Creating Local Landscape: Tidal Bores and Seawalls at Haining (1720s-1830s)

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Abstract

My dissertation explores landscape as a social and cultural instrument in the high Qing (1760s-1820s), a multi-ethnic empire with the largest territory and the most diverse ethnic groups in the history of China. In particular, I ask how a multiethnic empire rules and how the small county of Haining in east central China fit into the ruling house’s vision of its empire as a “great union.” Instead of answering these questions by examining the center of state politics (administration and state policies), I look at local politics. In this case I examine how seawalls, tidal phenomena, and scenes of daily life represented as Haining landscapes were collected and organized in local histories and imperially commissioned works. This dissertation thus seeks both to elucidate the historical relations between the imperial center and the locale and to address issues of wider concern to scholars of empire formation in the early modern world.

Haining in the late imperial period was a small city located where the Qiantang River flows into China East Sea in Zhejiang province. Before the second half of the eighteenth century, Haining most commonly appeared in reports of local coastal floods caused by tidal bores and requests for famine relief. Following the construction of protective seawalls and the Qianlong emperor’s inspection tours to Haining in 1762, the image of tidal bores shifted. Once depicted as wild and uncontrolled natural disasters they now appeared as tamed and even aesthetically pleasing phenomena. Haining itself thereafter was celebrated in poems as a place holding a unique position as the destination for sightseeing related to the tidal bores and a booming cultural center noted for poets, bibliophiles, and scholars.
The central thematic concern of my dissertation is the local response of Haining’s literati to the Qianlong emperor’s representations of Haning’s local landscapes. I analyze this response in terms of discursive representations functioning as political technology in service of power. While Qianlong used local landscapes to imagine Haining as a jigsaw puzzle piece in his multiethnic empire, local literati appropriated that imagination and manipulated the meaning of local landscapes in an effort to reinforce their own status. Despite their differences in terms of political agendas and interests, however, both the imperial and local representations of local landscapes facilitated to map out previously little known Haining as a highly cultivated place with beautiful sceneries on the imperial cultural map.

My dissertation works on three types of textual representations of local landscape, natural sights (tidal bores), man-made structures (seawalls), and human performance (scenes of local daily life). Most were landscape poems anthologized and re-anthologized into Haining local histories since the sixteenth century. The rate of their incorporation into the histories rapidly increased in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, especially after textually constructed landscapes of Haining had been included in imperially sponsored works after the Qianlong emperor’s inspection tours to Haining.

These poems constitute a unique kind of historical source material, one that invites an interdisciplinary approach. First, this body of material allows for a detailed study of the development of the largely unexamined local histories in the form of poems. Second, the landscape poems incorporated in imperially sponsored works can serve as a vehicle for examining one aspect of the Qing rule. As an example, the Qianlong emperor’s poems on his tours to seawalls and tidal bores function more as edicts to local
officials than simply praises to local scenery beauty. Third, an exploration of the milieu from which they sprang poses questions about the relationship between the imperial center and its locale. Finally, this abundance of documentation also sheds light on the related matters of how recording and documenting of landscape poetry can forge a national identify for a multi-ethnic empire.
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DSLSJ. Cao Zongzai 曹宗載 ed., 东山楼诗集 Dong shan lou shi ji (Dongshan Pavilion Poetry Collection]. [Woodblock print, 1810, Shanghai Library].


HNZZ. Zhan Xiaozeng 战效曾 et al., comps., Haining zhouzhi (1775) 海宁州志 (Qianlong-era Haining Sub-prefecture County Gazetteer). Taibei: Cheng wen chu ban she, 1983, 1775.

HCBZ. Qian Taiji 钱泰吉 ed al. Haichang bei zhi (1848) 海昌备志 (Haichang Complete Gazetteer). [woodblock print, 1848, Shanghai Library].
HNXZ. Jin Ao 金珑 et al. (Qianlong) *Haining xian zhi* (1765) 海宁县志. (Qianlong-era Haining County Gazetteer) Taibei: Cheng wen chu ban she, 1983, 1765.


HCSJZ. Guan Yuanyao 管元耀. *Haichang sheng ji zhi*. 海昌胜迹志 (Records of Haichang Famous Sites) [woodblock print, Hangzhou, 1923].


