, ed., *First Impressions: A Cultural History of Print in Imperial China (8th–14th centuries)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, forthcoming).

6. Huang Wei, *Fangzhi xue* (Local-History Studies) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1993), p. 186. Huang states the total number of extant editions as 1017, based on Ba Zhaoxiang's count. Ba recently revised his count to 1014. See Ba Zhaoxiang, "Lun Mingdai fangzhi de shuliang yu xiu zhi zhidu" (A Discussion of the Number of Ming Dynasty Local Histories and Their Compilation System), in *Zhongguo difangzhi* (Chinese Local Histories) 4 (2000), pp. 45–51. It should be kept in mind that two copies of the same title often contain different materials because of additions made after the initial printing.
7. Hu Lian, "Yongzhou fu tuzhi xu" (Preface to the History of Yongzhou Prefecture, with Maps), comp. by Hu Lian et al. (1383), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(404), no. 834, original in the National Library of China, p. 4a.
8. The rules of compilation have been preserved in the *Shouchang xian zhi* (History of Shouchang County) (1586), rpt. in *Mingdai guben fangzhi xuan* (Selected Sole-Extant-Exemplar Ming-Dynasty Local Histories) (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2000). The rules as reprinted in the *Shouchang xian zhi* are dated 1412 (Yongle 10), but other sources document the order as having been issued in 1418 (Yongle 16).
9. On 1 August 1454 (the eighth day of the seventh month of Jingtai 5), the Ministry of Rites was ordered to recompile the realm's local histories. Emissaries were dispatched to the provinces to work on the projects. Zhou Jifeng, *Yunnan tong zhi* (History of Yunnan Province) (1510), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 28, p. 19 (rpt. p. 283). For the Chongzhen era, see Huang Wei, *Fangzhi xue* (Local History Studies), pp. 859–861.
10. Kou Tianxu, preface to *Jiangning xian zhi* (History of Jiangning County), comp. by Wang Gao, Liu Yu (1521), rpt. in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), p. 2a (rpt. p. 689).
11. Prefaces to *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County), comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542; 1552), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 8a–b.
12. Liu Fu, Yang Pei, et al., comps., *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture) (1537), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 1, pp. 14b and 15b.
13. Old prefaces to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (1556), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al., rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1964), pp. 1b–2a.
14. Prefaces to *Neihuang xian zhi* (History of Neihuang County), comp. by Dong Xian (1527), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 4b–5b.
15. Zhang Zhi, Xia Liangsheng, et al., comps., *Chaling zhou zhi* (History of Chaling Subprefecture) (1525), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan xia*, p. 81a (rpt. p. 1085).
16. Respectively, see *fanli* (principles of composition) to *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]), by Ma Tun (1494), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China, pp. 2–4; and "Fan yinyong shumù" (Works Cited), in *Hangzhou fu zhi* (History of Hangzhou Prefecture), comp. by Chen Rang et al. (1474), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(406), original in the National Library of China.

Other substantial lists of works consulted are found in the following three local histories:

- The 1512 *Songjiang fu zhi* (History of Songjiang Prefecture) (fifty-seven works)—see Gu Qing, comp., *Songjiang fu zhi* (1512), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990);
 - the 1501 *Ningxia xin zhi* (New History of Ningxia) (forty-two works)—see preface to *Ningxia xin zhi*, comp. by Hu Rukuang et al. (1501) in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990); and
 - the 1542 *Yexian zhi* (History of Ye County) (thirty-seven works)—see *mulu* (table of contents) to *Yexian zhi*, comp. by Shao Bi et al. (1542), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(388), original in the National Library of China, p. 7.
17. Prefatory matter to *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al. (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 2a.
 18. See, for example, prefaces to *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County), comp. by Tian Guan et al. (1579), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 12b–13a.
 19. Prefaces to *Tengxian zhi* (History of Teng County), comp. by Yang Chengfu et al. (1585), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), p. 1b (rpt. p. 1).
 20. Old prefaces to *Guangchang xian zhi* (History of Guangchang County), comp. by Wang Jingsheng et al. (1683), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1989), pp. 1–2.
 21. On books and gift-giving, see McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book*, pp. 84–94.
 22. Cong Pan, postface to *Ninghai zhou zhi* (History of Ninghai Subprefecture), comp. by Li Guangxian et al. (1548), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1a (rpt. p. 873).
 23. Prefaces for *Ningzhou zhi* (History of Ning [Subprefecture]), comp. by Gong Xian (1543), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), pp. 4b–5b (rpt. pp. 8–10).
 24. Zhang Qixun, preface to *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture), comp. by Zhang Qixun et al. (1671; supplemented in 1682), pp. 2–3 (rpt. pp. 6–7) and *juan* 23, p. 37a (rpt. p. 856).
 25. *Fanli* (principles of composition) to *Luhe xian zhi* (History of Luhe County), comp. by Dong Bangzheng et al. (1553), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), rpt. p. 718.
 26. Prefaces to *Ningzhou zhi* (1543), pp. 4–5 (rpt. pp. 8–9).
 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 849–851.
 28. Postface to *ibid.*, p. 1b (rpt. p. 858).
 29. Gong Xian, preface to *ibid.*, p. 1b.
 30. Preface and *fanli* (principles of composition) to *Bozhou zhi* (History of Bozhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Sun Yuanqing, Li Xianfang, et al. (1564), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), no. 812, original in the National Library of China.

31. Feng Fujing, preface to *Changguo zhou tu zhi* (History of Changguo Prefecture with Illustrations), comp. by Feng Fujing et al. (1298), rpt. in Song-Yuan fangzhi congkan (Taipei: Guotai wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1954), p. 6061.
32. Wang Luan, “Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xian zhi xu” [Preface to the Hongzhi 2 (1369) *History of Chaoyang County*], and Zhang Zhu, “Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xian zhi houxu” [Postface to the Hongzhi 2 (1369) *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County)], *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County), comp. by Lin Dachun (1572), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 1b and 3a.
33. Cao Xuequan, 1623 preface to the *Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Famous Sights of the Great Ming Empire) (1630), Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (Tainan: Zhuang yan wenhua shiye, 1996), pp. 1–8 (rpt. pp. 234–238). For a biography of Cao, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 1299–1301.
34. Xiao Lianggan, Zhang Yuanbian, et al., comps., *Shaoxing fu zhi* (History of Shaoxing Prefecture) (1587), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1989), *juan* 50, p. 11b (rpt. p. 3338).
35. Zheng Dongbi, “Xin zhi xu xiaoyin” (A Short Introduction to the *Continuation of the History of Xin[chang]*), in *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County), comp. by Tian Guan et al. (1579), supplemented and rpt. in 1618 by Zheng Dongbi, facsimile copy held in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, Japan, original in the National Diet Library.
36. Gu Yan, preface, to *Lüeyang xian zhi* (History of Lüeyang County), comp. by Li Yuchun et al. (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 6a.
37. Postface to *Jianping xian zhi* (History of Jianping County), comp. by Lian Kuang, Yao Wenye, et al. (1531), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China.
38. Postface to *Xingguo zhou zhi* (History of Xingguo Subprefecture), comp. by Tang Ning et al. (1554), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(497), original in National Library of China.
39. Postface to *Licheng xian zhi* (History of Licheng County), comp. by Ye Chengzong (1640), p. 2. Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 6493, original in the Library of Congress.
40. Preface to *Ninghai zhou zhi* (History of Ninghai Subprefecture), comp. by Li Guangxian et al. (1548), pp. 5a–b (rpt. pp. 663–664).
41. Table of contents to *Tengxian zhi* (History of Teng County), comp. by Yang Chengfu et al. (1585), p. 3b (rpt. p. 4).
42. Prefatory matter to *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County), comp. by Niu Ruolin et al. (1642), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), rpt. p. 164.
43. For example, blocks for the *Gu Teng jun zhi* (History of Old Teng Commandery) (1374) were cut in the county Confucian school. See Wang Duanlai et al., eds., *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (Histories Reconstructed from the Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), p. 3032. For additional evidence of block cutting in schools and yamen, see my “The Geography of Ming Dynasty Gazetteer Production and

