

Ming *Qing*

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edited by
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MING QING STUDIES

MING QING STUDIES is an annual publication focused on late imperial China and the broader geo-cultural area of East Asia during the premodern and modern period. Its scope is to provide a forum for scholars from a variety of fields seeking to bridge the gap between 'oriental' and western knowledge. Articles may concern any discipline, including sociology, literature, psychology, anthropology, history, geography, linguistics, semiotics, political science, and philosophy. Contributions by young and post-graduated scholars are particularly welcome.

Provided that the process of double-blind peer-review proceeds with no delay and the scrutiny of our experts confirms the scientificity, scholarly soundness and academic value of the author's work, it is one of MING QING STUDIES' commitments to publish the submitted manuscript within one year after its formal acceptance. This would ensure a timely circulation of the author's research outcomes without imposing hard limits on word counts or compromising the quality of peer-review, which, for publications in the same field, is usually much longer. The average article length is 10.000-15.000 words, but long articles and notes on focused topics are also taken into consideration.

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Jing Zhu, *Visualizing Ethnicity in the Southwest Borderlands: Gender and Representation in Late Imperial and Republican China*

Reviewed by Tommaso Previato

PREFACE

This issue focuses on various kinds of knowledge, with two articles on botanical learning and nutrition science, an article on geographical-scenic reports, and another one on statecraft studies. Two other essays respectively concern a case of fiscal policy in the Wanli reign (1572-1620) and the multiple functions of a Buddhist temple in Canton.

Fulfilling the Potential of All Plants: Jiuhuang Bencao and the Discourses on Famine Foods, by HUANG Chen Sarah (City University of Hong Kong), discusses the elaboration of the category of “famine relief (*jiuhuang* 救荒) plants” that implies concepts, such as “wild and the cultivated” and “emergency.” The famine herbal included also multiple strategies of non-staple production, inherited from former writings or collected from local practices.

Edible Plants of Guangdong Province in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Contrasting Perspectives of Two Observers, Dai Jing (1535) and Adriano de Las Cortes (1625), by Pascale GIRARD (Université Gustave Eiffel) probes into the import, circulation and consumption of local edible plants by comparing two descriptive sources, one Spanish, the *Relación del viaje naufragio y cautiverio* [...] by Jesuit Adriano de Las Cortes, and the other Chinese, the *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 廣東通志初稿 (Gazetteer of Guangdong) by the scholar-official Dai Jing 戴璟.

Xiaolin DUAN (North Carolina State University), in *Remembering West Lake: Place, Mobility, and Geographical Knowledge in Ming China*, explores how the information in Song Dynasty gazetteers and journals about Hangzhou were reproduced, adapted, and disseminated during the Ming, as Hangzhou’s West Lake became the first sightseeing destination in response to the developing commercialized tourism. Travels, collective memory and imagery, legends and literary production contributed to the broadening of geographical knowledge, because – as the author notes – “temporality-in-place reveals the contrast between the cyclical time of nature and the linear time of human history.”

Ideas Behind Literati Activism in the Qianlong-Jiaqing Transition: The Statist Re-orientation of Scholarship and Resurging Statecraft Reformism, by LU Junda (SOAS University of London), enquires on the revival of statecraft in the late Qing Dynasty. This reformist movement gave rise to presentism in historical studies that undermined the authority of classics and instead emphasized the pursuits of practical issues of the day. The study concentrates on the evidential scholarship of Dai Zhen 戴震 and Zhang Xuecheng’s 章學誠

presentist agenda as well as on the eventual statist re-orientation of scholarship more in general.

Military Officers, Eunuchs, and Court Officials: Ming Wanli's "Mining and Tax Collection Movement" Revisited, by HAN Yidan (National University of Singapore), deals with the conflict between the emperor and court officials about the revenue problem (Mining Tax). It touches upon the government strategies and management of information channels from the outside and inside of the civil administration.

The article authored by YEUNG Man Shun (The University of Hong Kong), *Sightseeing, Recreation, Religion, and Literature: The Role of Canton's Haichuang Buddhist Temple in China-West Relations, 1750–1900*, is about the multifarious functions of Buddhist temples – specifically the Haichuang 海幢 Buddhist Temple – and cultural life in late Qing Canton from a multicultural perspective. The temple was not only a Chinese religious centre but its regular use as a venue for a variety of Sino-Western contacts made it a place for Chinese-Western relations.