HZFZ. Shao Jinhan 邵晋涵 et al. (Qianlong) *Hangzhou fu zhi* 杭州府志 (Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer). Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2002/

GCHJSXJ. Wu Zhenyu 吴振棫. Guo chao han gjun shi xu ji (A Sequel to Poetry Collection of Hangzhou Prefecture in Our Dynasty). Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling gu ji ke yin she, 1988, 1874.

GZDQLCZZ. Guo li gu gong bo wu yuan, Bian ji wei yuan hui, comp, Gong zhong dang Qianlong chao zou zhe (Palace memorials of the Qianlong reign).

GZDZZ. Gong zhong dan zou zhi (Palace memorials), Beijing Palace Museum.

LTYN. Wu Qian 吴骞. Li tang yu nai 蠡塘漁乃 (Folk songs at Li Lake). Changsha: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1939.

LZYXLY. Ruan Yuan 阮元 et al. Liang zhe you xuan lu bu yi (Supplementary to Youxuan Poetry Collection), [Hangzhou: Zhejiang shu ju, 1890-1891].

MQQTJHT. Tao Chunhuan and Zhou Chaosheng 陶存焕 周潮生 et al. Ming Qing qian tang jiang hai tang (The Seawalls of the Qiantang River in the Ming and Qing Dynasties). Beijing, Zhongguo shui li shui dian chu ban she, 2001.

**NXSD.** Gao Jin 高晋 comp., *Nan xun sheng dian* 南巡盛典 (Great Canon of Southern Tours) in *Si ku quan shu*.


**QDNXS.** Gao Jin 高晋 et al. *Qing ding nanxun sheng dian* 钦定南巡盛典

**QDZGNB.** Qian Shifu 钱实甫 ed.. *Qing dai zhi guan nian biao* (Tables of Qing officials). Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980.

**QLCSYD.** Zhongguo di yi lis hi bo wu guan. *Qianlong chao shang yu dang* (乾隆朝上諭典) (Imperial Edicts of the Qianlong Reign).

**QLSL.** *Da qing gao zong chun (Qianlong) huang di shi lu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Qianlong Emperor), Beijing, Zhonghua shu ju 1985.

**QLYZSWJ.** *Qianlong yu zhi shi wen ji* 乾隆御制詩文集 (Complete prose and poetry of the Qianlong emperor).

**YMSSJTY.** Zhongguo yuan ming yuan xue hui. *Yuan ming yuan si shi jing tu yong* 圓明園四十景圖咏 (Imperial Poems on the Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan), Beijing, Zhongguo jian zhu gong ye chu ban she, 1985.

**YZSL.** *Da qing shi zong de (Yongzheng) huang di shi lu* 大清世宗德皇帝実録


RZSFSG. Zhu Wenzhi 朱文治. Rao zhu shan fan shi gao 繙竹山房诗稿 (Poetry collection of Surrounding Bamboo Studio) [1818, woodblock print].

SDQJDNP. Shen Deqian 沈德潜. Shen Deqian zi ding nian pu沈归愚自定年谱 (Shen Deqian’s autobiography) in Bei tu zheng ben nia npu cong kan北圖珍本年譜叢刊. [Beijing library]

XCSC. Cao Zongzai 曹宗载 ed. al.. Xiachuan shi chao砯川詩鈔 (Xiachuan Poetry Collections) [woodblock print, 1892, 1923].

XCXSC. Xiachuan shi xu chao 砯川詩鈔 (A Sequel to Xiachuan Poetry Collections). [woodblock print, 1892, 1923].