- Circulation,” paper presented at the Workshop on the Early Development of Print Culture, Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, April 30, 2005.
44. For editing during mourning leave, see postface to *Jingxian zhi* (History of Jing County), comp. by Wang Tinggan et al. (1552), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1a (rpt. p. 415).
Zheng Qingyun edited the history of Yanping prefecture while on sick leave. See preface to *Yanping fu zhi* (1525), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
 - For editing while in retirement, see administrative petition in *Yongping fu zhi* (History of Yongping Prefecture) (1501), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1b (rpt. p. 24).
 45. Preface to *Neihuang xian zhi* (History of Neihuang County), comp. by Dong Xian (1527), pp. 4b–5b.
 46. Preface to *Wuxi xian zhi* (History of Wuxi County), comp. by Zhou Bangjie, Qin Liang, et al. (1574), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(349), original in the National Library of China, p. 2.
 47. Preface to *Tengxian zhi* (History of Teng County), comp. by Yang Chengfu et al. (1585), p. 1a (rpt. p. 1).
 48. *Ibid.*, *juan* 1, p. 5 (rpt. p. 5).
 49. Su You, preface to *Bozhou zhi* (History of Bozhou [Subprefecture]) (1564). Another example is He Tang (1474–1543) who was paid for his preface to the *Xiuwu xian zhi* (History of Xiuwu County). He Tang, “Xiuwu xian zhi xu,” in his *Bozhai ji* (Collected Works of the Bo Studio), rpt. in *Siku quanshu zhenben liuji* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1976), vols. 277–278, *juan* 5.
 50. Feng Bo, postface to *Yanshi xian zhi* (History of Yanshi County), comp. by Wei Jin et al. (1504), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
 51. Prefatory matter to *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al. (1552), pp. 1a–4b, and *juan* 4, p. 9b.
 52. Zhang Yuanshu, ed. *Shanyin Baiyutan Zhang shi zupu* (Lineage genealogy of the Zhangs of Baiyutan, Shanyin) (1628), Library of Congress microfilm Orien China 496, biography of Zhang Yuanyi, unpaginated (see biographies of the thirteenth generation).
 53. Front matter to *Shaoxing fu zhi*, comp. by Xiao Lianggan, Zhang Yuanbian et al. (1587), rpt. p. 17.
 54. Preface and postface to *Puzhou zhi* (History of Puzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Deng Fu (1527), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1b (rpt. p. 276) and p. 1b (rpt. p. 732), respectively. Another example is Wang Tinggan, who was “invited with ritual money (*libi*)” to compile the history of Jing county. See postface to *Jingxian zhi* (History of Jing County), comp. by Wang Tinggan et al. (1552), p. 1a (rpt. p. 415).
 55. See Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, chapter 3. See also my “Early Printing in China Viewed From the Perspective of Local Histories,” forthcoming, cited first in note 5 above.
 56. *Hengzhou fu zhi* (1537), *juan* 9, pp. 13a–b. First cited in note 12 above. For more on Liu

- Fu's publication of the *Hengzhou fu zhi*, see my "Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Histories in Ming China" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2004), chapter 3.
57. Postface to *Huairan xian zhi* (History of Huairan County), comp. by Dang Zhao et al. (1600), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(482), original in the National Library of China.
 58. Prefaces to *Lianzhou fu zhi* (History of Lianzhou Prefecture), comp. by Zhang guojing et al. (1637), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo Han jian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1992), p. 2b (rpt. p.1). Lianzhou was in Guangdong in the Ming but is now in Guangxi.
 59. Mt. Gaoliang is about thirty-five kilometers north of the modern city of Maoming.
 60. Postface to *Longqing zhi* (History of Longqing), comp. by Su Qian et al. (1549), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 4a and *juan* 10, pp. 77a–b. Longqing subprefecture was renamed Yanqing subprefecture upon the Longqing emperor's ascent to the throne in 1567.
 61. On summoning craftsmen, see preface to *Wuding zhou zhi*, comp. by Sang Dongyang et al. (1588), rpt. in *Meiguó Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan cang Zhongwen shanben huikan* (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003).
 On recruiting craftsmen, see "Xiuzhi shiyou" (Record of Compiling the History), *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jin et al. (1544), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 2a. See also Ke Yiquan, preface to *Qingyun xian zhi* (History of Qingyun County), comp. by Ke Yiquan, Yang Zhouhe, et al., (1585), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(333), original in the National Library of China.
 62. Preface to *Qingyun xian zhi*, comp. by Ke Yiquan, Yang Zhouhe, et al. (1585).
 63. For additional examples of both local and non-local craftsmen, see my "Early Printing in China Viewed From the Perspective of Local Histories," forthcoming, cited first in note 5 above.
 64. See preface to *Yongzhou fu zhi* (History of Yongzhou Prefecture), comp. by Hu Lian et al. (1383).
 65. Lü Nan, comp., *Yangwu xian zhi* (1527), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 3, p. 16a (rpt. p. 923). Another example of the use of a local calligrapher is the 1526 *Pujiang zhi*, which was written out by townsman Zhang Yunzhong. See postface to *Pujiang zhi* (History of Pujiang [Zhejiang]), comp. by Mao Fengshao (1526), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 2b.
 66. Postface to *Chongyi xian zhi* (History of Chongyi County), comp. by Wang Tinghui, Zheng Qiao, et al. (1552, Jiajing 31), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(422), original in the National Library of China.
 67. Cheng Kai et al., comps., *Pinghu xian zhi* (History of Pinghu County) (1627), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 42.
 68. Yu Wenlong, Xie Zhao, et al., comps., *Ganzhou fu zhi* (History of Ganzhou Prefecture) (1621; 1660), rpt. in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), p. 1b.
 69. Preface to *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Ma Tingzhen et