Paolo Santangelo

REMEMBERING WEST LAKE: PLACE, MOBILITY, AND GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE IN MING CHINA*

XIAOLIN DUAN 段曉琳
(North Carolina State University)

Introduction

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed increasing publication of geographical books, tourist manuals, and topographical images.¹ Various types of gazetteers became pervasive and then gradually standardized. Many counties and cities published their first gazetteers during this time. As Timothy Brook points out, one new trend was the emergence of gazetteers which focused on a particular mountain or monastery; these appeared because of an expansion of readership, *literati* engagements with local communities, and emerging locality consciousness.²

Hangzhou's West Lake was the first sightseeing destination that inspired specific gazetteers. Tian Rucheng's 田汝成 (1503-1557) 西湖遊覽志 *Gazetteer of Sightseeing around West Lake* was the earliest. In his preface, Tian explained why a gazetteer should be devoted to a lake that was primarily for sightseeing (which was unusual at the time). His work was well received and reprinted several times. More works on West Lake came out following the success of Tian's work. Examples include gazetteers such as Yu Sichong 俞思沖's *Categorized Notes of West Lake Gazetteer* 西湖志類鈔, *literati* miscellanies such as Ji Ying's 季嬰 (fl. 1636) *West Lake Mirror on the Palm* 西湖手鏡, and tourist books like Yang Erzeng's 楊爾曾 (ca. 1575-1612) *Newly Compiled Striking Views within the Seas* 新鐫海內奇觀.

Also, for the first time in the history of Chinese fictions, West Lake appeared as a specific place-name in book titles and was frequently used as the main setting for stories. Later this sizeable body of texts has been termed as

* This article is inspired by a paper presented at the conference "Engaging Chinese Ancient Culture: New Sources, New Directions," Shandong University, January 8th, 2021 (in Chinese).

¹ Tang 2000.

² Brook 2002, p. 33; Zhang 2005, pp. 32-40.

Xihu wenxue (西湖文學 or *Xihu wenxian* 西湖文獻, translated as “West Lake writings”), indicating the shared place-energized feature among various genres.

This proliferation of works that featured West Lake has attracted scholars’ attention from different perspectives. Liping Wang outlines and analyzes the writings about sightseeing in the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, focusing especially on how *literati* sightseers’ attitude towards pleasure-seeking deviated from a tradition that linked landscape with spiritual cultivations.³ Roland Altenburger compares West Lake images from the Ming and Qing gazetteers and notes that various modes of landscape mapping were successfully used to convey knowledge of the place.⁴ Ma Mengjing examines publications and the circulation of *Gazetteer of Sightseeing around West Lake* from the perspective of the book market.⁵ Li Na examines *Conspectus of Sights of the Lakes and Hills* 湖山勝概 in the context of late Ming cultural tastes and tourist market.⁶ And Lin Li-Chiang and Shih Shou-Chien analyze *Striking Views within the Seas* in term of visualizations.⁷ Literature scholars such as Liu Yongqiang and Hu Haiyi also discuss the adaptation and trope of elite culture seen in West Lake fictions, as well as the emphasis on the interconnections between human beings and the place.⁸ Many of these studies focus on developments across different editions of the same work or between writings from different periods.

While scholars agree that Song Dynasty (960-1279) works profoundly influenced later Ming productions,⁹ precisely how Ming writers and artists referred to and adapted geographical knowledge from Song dynasty gazetteers and urban journals remains largely uncharted. Comparison of the Song and Ming dynasty works reveals a strong continuity in the structures of geographical narratives about scenic sites and also the mapmakers’ spatial logic. The *Completed Library of Four Sections* 四庫全書 commentaries on Ming sources frequently indicated precisely how much Song information was preserved.¹⁰ The wealth of survived Song source material conveyed important features of the lake region and suggested how that landscape should best be experienced and rebuilt.¹¹

This paper explores how geographical knowledge and spatial representation in Song dynasty gazetteers and urban journals about Hangzhou were reproduced, appropriated, adapted, and disseminated during the Ming. I argue that invoking remembrance of a place during the Ming Dynasty mainly involved creating

³ Wang 1997, p. 59.

⁴ Altenburger 2017, p. 119.

⁵ Ma 2013.