XFTF. Chen Zhan 陈贇. Xinfang tu feng 新坂土风 (Folk Songs of Xinban [Haining]). 1778, [woodblock print, 1896]


XZLISC. Hu Changji 胡昌基. Xu zuili shiji.续檇李诗繋 [Jinling, woodblock print, 1911]

ZJRWJZ. “Zhejiang renweu jianzhi (2) 浙江人物简志 (Biographies of Zhejiang Figures) (2) (Zhejiang Biographies)” Zhejiang Jianzhi (2).浙江简志 (Biographies of Zhejiang Figures)(2)
Qing Reign Periods (1616-1911)

Tianming, Aisin-Gioro Nurhachi, 1616-1626
Tiancong, Aisin-Gioro Abahai, 1627-1635
Shunzhi, Aisin-Gioro Fulin, 1644-1661
Kangxi, Aisin-Gioro Xuanyue, 1662-1722
Yongzheng, Aisin-Gioro Yizhen, 1723-1735
Qianlong, Aisin-Gioro Hongli, 1735-1795
Jiaqing, Aisin-Gioro Yongyan, 1796-1820
Daoguang, Aisin-Gioro Minning, 1821-1850
Xianfeng, Aisin-Gioro Yizhu, 1851-1861
Tongzhi, Aisin-Gioro Zaichun, 1862-1874
Guangxu, Aisin-Gioro Zaitian, 1875-1908
Xuantong, Aisin-Gioro Puyi, 1909-1911
Introduction

Seawalls and Local Landscape: Creating a Multi-Ethic Empire (1762-1848)

On March 26, 1762, the sixty-two-year old Qianlong emperor (Aisin Gioro Hongli 1711-1799; r.1736-1795), escorted by his ministers, strolled on the seawalls of Haining, Zhejiang Province. This was the emperor’s third trip to Jiangnan, the lower Yangzi valley region, which enjoyed preeminence both economically and culturally during the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911) dynasties. Yet this was the first time that the emperor visited Haining, one of a number of counties that he inspected during his six southern imperial tours to Jiangnan.\(^1\)

About ten years earlier the Qianlong emperor consulted with his officials in Zhejiang province about the possibility of inspecting Haining’s seawall during his southern imperial tours to Jiangnan. Local officials, including the Zhejiang circuit governor, spent one day traveling to inspect the route from Haining to the provincial capital Hangzhou before they replied to the emperor. In their memorials sent to the emperor, the local officials suggested, “the tidal bores are threatening” and “the paths [in Haining] are too muddy for the imperial vehicle to proceed on …[Therefore,] riding a horse is the only possible means of transportation in Haining.”\(^2\) Obviously, local officials contrasted Haining with the provincial capital city where they came from. They presented

\(^1\) The Qianlong emperor visited Jiangnan six times in 1751, 1757, 1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784. He visited the Haining seawall project four times in 1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784.

\(^2\) NXSD, juan 55, 988.
Haining as a treacherous and an uncivilized place in a rural area isolated from the urban provincial capital Hangzhou, Zhejiang province.

In fact, local officials’ memorials were not exaggerating. Geographically speaking, Haining is located to the immediate east of the north shore of Hangzhou Bay, where the sea and the Qiantang River meet at a particularly narrow opening (Map 1.1 and Map 1.2). The tidal bores flush fiercely to Haining twice a day. Unlike Shaoxing and Xiaoshan on the south shore of the Hangzhou Bay, Haining has no mountains on the coastline, with which to protect it from the surging tidal bores. The tidal bores roar up from the east all the way to the outside of the provincial capital Hangzhou. In the seventh and eighth months of the year (August-September), the tidal bores are at their peak. They swallow up arable lands, salt fields, and houses along the coastline. In the past, on occasion if the seawalls were breached, due to high sea, windstorms, or poor wall maintenance, local people retreated when the tidal bores came and engulfed their property and then re-settled when the tidal bores withdrew.

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3 Tidal bores is pronounced as “chao” in Chinese. The term “chao” usually refers to tides in general, but for our discussion it refers to tidal bores—a tidal phenomenon in which the leading edge of the incoming tide forms a wave (or waves) of water that travel up a river or narrow bay against the direction of the current. As such, it is a true tidal wave (not to be confused with a tsunami).

4 Details on the formation and development of the tidal bores at Haining, see Elvin, The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China, 141-161.

5 HTL, juan 20, Chen Xian on Tidal Bores, 5b-19b.
Map 1.1 Hangzhou Bay, circa 1000

Source: The Retreat of the Elephants, 142.

(Note: Yan’guan is an old name of Haining.)

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6 Elvin, The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China, 142.
Map 1.2 Hangzhou Bay, the Middle of the Eighteenth Century

Source: The Retreat of the Elephants, 143.