- al. (1494), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China, pp. 3–4. See Zhang Tingyu et al. eds., *Ming shi* (Official History of the Ming) (1736; Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 16, p. 883, and *juan* 163, p. 4428–4429, respectively, for references to the term “jingshi” and for a biography for Lin Han.
70. Liu Ren, postface to *Yanling zhi* (History of Yanling), comp. by Liu Ren et al. (1537), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 8, pp. 95a–97a.
71. Old preface to *Tingzhou fu zhi* (History of Tingzhou Prefecture), comp. by Wu Wendu et al. (1527), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
72. Gao Tingyu et al., comps., *Pu’an zhou zhi* (History of Pu’an Subprefecture) (1549), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 32a.
73. “Yinshuju” (Book Printing Office), Lin Younian et al., comps., *Anxi xian zhi* (History of Anxi County) (1552), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 8, p. 73a.
74. See, respectively, prefaces to *Yongzhou fu zhi* (History of Yongzhou Prefecture), comp. by Hu Lian et al. (1383), p. 6; and Zhang Ben postface to *Yingchuan jun zhi* (History of Yingchuan Commandery), comp. by Chen Lian, Tian Chen, et al., (1413; 1429), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(491), original in the National Library of China, p. 1b. Yingchuan was the Han-dynasty name for Xuzhou in Kaifeng prefecture, Henan.
75. Original preface to *Jinxi xian zhi* (History of Jinxi County) (1751), rpt. in *Gugong zhenben congkan* (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), p. 2 (rpt. p. 6).
76. For example, Wu Lian, the copyist for the history of Ruizhou county, Jiangxi, was a clerk in the prefectural yamen and a local person. See Xiong Xiang et al., comps., *Ruizhou xian zhi* (1518), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 14, p. 28b (rpt. p. 1324).
- The copyists for the history of He subprefecture, Sichuan, were Wang Dewen of the Personnel Office and Gan Shouxian of the Revenue Office. See Liu Fangsheng et al., comps., *Chongxiu Hezhou zhi* (History of Hezhou [Subprefecture], Recompiled) (1579), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), rpt. p. 3
77. Li Xun et al., comps., *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture) (1555), rpt. in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1985), pp. 270, 486, 724, 1038, 1222, 1369, 1494, and 1678. Scribal credit comes at the end of a *juan* in the form, “written by farmer/clerk X.” The farmers, Geng Ziming, Sheng Tai, Zhu Gao, Zhou Tang, and Xiang Bian, had different surnames and thus do not appear to have been part of a family block-cutting business.
78. Zhao Yingshi et al. comps., *Yancheng xian zhi* (History of Yancheng County) (1554), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 12, p. 34b (rpt. p. 938).
79. Postface to *Huixian zhi* (History of Hui County), comp. by Zhang Tianzhen (1528), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan xukan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), p. 3a (rpt. p. 273).

80. Liu Ren, postface to *Yanling zhi* (History of Yanling), comp. by Liu Ren et al. (1537), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 8, pp. 95a–97a.
81. See Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, pp. 33–38. See also, Martin Heijdra, “Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type Versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia,” in Inobe Akira, ed., *Higashi Ajia Shuppan Bunka Kenkyū: Niwatazumi* (Studies of Publishing Culture in East Asia: Puddles of Inspiration) (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2004), p. 230. Heijdra’s figures come from an anonymous article, “Estimate of the Proportionate Expense of Xylography, Lithography, and Typography, as Applied to Chinese Printing; View of the Advantages and Disadvantages of Each,” written under the pseudonym “Typographus Sinensis,” in *Chinese Repository* 3.6 (1834), pp. 246–252.
82. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 37.
83. See Ye Dehui, *Shulin qinghua* (Clear Talk on the Forest of Books) (ca. 1920; Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961), p. 186. Ye’s account differs from that in Du Xinfu’s *Mingdai banke zongmu*, which records 83 blocks and 141 folio pages. Using this figure would give a per-page figure of 0.17 taels. Du records that each half-page consisted of thirteen columns with space for twenty-three characters, or a total of 598 characters per folio page. *Mingdai banke zongmu*, *juan* 7, p. 9a.
84. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 37, citing Lin Zhaoen, *Linzi quanji* (Complete Works of Master Lin) (1631), rpt. in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, vol. 63 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), pp. 1240–1241.
85. For more on what happened to local histories after they were printed, see my “The Distribution and Circulation of Local Histories in the Ming” (paper presented at “Colloque international: Imprimer Sans Profit? Le livre non commercial dans la Chine impériale,” Paris, Institut national d’histoire de l’art, 12 June 2009).
86. Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi (cha tu zhencang zengding ban)* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji chubanshe, 2006), p. 550. Wang Zhen (fl. 1290–1333) discusses the *Jingde xian zhi* in his *Nongshu* (ca. 1312), rpt. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), p. 538.
87. See Timothy Brook. “Native Identity Under Alien Rule: Local Gazetteers of the Yuan Dynasty,” in ed. Richard Brutnell, *Pragmatic Literacy East and West, 1200–1330* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 241. See also Peter Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001), pp. 37–76.
88. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) (1530), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1962), *juan* 9, p. 72a.
89. Postface to *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan*, *xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
90. Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit*, 2002, p. 328, n. 9. However, not all local histories were printed on bamboo paper, for example, the 1525 *Chaling zhou zhi* (History of Chaling Subprefecture [Huguang]) was printed on white mulberry paper. See Long Sheng, handwritten note appended to postface to *Chaling zhou zhi* (1525), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
91. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 35.

92. Ye Mengzhu, *Yueshi bian* (Compilation on the World of Reading) (early Qing), rpt. in *Qingdai shiliao biji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2007), *juan* 7 (rpt. p. 182).
93. Li Dongyang, *Da Ming huidian* (1589; Taipei: Dongnan shubaoshe, 1964), *juan* 195, pp. 4–5 (rpt. p. 2645). One *chi* was about thirty-four cm. See *Hanyu da cidian* (Great Chinese Dictionary) (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1994), index volume, s. v. “chi,” p. 6.
94. “Fu chucao libi shuchao” (Appendix to Memorial on the Advantages and Disadvantages Related to Paper), in Wang Zongmu, *Jiangxi sheng da zhi* (Great History of Jiangxi Province) (1597), rpt. in Nanjing tushuguan guben shanben congkan: Mingdai guben fangzhi zhuanji (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003), *juan* 8, pp. 13–22.
95. Cynthia J. Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in Qing and Republican Periods*, pp. 121–122.
96. Song Yingxian, E-tu Zen Sun, and Shiou-chuan Sun, trans., *Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century: T’ien-kung k’ai-wu*, by Song Yingxing (b. 1587) (1966; Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1997), pp. 226, 228, and 229.
97. For *lianqi zhi*, see Tu Long (1542–1605), attr., *Kaopan yushi* (Extraneous Matters of Realized Enjoyment), which describes *lianqi zhi* as thick, large, and high-quality. See *Kaopan yushi*, rpt. in Baibu congshu jicheng, series 32, case 6, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968), *juan* 2, p. 10. On the 1589 publication of *Da Ming huidian*, see Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji* (1593; Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 145.
98. Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji*, p. 150.
99. Martin Hejdra, “Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type Versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia,” p. 230. First cited in note 81 above.
100. Preface to *Yong’an xian zhi* (History of Yong’an County), comp. by Su Minwang et al. (1594), reprinted in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 3b (rpt. p. 6).
101. Prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comp. by Feng Shiren et al. (1640; Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003), rpt. p. 21.
102. “Wenyi” (Official Communications), in *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture), comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al. (1588), reprinted in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 2 (rpt. p. 20).
103. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) (1530), *juan* 9, p. 70.
104. Sheng Ji et al., comps., *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 964.
105. Postface to *Yingzhou zhi*, comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
106. Prefaces to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542) p. 8; and postface to idem.
107. Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji* (Miscellaneous Records of the Wan[ping] Yamen), pp. 138–142.
108. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 34.
109. Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (History of Chinese Printing) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), p. 534.
110. *Xincheng xian zhi*, comp. by Huang Wenyue (1516), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 11, p. 18a (rpt. p. 831).
111. Chia, *Printing for Profit*, p. 31 and n. 37. Chia’s figure comes from modern woodblock