⁶ Li 2013.

⁷ Lin 2011, pp. 779-812; Shih 2017, pp. 299-300.

⁸ See Liu 2009; Wu 2017; Hu 2019.

⁹ Ma 2013; Altenburger 2016.

¹⁰ *Xihu youlan zhi*, 1.

¹¹ Altenburger 2017, pp. 124-125.

narratives with cross-referenced site names, sightseeing routes, and scenic views in various genres and with interrelated images and texts. These three key elements—sites, routes, and views—were used to suggest movements through both physical space and imagined time. While people's movements were associated with historical references, late Ming authors and artists also applied new features to works about peregrinations in response to developing commercialized tourism.

This paper compares Song gazetteers and urban journals with Ming geographical works, travelogues, and fictions. In particular, geographical knowledges from three Song dynasty sources were extensively utilized by Ming writers. *The Gazetteer of Hangzhou during the Xianchun Reign* 咸淳臨安志 (compiled during 1268-1275) and *Old Affairs of Wulin* 武林舊事 (end of 13th century) both offered visual information and suggestions for structure to Ming dynasty authors. Another urban journal *Record of the Millet Dream* 夢梁錄 contained extensive commentary on the lake's seasonal activities. Increased appreciation and appropriation of Song geographical knowledge occurred during the late Ming because commoners were increasingly able to access scenic sites and publishing for this audience flourished. The concept of writers conversing with their readers was one newly added feature that transformed the Song method of presenting geographical knowledge.

The following discussion starts with an overview of the historical background and takes remembrance as a framework. I then examine Ming references to historic site names, the use of sightseeing routes to structure geographical records, and various Ming representations of the Song Dynasty's Ten Views. The discussion of each unfolds with examples respectively from gazetteers, *literati* notes, and fiction, with more emphasis on the gazetteers. It is worth noting that fictions contain a lot more material to contribute to the discussion in this paper, including the functions of sites in storytelling and the accumulation of literary images of West Lake. But since fiction is treated in much detail by literature scholars,¹² this paper takes advantage of these scholarships and expands relatively less on fiction sections. Sites, routes, and views were intentionally interwoven in travel works to create real and imagined tours. Analysis of this strategy helps us to understand innovative trends in the Ming formulation of regional knowledge and reveals the importance that writers and artists placed on the theme of mobility.

1. Historical Background

Song dynasty writers and artists strongly emphasized the historical and cultural significance of geographical sites in their creation of new encyclopedias, atlases

¹² Liu 2009; Hu 2019.

and maps, gazetteers, and travel writings.¹³ West Lake as a scenic site just outside the city wall became one focus of this output, especially after the relocation of the imperial capital to Hangzhou during the Southern Song (1127-1279). Three local gazetteers of Hangzhou from the Southern Song are extant today. The most informative was compiled during Xianchun's reign (1265-1274) and included the first lake map (Fig. 1, referred to as '1268 map' below). This map featured more than 400 sites, along with a brief yet calculated arrangement of routes, bridges, gates, and symbols for buildings. The artist utilized a consistent birds-eye point of view to show the earth's surface from above. Relative associations between locations were highlighted much more than their spatial accuracy. The map also reveals the political hierarchy by using clouds to highlight the imperial city's superior position and larger font sizes to label the residences of powerful officials.

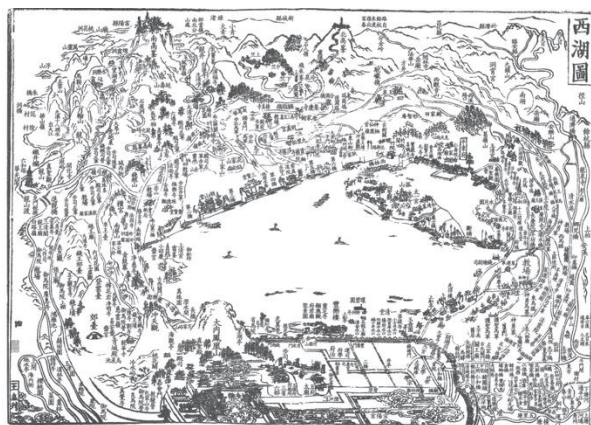


Fig. 1. Southern Song Map of West Lake, ca. 1268-1275.
After Jiang 2015 (originally based from *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 1: 9)