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Elvin, The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China, 143.
Since the Song Dynasty (960-1279) seawall construction had become a primary way to protect local property from the damaging power of the tidal bores. Earthen seawalls were built to protect local people and their property from tidal bores. Unfortunately, their paltry efforts were futile against the power of the sea. In the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, Haining was particularly vulnerable to the assaults of the tidal bores, because of sedimentation along the southern shore of the Hangzhou Bay. At this location, the southern strait narrowed and the tidal bores entered mainly through the northern strait. As a result, the calamities that tidal bores brought about were, and still are, mainly concentrated on Haining.

In order to deal with this problem, beginning in the 1720s the Qing rulers started to institutionalize seawall construction and maintenance. In 1724, the Yongzheng Emperor (Aisin-Gioro In Jen, 1678-1735, r. 1724-1735) began to set up an annual construction and maintenance fund for the seawall project. The Zhejiang circuit governor was in charge of the project. Within two decades, a seawall stood from the east of Haining all the way up to the outside of the provincial capital Hangzhou. Yet, the seawalls were very fragile. Most of them were dikes made out of earth, timber, and grass. Each year in the seventh and eighth month, these dikes were confronted with great dangers because of heavy rainfalls as well as particularly high tides due to the closest distance and strongest gravity of the earth and the moon during that time of year. Annually a large sum of money was invested to repair or maintain the dikes in order to prevent the assault of tidal bores. Since most of dikes were primarily made up of earth

8 HTL, juan 3-6, jian zhu; HTXZ, juan 2, 2b.

9 Needham, Science and Civilization in China, 4.3, 320.
and grass, the dikes were full of “mud” and became difficult to walk on, as local officials reported in their memorials to Qianlong.

Although Haining was forever subject to the destructive forces of the sea, the emperor represented it quite differently when he addressed his ministers and local officials in his poetry. Qianlong presented a quite ambivalent picture of Haining through his poems on the seawall construction project. On the one hand, Haining was a beautiful place with appealing scenery. For him, it was a place with “flowers blooming in the early spring.” Close by, “green are the willows on the dike and yellow are the vegetables in the field”; in the distance, “plum orchard shades the dock, with the fragrance spreading in the distance.”

10 There were no “muddy” roads in these poems. Qianlong never wrote about the difficulties walking on the earthen or grass dikes. Instead, Qianlong focused on the difficulties in the seawall construction. He highlighted his leadership in solving the difficulties, giving his comments and specific instructions on the seawalls project to his ministers and local officials.

The different representations of Haining under the brush of the emperor and local officials reflect the gap between physical seawalls and those in the poems. The gap also reflects different political agendas behind historical seawalls and poetic seawalls. Everything in the poem under the emperor’s brush was extremely different from that image of being uncivilized and isolated under the brush of local officials. The emperor praised the rural scenery of Haining, which stood in stark contrast to the clamorous atmosphere of provincial and prefectural capitals where local officials, merchants, and

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10 HTL, shou juan 2; NXSD, juan 25; QLYZSWJ, san ji, juan 21.
literati gathered to welcome the Qianlong emperor with “drums, ritual music, and decorated boats.”  

I will illustrate this point in Chapters One and Two.

The Qianlong emperor not only composed these poems to celebrate local landscape, but also proceeded with these poems in terms of conducting his role as a dominant leader on the seawall construction. In these poems, Qianlong pointed out the problems and instructed on the ways in which to solve problems. These poems function primarily as the imperial edicts on seawall construction. They were usually pointedly entitled “On Seawall Construction” or simply “On seawalls.” For example, one of Qianlong’s poems entitled “Inspecting Seawalls and [my poems as] Instruction to [Governor] Yang Tingru and [Circuit Governor] Zhuang Yougong” talks about why he decided to inspect the seawalls, what were the problems of construction, in which ways the improper seawall construction would bring about problems to local people, and how they could solve the problems. Though he wrote about local landscape in these poems, the Qianlong emperor repeatedly claimed that the poetry was especially on the seawall construction rather than “surround[ing] landscape” (wen jing guang 问景光). As he claimed in the poem:

堤柳青青畦菜黄 Green are the willows on the dike and yellow are the vegetables in the field,