- printers. Tsien Tsuen-Hsiun states that 15,000 imprints can be made before repairs are necessary, but he does not specify the type of wood. See Tsien Tsuen-Hsiun, *Paper and Printing*, vol. 5, pt. 1 of *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. by Joseph Needham (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 201.
112. Wu Zhen, Hong Xuan, et al., comps., *Wuwei zhou zhi* (History of Wuwei Subprefecture) (1520), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China.
 113. Postface to *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji), comp. by Shi Su, Zhao Hao, et al. (1510), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 2715, imprint held in National Central Library, Taipei.
 114. Yang Shengxin, “Lidai kegong gongjia chu tan” (An Initial Discussion of Block Cutters’ Wages in Historical Times), in *Lidai keshu gaikuang* (An Overview of Book Publishing in Historical Times) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1991), pp. 553–567.
 115. Postface to *Ninghai zhou zhi*, comp. by Li Guangxian et al. (1548), p. 3.
 116. “Xiu zhi shi you” (Record of Compiling the History), *Yongfeng xian zhi*, p. 2. First cited in note 61 above.
 117. Song Ji began serving as an instructor in the Xuzhou prefectural school in 1433. For the quotation, see third preface to *Pengcheng zhi* (History of Pengcheng), comp. by Song Ji et al. (1438), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(394), original in the National Library of China. Also see old preface to *Linying xian zhi* (History of Linying County), comp. by Du Nan et al. (1529), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(386), original in the National Library of China, p. 1.
 118. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (1530), *juan* 9, p. 72a.
 119. Postface to *Yingzhou zhi*, comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
 120. Benjamin Elman, “Geographical Research in the Ming-Ch’ing Period.” *Monumenta Serica*, 35 (1981–1983), pp. 1–18.
 121. Postface to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al. (1556), p. 1b.
 122. *Sanyang tuzhi* (History and Maps of Sanyang), reconstructed in Wang Duanlai et al., eds., *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (Histories Reconstructed from the Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), pp. 2699–2755.
 123. Chen Hongmo et al, comps., *Changde fu zhi* (History of Changde Prefecture) (1538), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1964), *juan* 20, pp. 18–19. The administrative order regarding the local history’s financing is dated 1534. The history was first printed in 1538. The Tianyige edition contains a 1547 postface. In the case of the 1604 *Huairou xian zhi* (History of Huairou County [Beizhili]), the Beizhili grand coordinator allowed a magistrate to use “unencumbered silver” (*wu’ ai yin*) to publish the local history. See compilation order for *Huairou xian zhi* (History of Huairou County), comp. by Zhou Zhongshi et al. (1604), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(325), original in National Library of China, p. 3.
 124. Prefatory matter to *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al. (1552), pp. 3b–4a.
 125. Surnames section (*xingshi*) in *Fu’an xian zhi* (History of Fu’an County), comp. by Lu Yizai et al. (1597), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), pp. 7–9 (rpt. pp. 110–111).
 126. Martin Heijdra, “Socio-economic Development of Ming Rural China (1368–1644):

- An Interpretation,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1994), pp. 175–177, and his “Socio-economic Development of Ming Rural China,” in *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part 2, ed. by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, vol. 8 of the *Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 458–496. See also Ray Huang, *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 86–87.
127. Zeng Rutan, comp., *Zhangping xian zhi* (History of Zhangping County) (1549), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 5, pp. 7a–b.
128. Leif Littrup, *Subbureaucratic Government in China in Ming Times: A Study of Shandong Province in the Sixteenth Century* (Oslo: Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, 1981), pp. 55–56.
129. See the following four sources: “Tongling xian zhi gongyi” (Administrative Documents on the [Compilation] of the History of Tongling County) with respect to *Tongling xian zhi*, comp. by Li Shiyuan et al. (ca. 1563), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 1b; postface to *Yingzhou zhi*, comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110); postface to *Yanshi xian zhi* (History of Yanshi County), comp. by Wei Jin et al. (1504); and *Tianchang xian zhi* (History of Tianchang County), comp. by Wang Xin et al. (1550), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 7, p. 7.
130. Zheng Dongbi, “Xin zhi xu xiaoyin” (Short Introduction to the New Supplement to the History), *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County) (1579; 1618), p. 2.
131. “Kezhi gongyi” (Administrative Documents on the Cutting of the [Blocks for] the History), *Fengrun xian zhi* (1570), p. 519. For *paisheng yin*, see Hoshi Ayao, ed., *Chūgoku shakai keizaishi goi* (Vocabulary of Chinese Social and Economic History) (Tokyo: Kindai Chūgokū kenkyū sentā, 1966), 1, p. 335, citing Wada Sei, ed., *Minshi shokkashi yakuchū* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1957), p. 382.
132. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (1530), *juan* 9, p. 70a–b.
133. “Xiuzhi yiwen” (Administrative Documents Regarding Compilation of the Local History), *Chaoyang xian zhi*, comp. by Lin Dachun (1572), p. 1.
134. The 1563 *Tongling xian zhi* (History of Tongling County) also was financed with funds from magistrate’s cases. See “Tongling xian zhi gongyi” (Administrative Documents on the [Compilation] of the History of Tongling County), *Tongling xian zhi*, comp. by Li Shuyuan et al. (ca. 1563), p. 1.
135. Preface to *Yong’an xian zhi*, comp. by Su Minwang et al. (1594), p. 3b (rpt. p. 6). One *min* was equal to one tael of silver. *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v. “*min*.”
136. Prefatory matter to *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jing et al. (1544), pp. 1a–4b. First cited in note 61 above. Another local history funded with fines was the 1639 history of Dangshan, Nanzhili. Liu Fang, comp., *Dangshan xian zhi* (History of Dangshan County) (1639), rpt. in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe), p. 385.
137. Lu Yizai, petition in *Fu’an xian zhi* (Fu’an xian zhi), comp. by Lu Yizai et al. (1597), pp. 7a–b.
138. Liu Riyi et al., comps., *Gutian xian zhi* (History of Gutian County) (1600), Harvard–Yenching microfilm FC4876(422), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 8, p. 6b.
139. *Ibid.*, *juan* 14, p. 2.

140. Prefatory matter to *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jing et al. (1544), pp. 1a–4b. First cited in note 61 above.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 4a–b.
142. Miao Yonghe, *Mingdai chuban shi gao* (Draft History of Ming Dynasty Publishing) (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2000), p. 51, citing Ye Dehui, “Ming nanjian fakuan xiuban zhi miu” (Mistakes made When Using Fines [Levied] in the Southern Imperial Academy in the Ming To Repair Problems with [Printing] Blocks) in his *Shulin qinghua*, rpt. Changhsa: Yuelu chubanshe, 1999), *juan* 7, p. 51.
143. For financing through salaries of local administrators and school instructors, see the following five sources:
- Xue Liang, preface to 1469 *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County [Henan]), rpt. in *Gushi xian zhi* (1542; 1552), comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al., *juan* 10, p. 39. (Note that the numbers are out of sequence and p. 39 follows p. 43);
 - preface to *Jingxian zhi* (History of Jing County), comp. by Wang Tinggan et al. (1552), p. 4b (rpt. p. 8);
 - preface to *Gongxian zhi* (History of Gong County), comp. by Kang Shaodi et al. (1555), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 3b (rpt. p. 950);
 - postface to *Xingxian zhi*, comp. by Wei Chun et al. (1577), Harvard-Yenching microfilm, FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China; and
 - *fanli* (principles of compilation) to *Wucheng xian zhi*, comp. by Liu Yichun, Xu Shougang, et al. (1637), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), p. 5b (rpt. p. 225).
144. The following eight sources provide examples of local histories for which officials sought donations:
- *Yingchuan jun zhi* (History of Yingchuan Commandery) of 1413—see postface to *Yingchuan jun zhi*, comp. by Chen Lian, Tian Chen, et al. (1413);
 - *Jingzhou fu zhi* (History of Jingzhou Prefecture) of 1456—see 1456 preface to *Jingzhou fu zhi*, comp. by Sun Cun, Wang Chongrang, et al. (1532), Harvard-Yenching microfilm, FC 4876(405), original in the National Library of China, p. 3;
 - *Xuanping xian zhi* of 1484—see *Xuanping xian zhi* (History of Xuanping County), comp. by Xiao Yan, Zheng Xi, et al. (1546), Harvard-Yenching microfilm, FC4876(423), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 4, p. 34;
 - *Suzhou zhi* (History of Suzhou [Subprefecture]) of 1499—see postface to *Suzhou zhi*, comp. by Zeng Xian et al. (1499), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990);
 - *Chaling zhou zhi* (History of Chaling Subprefecture) of 1525—see Zhang Zhi, Xia Liangsheng, et al., comps., *Chaling zhou zhi* (1525), *juan xia*, p. 81 (rpt. p. 1085);
 - *Yongfeng xian zhi* (History of Yongfeng County) of 1544—see prefatory matter to *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jing et al. (1544), p. 4;
 - *Pingliang fu zhi* (History of Pingliang Prefecture) of 1560—see Zhao Shichun, comp., *Pingliang fu zhi* (1560), rpt. in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, series 2 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1996), *juan*. 13, p. 20 (rpt. p. 121); and