The information on the map additionally correspond to descriptions in urban journals compiled by *literati*. Zhou Mi's 周密 (1232-1298) *Old Affairs of Wulin* includes an entire chapter, "Scenic Lake and Mountain Spots", with detailed documentation of the sites labeled on the map. Zhou Mi adopted a style more common in gazetteers to list places of interest, with notations about certain smaller sites nestled within specific palaces or temples. Zhou organized these sites along seven routes. In addition, Zhou's work and other urban journals also include rich geographical and historical information filled with beautiful and even exaggerated descriptions. These textual and visual records from the Song Dynasty created a 'sensory space' that influenced how the lake was later viewed. The amalgamation represented all the experiences of seeing, listening, touching, smelling, and tasting. The idea was to make readers feel as if they were there.

¹³ De Weerd, 2015; Lin 2017.

The literary and artistic construction of the sensory space thus integrated a topographical walking path with an accumulation of geographical knowledge. The resulting works enabled readers to connect with multiple prior experiences and imagine what was to be seen around the lake.

After the Song Dynasty, attention to the lake re-emerged during the mid-Ming, when the government resumed lake dredging and local people began taking frequent excursions. Their experiences and proposals to rebuild the lake sites were strongly influenced by earlier book accounts, maps, and oral memories. The main legacies from the Song were objective geographical information and emotionally charged accounts of touring the lake. While symbolic representations of imperial power in the region were no longer reproduced in the Ming Dynasty, romanticism and nostalgia became more pervasive and influential.

While Song dynasty maps and gazetteers were compiled by the government and mainly served local officials, gazetteers and maps of mid-late Ming aimed to reach a much broader audience. Following the emergence of amateur discourses about making and reading maps, landscape images were also adapted to fit leisure uses and commodified prints. Elizabeth Kindall states that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, geographical narratives became a common theme in paintings.¹⁴ Such geographical centered depictions were also common in textual works. Ming dynasty authors of geographical records located sites in both historical and regional contexts. They also claimed their own presence within a depicted landscape by incorporating their excursions, favorite sites, and personally selected references to earlier documents about the featured locations.

Several social and cultural factors contributed to the circulation of Ming geographical records. The foremost is an enlargement of readership. As Anne McLaren argues, “authors and publishers of vernacular texts realized, probably for the first time in the history of Chinese print culture, that their reading public was no longer restricted to the learned class.”¹⁵ Simple versions of many elite books were produced for the lower end of the readership spectrum. Many works targeted readers who sought knowledge as part of their pursuits of social status and intellectual pleasure; they need not have been officials or academics. Furthermore, Yang Erzeng in his preface explained that the targeted audience of his *Newly Compiled Striking Views within the Seas* included “kids and elders, for them to leisurely enjoy the mountains and water.”¹⁶ Thus, the potential readers of these texts and especially their images were heterogeneous: officials, *literati*, collectors, common people, the relatively unlearned, and the people of the four classes.

The second development is the publishing boom, which began during the fifteenth century. The influences of publishing and the book market were more

¹⁴ Kindall 2015, pp. 107-132.

¹⁵ McLaren 2005, p. 152.

¹⁶ *Xinjuan hainei qiguan*, “Preface”, 1a-2a.

evident in Hangzhou because this was a major publishing center known for high-quality productions and also offered one of the four biggest book markets.¹⁷ Late Ming gazetteers usually contain a dozen or more maps. Compared to the Song, the Ming maps were intended more for cultural enjoyment than for state uses. Maps helped to make places “comprehensible and usable to the reader by visually decoding.”¹⁸ They served as a repertoire of collective mnemonic tools and could be employed for the construction and realignments of location-focused memories. Publication of these maps and illustrated books allowed a broader audience to enjoy provided historical information about places. It became a fashion to bring a map when taking a trip.¹⁹ The needs of potential readers (e.g., works that are easy to digest, portable, and containing recommendations about more pilgrimage sites, etc.) determined the features that the Ming mapmakers adapted from the past as well as new features they added.