11 NXSD, juan 25, 427.

12 Ibid.

13 NXSD, juan 25, 425

14 NXSD, juan 25, 427.
Plum trees shade docks and fragrance spreads in the distance.

Strolling slowly on the seawall, I consulted [with my officials] and planned every details [for the seawall] in advance,

I have no intention to surround scenery.\(^15\)

Describing rustic scenery in the first line of this poem, Qianlong saw “willows on the dike” and “vegetables in the fields” as a sign of the promising future of his empire. In addition, Qianlong also used “plum trees shade docks” and “fragrance spread in the distance,” which literati poets often used, to glorify the agrarian society as peaceful rustic scenery under his rule. Here the emperor implicitly pointed out the morality of productivity of plum trees and his own political morality in terms of “[no] intention to surround scenery.” Therefore, Qianlong on the one hand praised appealing rustic scenery while on the other hand implicitly showed the problem of the attractive local landscape: that is, distracting him from his task to concentrate on the seawall construction. The image reflects Qianlong’s ambivalent attitudes to local landscape. On the one hand the emperor enjoyed local rustic scenery and glorified local scenery as one part of imperial sovereignty under his rule. On the other hand, the emperor worried that the beauty of local scenery, which represented the refined Jiangnan Han literati culture, would distract him from his social responsibility of being a committed imperial ruler to take care of his sovereignty and people. Such dilemma, especially in the case of Haining in the Jiangnan area, reflects Qianlong’s ambivalent attitude to the Jiangnan culture. On the one hand, the Qianlong emperor was attracted to the beauty of the Jiangnan literati culture. He, acting like one of Jiangnan literati, toured the famous sites, enjoyed scenery, wrote poems, and

\(^{15}\) \textit{NXSD, juan} 25, 427.
anthologized them in a poetry collection. On the other hand the emperor had to make a connection between the inspection tours and his ambition to construction a solid seawall for good. Local beautiful scenery not only attracted his attention but also justified his social responsibilities as a benevolent imperial ruler who would use both poetic representation of local scenery and the seawall construction project to re-orient Jiangnan to a newly expanded empire. Qianlong explicitly situated the necessity of the seawall project in terms of protecting local people and their property. Many other poems the emperor wrote on his inspection tours to Haining echoed such dilemma, which I will discuss in Chapter One.

On a large scale the emperor’s poems reveal his vision of a multi-ethnic empire under construction, that is to say, to incorporate newly expanded territory and various peoples into the empire and to reorient Jiangnan into the newly expanded empire. As an emperor, Qianlong showed his worries about the devastating powers of the tidal bores on local property and beautiful scenery in many poems on his Haining inspection tours. He also showed sympathy for local people who suffered tidal bores. In a sense, the destroying power of the tidal bores engulfing local property and scenery is similar to a natural power invading his territory, which threatened his sovereignty. Therefore he celebrated that the seawalls “consolidated” the frontier when the construction was completely accomplished in 1784.16 He acclaimed that a “sea frontier” (hai jiang 海疆)

16 QDNXSD, juan shou; HTL, juan shou 2. While his poems celebrated the completion of a solid seawall in 1784, the emperor still had to maintain the seawall with the state funds and various voluntary donations from Yangzhou salt merchants. As for the salt merchants and their donations for the seawall, please see Chen, “Qing dai fang zai jian zai de chuo shi” Qing shi yan jiu 3 (2004), 41-52. As for salt merchants in the
of his empire had been accomplished and he had “pacified tidal bores for good” (*an lan yong yi* 安澜永逸) under his leadership for years. Qianlong understood the seawall construction as the consolidation of his new frontier, which was a crucial element to him and his empire beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century. I will illustrate this in Chapters One and Two.