- *Yingtian fu zhi* (History of Yingtian Prefecture) of 1577—see preface to *Yingtian fu zhi* (History of Yingtian Prefecture), comp. by Wang Yihua et al. (1577), rpt. in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, series 2 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1996), p. 5.
145. Ray Huang, “The Ming Fiscal Administration,” in *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, part 2, ed. by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, vol. 8 of the *Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 152, citing *Da Ming huidian* (*Collected Statutes of the Great Ming*), *juan* 39, pp. 1a–7b.
146. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (1530), *juan* 9, p. 69a.
147. Wang Duanlai et al., eds., *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (Histories Reconstructed from the Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), pp. 2971–2972.
148. Postface to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al. (1556), p. 1b.
149. See preface to *Xiong sheng* (Xiong Chronicle[, Hebei]), comp. by Wang Qi (1533), rpt. in *tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhixuankan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian, 1981).
150. “Shangyuan xian zhi jiu houxu” (Old Postface to the History of County), *Shangyuan xian zhi* (History of Shangyuan County), comp. by Cheng Sanxing, Li Deng, et al. (1593), *juan* 12, pp. 63–64, Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(322), original in the National Library of China.
151. Lü Jie, preface to Lü Jie et al., comps., *Fuzhou fu zhi* (History of Fuzhou Prefecture) (1503; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 2a (rpt. p. 3).
152. See old prefaces to *Shangyu xian zhi jiaoxu* (History of Shangyu County, Collated and Supplemented), comp. by Chu Jiazao and Xu Zhijing (1889), rpt. in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), pp. 3810–3811; and *Shangyu xian zhi* (History of Shangyu County), comp. by Zhu Shifu, Tang Xichun, et al. (1891), rpt. in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), *juan* 8, p. 23 (rpt. pp. 186–187).
153. Old prefaces to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (1556), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al., pp. 1b–2a.
154. The Wanli era history of Xincai county was published by the compiler’s three sons. Liu Daen, comp., *Xincai xian zhi*, Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(483), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 1, p. 1.
155. Yu Jishan’s addendum to his 1597 preface to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Bao Ying (1659), rpt. in *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1992), p. 7 (rpt. p. 15).
156. Preface of 1494 to *Wuxi xian zhi*, rpt. in *Wuxi xian zhi* (1574), p. 5a. First cited in note 46 above.
157. For information on Zou Xian, see Cheng Minzheng (1466 *jinslu*), “Zou Youzhi zhuan” (Biography of Zou Youzhi), in *Huangdun wenji*, *Siku quanshu*, vol. 1253 (Shanghai guji chubanshe), *juan* 50, pp. 33–35 (rpt. pp. 207–208). See also Li Rihua (1565–1635), *Liuyan-zhai sanbi* in *Liuyan-zhai biji*, rpt. in *Siku quanshu zhenben qiji* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), *juan* 4, p. 31. Further, see Wang Shu (1416–1508), *Wang Duanyi zouyi*, “Lun Zhongshike rao min suode wujian zouzhuang” (Discussion of Memorial Regarding Items Obtained by the Palace Eunuch When They Harrassed the Commoners), rpt. in *Sikuquanshu zhenben wuji* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), *juan* 5, p. 44b.
158. Li Dong and Yang Wan, comps., *Dantu xian zhi* (History of Dantu County) (1515), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(378), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 4, p. 19b.

159. The copy of the *Gushi xian zhi* in the Tianyige library was printed sometime after 1552 when fifty new blocks were cut to replace missing blocks. *Mulu* (table of contents) to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542), p. 2b.
160. “Runing fu Guangzhou Gushi xian wei chaqu zhishu wenji shi” (In the Matter of Examining and Obtaining Local Histories and Documents of Runing Prefecture, Guangzhou [Subprefecture], and Gushi County), prefatory matter to *Gushi xian zhi* (1542), p. 8.
161. Postface to *Gushi xian zhi* (1542), pp. 1–2.
162. “Runing fu Guangzhou Gushi xian wei chaqu zhishu wenji shi” (In the Matter of Examining and Obtaining Local Histories and Documents of Runing Prefecture, Guangzhou [Subprefecture], and Gushi County), prefatory matter to *Gushi xian zhi*, (1542), p. 8.
163. Cai Jin, postface to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542).
164. Preface to *Jiangle xian zhi* (History of Jiangle County) (1505), rpt. in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 4a (rpt. p. 9). While the history contains no other information on the two commoners, we can note that Yu Sheng had the same surname of two local *juren*, Yu Lian and Yu Tai.
165. For blocks with this inscription, see *Gushi xian zhi* (1542; 1552), table of contents, p. 2b and *juan* 5, p. 5a. In some cases, the recut blocks contain new entries, e.g., the lists of county officials were updated.
166. Preface to *Ganzhou fu zhi*, comp. by Yu Wenlong, Xie Zhao, et al. (1621; 1660).
167. For publication of the 1488 *Wujiang zhi* (History of Wujiang County), the magistrate, three vice-magistrates, the assistant magistrate, and the clerk, “each donated from his salary as an encouragement, and local supporters all were happy to help out” (*ge juanfeng wei chang er yiren haoshizhe jie lezhu ye*). See preface to *Wujiang zhi* (History of Wujiang County), comp. by Mo Dan (1488), rpt. in *Zhongguo shixue congshu* (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1987), rpt. p. 3.
- For another example, see prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comp. by Feng Shiren et al. (1640). First cited in note 101 above.
168. Preface to *Xinchang xian zhi*, comp. by Mo Dan (1477), photocopy, in the Xinchang County Library, of the manuscript exemplar held in the library of the Nanjing Zhongguo kexueyuan dili yanjiusuo.
- Based on archaeological excavations, one *shi* in the Ming dynasty equaled approximately 70.8 kilograms. “Zhongguo lidai heng zhi yanbian cesuan jianbiao,” appendix to *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v. “*shi*,” p. 19.
169. See my “Between Lineage and State: Extended Family and History Compilation in Xinchang County,” *Ming Studies* 45–46 (Spring & Fall, 2001), pp. 69–113, esp. pp. 78–79.
170. Shen Jiayin et al., comps., *Yongnian xian zhi* (History of Yongnian County) (1641), reprinted in *Mingdai guben fangzhi xuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2000), pp. 27–32; Zhan Lai and Wang Mingdao, comps., *Changshan xian zhi* (History of Changshan County) (1585, rpt. 1660), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(404), *juan* 15, p. 40.
171. Prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comps. by Feng Shiren et al. (1640), rpt. p. 21. First cited in note 101 above

GLOSSARY.