The third and possibly most important development is the increasing vitality of tourism. Travel writings and guidebooks circulated on an unprecedented scale to meet the need of *literati* and ordinary people.²⁰ Unlike the imperial-centered, capital city-driven sightseeing tours of the Southern Song, late Ming excursions were fueled by Hangzhou’s development as a cultural and national silk production center for the Jiangnan region. Scholars who lived or sojourned there were usually from local gentry families. Developments in transportation and the accumulation of wealth allowed these *literati* to go sightseeing more frequently. Writing and publishing what they experienced became an important form of self-expression and social communication. Yu Sichong observed that “either walking or taking the boats, one can enjoy the lake on both sunny and rainy days, in both elegant and leisurely ways.”²¹ Both miscellany notes and fictional works also extensively depicted touring on the lake. Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597-1684), for instance, described the crowds at the lake during festivals.²² The *literatus* Wang Shixing 王士性 (1546-1598) also commented that many ordinary people were employed in the tourist business.²³

The development of sightseeing and the publication of geographical books were interdependent. Tian’s gazetteer raised sightseeing to a matter of good taste when he discussed more refined ways of enjoying and appreciating the landscape. He suggested that sightseeing was what made this lake unique. While other landscape sites were known for protecting the territory, offering reclusive

¹⁷ *Jingji huitong*, 4: 5. Most of the books analyzed in this paper were originally printed in Hangzhou or were sponsored by Hangzhou residents, see Ma 2013, p. 112. Also see Hu 2019, pp. 56-85.

¹⁸ Akin 2009, p. 38.

¹⁹ *Keyue zhilue*, 2: 1015.

²⁰ Wu 2007, pp. 177-214.

²¹ *Xihu zhi leichao*, 1b.

²² *Xihu mengxun*, 4: 73.

²³ *Guangzhi yi*, 4: 4b.

enjoyments, or conveying moral instruction, “West Lake embodies none of the three. If one wants to avoid talking about sightseeing, dancing, and singing, and only emphasize serious things, it is just not real—[that’s] not what a historian should do.”²⁴ Recording reality was important, and the lake’s reality was a place for fun—Tian’s work set the tone for later writings. Later, Yang Erzeng also aimed to promote travel. He said in the preface of *Newly Compiled Striking Views within the Seas*, “hold sticks to visit the unique relics and wear wooden shoes to explore the wonderful scenery.” He further elaborated the importance of traveling to connect oneself with universal morality and historical values, saying that his book aims to “record the heavens, landscape, up and down, as well as past and present.”²⁵ Yang also wanted to promote and facilitate imagined travel.²⁶ He used the title ‘The Armchair Daoist’ 臥遊道人 for self-reference, indicating his endorsement of the concept of ‘armchair traveling’. This refers to imagining a sightseeing tour without actually visiting the site. Instead, one visited by reading a text or looking at a painting.²⁷

These geographical books promoted the lake’s fame, facilitated sightseeing, and encouraged restoration of the lake’s scenery. In 1637, Qi Biaoja 祁彪佳 (1602-1645) recorded that when he toured the lake with friends, he ended the day by reading several chapters of Tian’s book.²⁸ Fan Mingqian 范鳴謙 (fl. 1584), one of the sponsors who had Tian’s book reprinted, said “I used to rent a boat and tour on the lake, follow the gazetteer and seek different places, and I didn’t want to leave [...]. When I looked around, I was impressed with the detailed references provided by Tian.”²⁹ These geographical books cultivated an interest in scenic views and excursions. It is thus not surprising that the lake underwent a major restoration after the publication of Tian’s work.³⁰

2. Remembrance

Remembrance is an enduring theme in Chinese literature, especially in poems and prose writings. As Stephen Owen comments, lost things are remembered not by so much because of their objective existence but because of their ability to stir the act of remembrance.³¹ Taking different perspectives, both Arthur F. Wright and Frederick W. Mote assert that the Chinese intended to lodge their

²⁴ *Xihu youlan zhi*, 6-7.

²⁵ *Xinjuan hainei qiguan*, 2b.

²⁶ Lin 2017, p. 805.

²⁷ *Lidai minghua ji*, 130-131.

²⁸ *Qi Zhongmingong rijì, Shanju zhuolu*, 1093.

²⁹ *Xihu youlan zhi*, 4.

³⁰ Many works recorded Yang Mengying 楊孟瑛 (fl. 1459) and a powerful eunuch Sun Long 孫隆 (1589-1606), as they had devoted to the restoration of the lake scenery. See *Xihu mengxun*, 3: 2b

³¹ Owen 1986, p. 65.