Meanwhile Qianlong also used poetic and visual representation of local scenery (tidal bores, seawalls, rustic scenery, and famous sites) to gain local recognition and identification of the imperial presence in the Jiangnan region. These poems served more and more like imperial political statements, imperial acquaintance with local elites with classical Chinese poetry identified by Han Chinese literati, and the imperial claims of his accomplishment, rather than its more common Han Chinese literati use in which it described the beauty of scenery and literati aesthetic taste. Considering his ambivalent attitude to the Jiangnan literati in the eighteenth century, Qianlong’s poetic and painting representations of local scenery, along with many other literary projects he patronized,\(^\text{18}\)

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\(^\text{17}\) Qing courted and controlled literati via civil service examination and great literary projects. Qianlong sponsored some sixty publications during his reign. Beginning in 1772, the emperor pursued a project to collect and to produce all major all Chinese works in the four categories of the classics, histories, philosophies, and belles and letters. Such projects manifest the emperor’s responsibility for and control over all writings as well to his responsibility for and control over the education and thoughts of scholars.


demonstrates Qianlong’s profound belief in the importance of poetry and painting as sources of ideological justification. He wrote poems, collected books, paintings, and antiquities; and built the largest libraries and museums for his collections in the palace. He not only patronized literary and cultural projects, but also demonstrated his talents in poetic composition and his high tastes for arts. These collections and imperially sponsored literary projects presented Qianlong not only as a poet, an artist, and a scholar, but more important as a sage-king who owned the largest collections of knowledge, antiquity, history, and culture. Inspired by the imperially sponsored projects, local literati in the Jiangnan area followed the emperor to collect local knowledge, antiquities, culture, and history, which functioned to re-orientate the Jiangnan into a newly expanded empire in the eighteenth century.

Qianlong was a prolific writer, producing many essays and poems, which were anthologized in many works under his sponsorship. His poems on the seawall construction were primarily anthologized in two kinds of works: 1) works that record the Qianlong emperor’s inspection tours to the seawalls project at Haining such as one hundred twenty volumes of Nan xun sheng dian (NXSD, Grand Canon of Southern Imperial Tours, 1765, 1780, and 1784, hereafter the Grand Canon) and twenty six volumes of Hai tang lu (HTL, Seawall Records, 1765-1784); 2) local gazetteers such as Haining zhou zhi (Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer, 1779) and Haining xian zhi (Haining County Gazetteer, 1765, 1775, 1848) funded and sponsored by local government, and some other Haining local histories under local literati’s editorship. This includes collections of local poetry, collection of local famous sites, bamboo-branch lyrics, and miscellanies on local anecdotes, which trace local peculiarity in histories, figures, temples,
bridges, gardens, and products. Most of these sources (Figure 1.1) were written in the
genre of poetry. I identify them as local histories for the authors had a strong intention to
use poetic representations to record and represent local past. Calling their texts as
“documents of native places” (xiang bang wen xian 乡邦文献) and employing the genre
of poetry and essay, local literati created a new narrative for local history.

The emperor’s poems were included in the “Heavenly Texts” (tian zhang 天章) section in the imperially sponsored the Grand Canon, the Seawall Records, and various local gazetteers sponsored by local government. The construction sites he wrote about were incorporated as local scenic spots in the “Famous Sites” (ming sheng 名胜) section in the above works as well. As a result, various local histories under local literati’s editorship used these scenic spots to construct locality of Haining and envision it in the cultural landscape of the multi-ethnic empire in the late eighteenth century.

The circulation and employment of the poems as local scenic spots in the above works partially went against Qianlong’s claim that he has “no intention to surround scenery.” At least, these poems could twist the image of Qianlong as a sage-king who was not distracted by the scenery. The emperor, however, consented that his poems could be read as praise of local scenery by including them in the above works under his sponsorship. Meanwhile, local literati read the poems as a celebration of local landscape though the emperor claimed in the poems that his inspection tours to Haining were motivated by the seawall construction and had little to do with scenery. Accordingly, the seawall construction sites which the emperor inspected were recorded as famous sites in the above works, which attracted a number of literati to visit in 1760s right after the emperor’s first two inspection tours to Haining. After the completion of seawalls in 1780s,
Haining began to appear as a tourist destination attracting literati all over the empire. They wrote the poems and essays about the sites where the emperor inspected, the mountains which Qianlong climbed, and the scenery which the emperor celebrated. As a result, Haining, once conceived as a rural and isolated area in the 1760s by local officials, was transformed into a highly cultivated area with its beautiful scenery attracting the Qianlong emperor’s attention. The tidal bores, once portrayed as a destroying power to local property and households, were re-presented as beautiful scenery tamed by the seawall, an imperial project under the Qianlong emperor’s great leadership and financial support.