- Anqing fu zhi* 安慶府志
Anji zhou zhi 安吉州志
Anxi xian zhi 安溪縣志
Badong xian zhi 巴東縣志
 bai da Kaihua zhi 白大開化紙
 bai dazhong jia zhi 白大中夾紙
 Bai Siqi 白思齊
 bangzhi 榜紙
 Bao Daochuan 鮑道傳
Baoding fuzhi 保定府志
 Bao Ying 包饒
 Beizhili 北直隸
 bian min yinxing 便民印行
 bingbeidao 兵備道
Bozhai ji 栢齋集
 Bozhou 亳州
Bozhou zhi 亳州志
 buyi 布衣
 Cai Jin 蔡縉
Cangwu jun zhi 蒼梧郡志
 Canju jiuzhi bin yinyong zhushu
 參據舊志並引用諸書
 Cao Ji 曹璣
 Cao Xuequan 曹學佺
 Chaling 茶陵
Chaling zhou zhi 茶陵州志
Changde fu zhi 常德府志
Changguo zhou tu zhi 昌國州圖志
Changshan xian zhi 常山縣志
 Changshu 常熟
Chaoyang xian zhi 朝陽縣志
 Chaozhou 潮州
 Chen Ce 陳策
Chengdu fu zhi 成都府志
 Cheng Kai 程楷
 Cheng Minzheng 程敏政
 Cheng Sanxing 程三省
 Chen Hongmo 陳洪謨
 Chen Jifang 陳繼芳
 Chen Lian 陳璉
 Chen Rang 陳讓
Chenzhou zhi 郴州志
 chi 尺
Chongxiu Hezhou zhi 重修合州志
 Chongxiu Wuwei zhou zhi xu
 重修無爲州志序
 Chongyi 崇義
Chongyi xian zhi 崇義縣志
 Chu 褚
 Chu Jiaza 儲家藻
Chuxue ji 初學記
Cili xian zhi 慈利縣志
 Cong Pan 叢磐
 da 大
 da bai bangzhi 大白榜紙
Da Ming huidian 大明會典
Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi
 大明一統名勝志
Da Ming yitongzhi 大明一統志
 Dang Zhao 党炤
 Dangshan 碭山
Dangshan xian zhi 碭山縣志
Dantu xian zhi 丹徒縣志
 dao 刀

- dazi gaoshi 大字告示
 Deng Fu 鄧馱
 Deng Lian 鄧璉
 Dengzhou 登州
 Dong Bangzheng 董邦政
 Dong'e 東阿
 Dong Xian 董弦
 Dongxiang xian zhi 東鄉縣志
 Du Nan 杜柵
 Du Xinfu 杜信孚
 er qian ling 貳錢零
 fangce zang 方冊藏
 fanke 繙刻
 Fan Lai 范涑
 fanli 凡例
 Fan Wenli 范文禮
 Fan yingyong shumu 凡引用書目
 fen 分
 Feng Bo 馮伯
 Fengcheng 奉城
 Feng Fujing 馮福京
 Fengrun 豐潤
 Fengrun xian zhi 豐潤縣志
 Feng Shiren 馮士仁
 Fengyang 鳳陽
 Fu'an xian zhi 福安縣志
 Fu chucuo libi shuchao 附楮槽利弊疏鈔
 Fuzhou 撫州
 Fuzhou fu zhi 撫州府志
 Gan 贛
 Gan Shouxian 甘手憲
 Gan Ze 甘澤
 Ganzhou 贛州
 Ganzhou fu zhi 贛州府志
 Gaochun xian zhi 高淳縣志
 Gaoliang 高涼
 Gao Tingyu 高廷愉
 Ge Chen 葛臣
 ge juanfang wei chang er yiren haoshizhe jie
 lezhu ye 各捐俸為倡而邑人好事者
 皆樂助也
 Geng Ziming 耿子明
 gong 工
 gongjia 工價
 gong nei shi 公內事
 gongren riyong yin shi 工人日用飲食
 Gong Xian 龔暹
 Gongxian zhi 鞏縣志
 Gong Xiuling 貢修齡
 gongyin 工銀
 Guangchang 廣昌
 Guangchang xian zhi 廣昌縣志
 Guangdong 廣東
 Guanghua xian zhi 光化縣志
 Guangxin 廣信
 Guangxin fu zhi 廣信府志
 Guan Jing 管景
 Guanping fu zhi 廣平府志
 Guide 歸德
 Guiji xu zhi 會稽續志
 Guiji zhi 會稽志
 Guo Nan 郭南
 Gu Qing 顧清
 Gushi 固始
 Gushi xian zhi 固始縣志
 Gu Teng jun zhi 古藤郡志

- Gutian xian zhi* 古田縣志
 Gu Yan 賈言
Haizhou zhi 海州志
Hangzhou fu zhi 杭州府志
Hanyang fu zhi 漢陽府志
 He 合
 Hengyang 衡陽
Hengzhou fu zhi 衡州府志
 He Shilin 何士麟
 He Tang 何塘
Hezhou zhi 合州志
 Hong Xuan 洪暉
 Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xianzhi hou xu
 弘治二年朝陽縣志後序
 Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xianzhi xu
 弘治二年朝陽縣志序
 Huairen 懷仁
Huairan xian zhi 懷仁縣誌
Huairou xian zhi 懷柔縣志
Huangdun wenji 篁墩文集
 Huang Guokui 黃國奎
 Huangshan 黃山
 Huangshan shuyuan 黃山書院
 Huang Wenyue 黃文鸞
Huangzhou fu zhi 黃州府志
Huating xian zhi 華亭縣直
 huazao 華棗
 Hui 輝
Hui'an xian zhi 惠安縣志
Hui da ji 惠大記
Huixian zhi 輝縣志
Huizhou fu zhi 惠州府志
 Hu Kuang 胡匡
 Hu Lian 胡璉
 Hu Rukuang 胡汝曠
 Jiading 嘉定
Jianchang fu zhi 建昌府志
Jiangle xian zhi 將樂縣志
Jiangxi sheng da zhi 江西省大志
 Jiangyin 江陰
Jiangyin xian zhi 江陰縣志
Jianning fu zhi 建寧府志
Jianping xian zhi 建平縣志
Jianyang xian zhi 建陽縣志
 Jiao Xicheng 焦希程
 jiemin 街民
 Jin 晉
Jingde xian zhi 旌德縣志
Jingjiang wangfu 靖江王府
jingshi 京師
Jingxian zhi 涇縣志
Jingzhou fu zhi 荊州府志
 jinshi 進士
Jinxi xian zhi 金谿縣志
Jinyu ji 金輿集
 juan 卷
 juan xia 卷下
 junping yin 均平銀
 juren 舉人
 Kaifeng 開封
 Kaihua 開化
 Kang Shaodi 康紹第
Kaopan yushi 考槃餘事
 Ke Yiquan 柯一泉
 Kezhi gong yi 刻志公移
 kezi gongshi 刻字工食