The shifting perception of scenery and the representation of tidal bores suggest several questions: why did the Qianlong emperor claim that he has no heart-mind for surrounding sceneries yet still incorporated the sites he inspected as scenic spots in the works such as the Grand Canon and the Seawall Records? How were some dangerous seawall construction sites such as the Pointed Mountain transformed into attractive famous sites? What do famous sites mean to the emperor and local officials, literati, and common people? On a large scale, what are social and cultural meanings behind the representations of famous sites? What social, economic, and cultural impacts do they have on Haining and in which ways? How do seawall construction and landscape representation help us to understand the Qing Empire in the long eighteenth century?

The multiple dimensions of the poems supplement other historical records on seawalls such as edicts and memorials. The poetic representation and the historical representations reveal a subtle relation among history (what actually happened), historical texts, and poetic and visual representations. Who recorded the history of seawall
construction and how did they record it? Who patronized these records? This dissertation will show how different representations and narratives of the seawall construction and representation of local scenery formed subtle political agendas. Exploring the intertwined yet negotiated process of history, historical records, and poetic representations, I examine multi-ethnic empire building in the eighteenth century China and its connection with physical seawall construction and literary production. I approach the above questions in the following two ways: 1) How did the Qianlong emperor use both physical construction of seawalls and his literary production of local landscape to construct a multi-ethnic empire? 2) How does production of local histories on local landscape help Haining transform from an uncivilized rural area to a highly noted cultural city?

This dissertation investigates the above questions through the lens of the creation, representation, and formation of Haining seawalls and local famous sites. By investigating the ways in which they were created and represented, the dissertation explores the relationship between the Qing rule and the local in the eighteenth century after the empire doubled its vast territory and integrated the most diverse ethnic groups in the northwest inner Asia, southwest frontier, southeast Taiwan under its rule. To illustrate, this dissertation is about how a multi-ethnic empire was re-built and re-consolidated its relations with the local through the lens of local seawall construction and local famous sites.
This study has benefited greatly from what has been dubbed as New Qing History.\textsuperscript{19} As such, it joins the ongoing debate over the merits of “sinicization” as a viable paradigm for grasping the workings and meanings of Qing rule.\textsuperscript{20} One crucial question in the field of Qing studies is to what extent China proper, Manchus, the Mongolians, Xinjiang, Tibet, and the southwest tribal areas incorporated and re-incorporated in eighteenth century Qing? Departing from that, recently historians are asking what were the mechanisms that tightened or loosened the interrelationships between them? What effects did the inclusion of Inner Asian territories (periphery), Tibet, and Taiwan within the empire have on China proper (core)? To what extent was the court in an acknowledged touch with merchants and other unofficial elements such as local literati? What were the Manchu imperial rulers’ goals and what kind of empire did they build?

This study of Haining seawalls and local famous sites provides some insights into each of these questions. Taking the cue from the above studies, which emphasize the flexible ways in which the Qing controlled the newly expanded territory and integrated ethnic groups, I demonstrate in this dissertation that Jiangnan, the area that had long been

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} Rawski, “Re-envisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History” in \textit{Journal of Asian Studies} 55.4, 829-850; Ho, “In defense of the Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski’s ‘Re-envisioning the Qing’” \textit{Journal of Asian Studies} 57.1, 123-155. While some historians understands the revisionist trend in Qing studies as truly “new,” some argues that it represents a resurgence of themes that characterized an earlier body of English-language scholarship.
\end{itemize}
under the Qing beginning in the seventeenth century, also contributed to a multi-ethnic empire building in the middle of the eighteenth century. Mark Elliot, Pamela Crossley, James Millward, Laura Hostetler, and Emma Teng have contributed to great extent to the field. Their studies have placed Manchu ethnicity at the center of their analyses of Qing rule and have recast our understanding of how the empire was held together both institutionally and ideologically. They argue that the Qing had never abandoned its Manchu identity and it never ruled fully in Chinese style. At most, the Qing opted for a hybrid constitution that departed from both traditions.\(^{21}\) In addition to examining the imperial rulers’ identities and ways in which they rule the newly expanded frontier area, I look at how Jiangnan, the area which the Qing state had conquered in the second half of the seventeenth century, contributed to a new multi-ethnic empire.