- Kou Tianxu 寇天敘
Kuizhou fu zhi 夔州府志
Laiwu xian zhi 萊蕪縣志
 li 里
lianjiang 良匠
 Lian Kuang 連鑛
 lianqizhi 連七紙
 Lianzhou 廉州
Lianzhou fu zhi 廉州府志
 Liao Benxiang 廖本祥
 Liao Can 廖燦
 Li Bao 李寶
 libi 禮幣
 Licheng 歷城
Licheng xian zhi 歷城縣志
 Li Deng 李登
 Li Dong 李東
 Li Dongyang 李東陽
 Li Guangxian 李光先
 lijia 里甲
 limin 里民
 Lin Dachun 林大春
 Lin Han 林瀚
Linjiang fu zhi 臨江府志
Linqu xian zhi 臨朐縣志
Linying xian zhi 臨潁縣志
 Lin Younian 林有年
 Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩
Linzi quanji 林子全集
 Li Pengchong 李鵬翀
 Li Rihua 李日華
 Li Shiyuan 李士元
 Liu Daen 劉大恩
 Liu Fang 劉芳
 Liu Fangsheng 劉芳聲
 Liu Fu 劉黻
 Liu Ren 劉訥
 Liu Riyi 劉日暘
 Liu Wenxing 劉文興
Liuyanzhai biji 六研齋筆記
 Liu Yichun 劉沂春
 Liu Yu 劉雨
 Liu Zhen 劉震
 Li Xianfang 李先芳
 Li Xun 李遜
 Li Yuchun 李遇春
 Li Zhao 李兆
 Longqing 隆慶
Longqing zhi 隆慶志
 Long Sheng 龍盛
 Luhe 六合
Luhe xian zhi 六合縣志
 Lun Zhongshike rao min suode wujian
 zouzhuang 論中使科擾民所得物件
 奏狀
 Luo Congyan 羅從彥
 Luyi 鹿邑
 Lu Yizai 陸以載
Luzhou fu zhi 廬州府志
 Lüeyang 略陽
Lüeyang xian zhi 略陽縣志
 Lü Jie 呂傑
 Lü Jingmeng 呂景蒙
 Lü Nan 呂柟
 Ma Duanlin 馬端臨
Mahu fu zhi 馬湖府志
 Mao Fengshao 毛鳳韶
 Maoming 茂名

- Ma Tingzhen 馬廷震
 Ma Tun 馬墩
 Mianyang zhi 沔陽志
 Miao Yonghe 繆咏禾
 min (commoner) 民
 min (string of cash) 緡
 Ming nanjian fakuan xiuban zhi miu
 明南監罰款修板之謬
 Mingshi 明史
 Mo Dan 莫旦
 mu gong 募工
 Mu ke Xinchang zhi shu 募刻新昌志疏
 mulu 目錄
 Nanchang 南昌
 Nanchang fu zhi 南昌府志
 Nan Daji 南大吉
 Nanjiong caotang 南垌草堂
 Nankang 南康
 Nanxiong fu zhi 南雄府志
 Nanzhili 南直隸
 Neihuang 內黃
 Neihuang xian zhi 內黃縣志
 Neixiang xian zhi 內鄉縣志
 Ning 寧
 Ninghai 寧海
 Ninghai zhou zhi 寧海州志
 Ningxia xin zhi 寧夏新志
 Ningzhou 寧州
 Ningzhou zhi 寧州志
 Niu Ruolin 牛若麟
 nongmin 農民
 Nongshu 農書
 paisheng yin 派剩銀
 Pan En 潘恩
 Pengcheng zhi 彭城志
 Peng Weiyang 彭危言
 Pinghu 平湖
 Pinghu xian zhi 平湖縣志
 Pingliang fu zhi 平涼府志
 Pu'an 普安
 Pu'an zhou zhi 普安州志
 Pujiang zhi 浦江志
 Puyang 濮陽
 Puzhou 濮州
 Puzhou zhi 濮州志
 qimin 耆民
 Qingyun 慶雲
 Qingyun xian zhi 慶雲縣志
 Qin Liang 秦梁
 Qinzhou zhi 欽州志
 Qi sheng 齊乘
 Qishui xian zhi 蘄水縣志
 Qizhou zhi 蘄州誌
 Quwo xian zhi 曲沃縣志
 ren fan zang shu deng yin 人犯贖等銀
 renwu 壬午
 ru 儒
 Ruichang xian zhi 瑞昌縣志
 Ruijin xian zhi 瑞金縣志
 Ruizhou 瑞洲
 Ruizhou xian zhi 瑞洲縣志
 Runing 汝寧
 Runing fu Guangzhou Gushi xian wei chaqu
 zhishu wenji shi 汝寧府光州固始縣
 為查取誌書文籍事
 Sang Dongyang 桑東陽
 Sanggan 桑乾
 Sanyang tuzhi 三陽圖志

- Sha 沙
 Shangqiu 商丘
 Shangyuan 上元
Shangyuan xian zhi 上元縣志
Shangyu xian zhi 上虞縣志
Shangyu xian zhi jiaoxu 上虞縣誌校續
 Shanyin 山陰
Shanyin Baiyutan Zhang shi zupu
 山陰白漁潭張氏宗譜
 Shao Bi 邵苾
Shaowu fu zhi 邵武府志
 Shaoxing 紹興
Shaoxing fu zhi 紹興府志
 Shen Bang 沈榜
 Shen Dingke 沈鼎科
 Sheng Ji 盛繼
 Sheng Tai 盛苔
 Shen Jiayin 申佳胤
 Shen Yong 神用
 shi 石
 Shi Bangzheng 石邦政
 Shi Huai 師槐
 Shi Su 施宿
Shixing xian zhi 始興縣志
Shouchang xian zhi 壽昌縣志
 shuajiang 刷匠
 shubi 書幣
Shulin qinghua 書林清話
 Sibao 四堡
 sichu 司儲
Sinan fu zhi 思南府志
 sisheng 私乘
 sizhi 私志
 Song Ji 宋驥
Songjiang fu zhi 松江府志
 Song Yingxing 宋應星
 Su Minwang 蘇民望
 Sun Cun 孫存
 Sun Xu 孫旭
 Sun Yuanqing 孫元卿
 Su Qian 蘇乾
 Su You 蘇祐
 Suzhou 蘇州
Suzhou zhi 宿州志
 Taipusi 太僕寺
 Tang Ning 唐寧
 Tang Shunzhi 唐順之
 Tang Xichun 唐熙春
 Tangzhang Yu gong 堂長余公
 Tan Zhenju 譚振舉
Tengxian zhi 滕縣志
 Tianchang 天長
Tianchang xian zhi 天長縣志
 Tian Chen 田琛
Tiangong kaiwu 天工開物
 Tian Guan 田瑄
 T'ien-kung k'ai-wu, *see Tiangong kaiwu*
Tingzhou fuzhi 汀州府志
Tongling xian zhi 銅陵縣志
 Tongling xian zhi gongyi 銅陵縣志公移
Tongzhou zhi 通州志
 tujing 圖經
 Tu Long 屠隆
 Wan 宛
 Wang Chaoxuan 王朝選
 Wang Chongrang 王寵瀼

- Wang Chongwen 王崇文
 Wang Dewen 王得文
 Wang Duanyi zouyi 王端毅奏議
 Wang Gao 王誥
 Wang Jingsheng 王景升
 Wang Luan 王鑾
 Wang Mingdao 王明道
 Wang Nayan 王納言
 Wang Qi 王齊
 Wang Shu 王恕
 Wang Tinggan 王廷幹
 Wang Tinghui 王廷輝
 Wang Tingshan 王廷珊
 Wang Xin 王心
 Wang Yihua 王一化
 Wang Yuanbin 王元賓
 Wang Zhen 王禎
 Wang Zhixie 王之燮
 Wang Zongmu 王宗沐
 Wanli xinxiu Nanchang fu zhi
 萬曆新修南昌府志
 Wanping 宛平
 Wanshu zaji 宛署雜記
 Wei Chun 維純
 Wei Jin 魏津
 Weinan xian zhi 渭南縣志
 Wendeng 文登
 Weng Jing 翁璟
 Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考
 Wenxuan 文選
 Wenyi 文移
 Wo Pan 沃頰
 wu'ai guanqian 無碍官錢
 wu'ai yin 無碍銀
 Wucheng xian zhi 烏程縣志
 Wuding zhou zhi 武定州志
 Wujiang zhi 吳江志
 Wu Lian 鄔謙
 Wumen 吳門
 Wuwei zhou zhi 無為州志
 Wu Wendu 吳文度
 Wuxian 吳縣
 Wuxi xian zhi 無錫縣志
 Wu Zhen 吳臻
 Wuzhou 梧州
 Xia Bingyi 夏秉彝
 Xia Cuncheng 夏存誠
 Xia Liangsheng 夏良勝
 Xiang Bian 項汴
 Xiao Lianggan 蕭良幹
 Xiao Yan 蕭彥
 Xia Weixin 夏維新
 Xie Zhao 謝詔
 Xincai 新蔡
 Xincai xian zhi 新蔡縣志
 Xinchang 新昌
 Xinchang xian zhi 新昌縣志
 Xincheng 新城
 Xincheng xian zhi 新城縣志
 Xingguo 興國
 Xingguo zhou zhi 興國州志
 Xingning xian zhi 興寧縣志
 xingshi 姓氏
 Xingxian zhi 興縣志
 Xinjian 新建
 Xin zhi xu xiaoyin 新志序小引

- Xiong sheng* 雄乘
Xiong Wenhan 熊文韓
Xiong Xiang 熊相
Xiuzhi houji 修志後記
Xiuwu xian zhi 修武縣誌
Xiuwu xian zhi xu 修武縣誌序
Xiuzhi shiyou 修志事由
xiuzhi yiwen 修誌移文
xiuzhi zhi fei 修志支費
xiuzi 繡梓
Xuanping xian zhi 宣平縣志
Xu Bing 徐昺
Xue Liang 薛良
Xu Gongxie 徐公燮
Xu Gui 徐珪
Xu Mu 徐霖
Xundian fu zhi 尋甸府志
Xu Shougang 徐守剛
Xu Zhidao 徐志道
Xu Zhijing 徐致靖
Xuzhou 許州
Xuzhou zhi 徐州志
Xu Zuntang 徐遵湯
Yancheng 鄆城
Yancheng xian zhi 鄆城縣志
Yang Chengfu 楊承父
Yang Pei 楊佩
Yang Sui 楊璉
Yang Wan 楊琬
Yangwu 陽武
Yangwu xian zhi 陽武縣志
Yang Yongqing 楊永清
Yang Zaiming 楊載鳴
Yangzhou 揚州
Yang Zhouhe 楊州鶴
Yanling 鄆陵
Yanling zhi 鄆陵志
Yanping 延平
Yanping fu zhi 延平府志
Yanqing 延慶
Yanshi xian zhi 偃師縣志
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Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠
Yexian zhi 葉縣誌
Yi Cunxu 易存緒
yimin 義民
Yingchuan 潁川
Yingchuan jun zhi 潁川郡志
Yingshan xian zhi 營山縣志
Yingtian fu zhi 應天府志
Yingzhou 潁州
Yingzhou zhi 潁州志
yinliguan 引禮官
Yin Shidan 殷士儻
yinshuju 印書局
Yinyang 陰陽
Yizhen xian zhi 儀真縣志
Yi Xi 易詵
Yong'an xian zhi 永安縣志
Yongfeng 永奉
Yongfeng xian zhi 永奉縣志
Yongnian xian zhi 永年縣志
Yongping fu zhi 永平府志
Yongzhou 永州

- Yongzhou fu tuzhi xu 永州府圖志序
 Yongzhou fu zhi 永州府志
 Youxi xian zhi 尤溪縣志
 Yuan Hua 袁鐸
 Yuan Xuan 袁鉉
 Yuanzhou fu zhi 袁州府志
 Yueshi bian 閱世編
 Yuhai 玉海
 Yu Jishan 余繼善
 Yu Lian 余廉
 Yunnan tong zhi 南通志
 Yunyang xian zhi 雲陽縣志
 Yu Sheng 余盛
 Yu Tai 余泰
 Yu Wenlong 余文龍
 Yuzhang Luo xiansheng wenji
 豫章羅先生文集
 zai caoshe ke 在草舍刻
 zang 贓
 Zeng Rutan 曾汝檀
 Zeng Shengwu 曾省吾
 Zeng Xian 曾顯
 Zhang Cai 張才
 Zhang Guojing 張國經
 Zhang Huang 章潢
 Zhangping 漳平
 Zhangping xian zhi 漳平縣志
 Zhang Qixian 張啟賢
 Zhang Qixun 張奇勛
 Zhang Quan 張全
 Zhang Ti 張梯
 Zhang Tianzhen 張天真
 Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
 Zhang Youyu 張友譽
 Zhang Yuanbian 張元忭
 Zhang Yuanshu 張元淑
 Zhang Yuanyi 張元益
 Zhang Yuanzhen 張元禎
 Zhang Yunzhong 張允中
 Zhang Zhi 張治
 Zhang Zhu 張注
 Zhang Zuo 張佐
 Zhan Lai 詹萊
 Zhao 趙
 zhao gong 召工
 Zhao Hao 趙淏
 Zhao Shichun (name of a compiler of a
 1560 history) 趙時春
 Zhao Shichun (name of a contributor to a
 1640 history) 趙士春
 Zhao Tang 趙堂
 Zhao Yingshi 趙應式
 Zheng Dongbi 鄭東璧
 zheng jiang 徵匠
 Zheng Qiao 鄭喬
 Zheng Qingyun 鄭慶雲
 zhengti 政體
 Zheng Xi 鄭禧
 zhifang shi 職方氏
 Zhongdu 中都
 Zhong Shijie 鍾仕傑
 Zhou Bangjie 周邦傑
 Zhou Jifeng 周季風
 Zhou Qiyong 周期雍
 Zhou Tang 周棠
 Zhou Wanjin 周萬金

Zhou Zhongshi 周仲士

Zhu 朱

Zhu Gao 朱誥

Zhuo Chiliang 卓赤良

Zhu Shifu 朱士黻

Zhu Shilie 朱士烈

Zhu Xi 朱熹

zi li cisong zangfa 自理詞訟贓罰

zimin 子民

Zou Han 鄒瀚

Zou Xian 鄒賢

Zou Youzhi zhuan 鄒佑之傳

About Our Contributors

JOSEPH DENNIS is assistant professor of history at University of Wisconsin. Since completing his doctorate at the University of Minnesota in 2004, he has pursued research on social, legal, and book history in China. He is currently completing a manuscript on the writing, publishing, and reading of local histories in the Song, Yuan, and Ming.

THOMAS EBREY is a professor emeritus of the University of Washington, who has recently refocused his energies from biophysics of color vision to Chinese color printing. He has contributed to the volume accompanying the 2010 exhibition at the British Museum, the *Printed Image in China from the Eighth to the Twenty-first Centuries*, and written the preface for a facsimile edition of a book of Shanghai-school letterpaper, *Leshantang shijian*. His current projects include elucidating Japanese editions of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection* and exploring the late nineteenth-century resurgence of block-printed letterpaper.

HIROKI KIKUCHI is assistant professor in the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo. His research on medieval Buddhist history in Japan centers on *Lotus Sutra* worship and its practitioners, *jikyōsha*. His book *Chūsei Bukkyō no genkei to tenkai* (The Prototype and Development of Medieval Buddhism) was published in 2007. Another personal research interest is court diaries, and he has been responsible, in particular, for the interpretation of and publications related to *Sanemikyō-ki* in group research projects at the Historiographical Institute.

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