Peter Perdue points out that the expansion of the Qing Empire in the frontier area was closely related to consolidation of the core area Jiangnan. The revenue from the Jiangnan area contributed to the economic basis for the expansion.\(^{22}\) Though Jiangnan literati criticized spending on frontier region, the Qianlong emperor always rebuked the criticism.\(^{23}\) As Perdue pointed out the eighteenth-century economy, in particular in Jiangnan, was the basis of military, institutional, diplomatic, and cultural changes of Qing.\(^{24}\) Michael Chang also examines the expansion and the consolidation of a multi-ethnic empire in connection with the Qianlong emperor’s southern imperial tours in the

\(^{21}\) Isett, *State, Peasant, and Merchant in Qing Manchuria*, 1644-1862.

\(^{22}\) Perdue, *China Marches West*, 265.


\(^{24}\) Perdue, *China Marches West*, 336.
Jiangnan area. He explicitly argues that the Qianlong emperor’s presence both enhanced and eroded Qing rule in the eighteenth century. Both Perdue and Chang’s arguments complicates the image of prosperous high Qing era represented by Qing’s military victory in the west frontier.

Departing from existing scholarship, this dissertation focuses on the empire building of the Qing through the lens of the seawall construction and literary creation and re-creation of local landscape in the eighteenth century. By re-centering the study of a multi-ethnic empire from that of frontier to the cultural and economic core area Jiangnan, this dissertation explores the ways in which the connection between the locale and the imperial center related to the building of an empire in the eighteenth century.

My analysis of the Qianlong emperor’s Haining inspection tours and poetic and visual representations of local scenery highlights two points. First, I approach the seawall construction in a complicated and a historically situated interpretation of imperial motives underlying the Qianlong emperor’s management of and poems about seawalls, focusing in particular on the ongoing building of a multi-ethnic empire. Second, embarking on the literary production of seawall construction and local landscape and ways in which they were anthologized in imperially sponsored works and individually compiled local histories, I delve more deeply into difficult and thorny questions regarding local elites’ re-perception of a multi-ethnic empire. As I mentioned above, many scholars have observed that the imperial ruler and bureaucracy of the Qing court existed in tension

25 Chang, A Court on Horseback, 14-27.
with the production of literary projects in the eighteenth century. In my dissertation, I will explore how the imperial center and the local existed in tension both in the management of seawall construction and literary representation of local scenery. What is unique in my study is I focus on the relationship between the center and the local through construction of landscape, both physical (the seawall) and literary. In particular, I argue that the literary production of local scenery, both by the Qianlong emperor and local literati, were an expression of the Qing court’s basic commitment to both the ideological tenets and the institutional logic of a multi-ethnic empire building in the face of critical historical development that were ultimately beyond its immediate or complete control. Seawall construction and famous sites therefore were an integral component to a wide range of historical circumstances, such as military conquest and hydraulic crises as well as the intensifying trends of population growth, commercialization, occupational diversification, and socialcultural fluidity that affected all strata of the eighteenth-century Qing polity.

The account of seawall construction and local landscape’s central role in the historical formation of Qing rule presented here depends on an understanding of the late imperial state as a multi-ethnic empire. As such, before I outline the main arguments and organization of this dissertation, a few remarks regarding the background and concept of multi-ethnic empire building are in order.

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1) The Second Conquest: Building a Multi-ethnic Empire

The Qianlong emperor late in his life summarized his career in terms of the achievements of West Conquest of Inner Asia and Southern Inspection Tours, two enterprises going on simultaneously.\(^\text{27}\) It was under his rule in the eighteenth century that multi-ethnicity became a new kind of concern, which derived from a multi-ethnic empire from the conquest.

The Qing (1644-1911) was distinctive as a non-native dynasty ruling China. It was established by Manchus from the northeast in 1644 to fill the power vacuum left by the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The Manchu with a 2.5 percent of total population ruled Han Chinese with a 92 percent of total population until 1911.

In the eighteenth century the Qing experienced dramatic changes. Epitomizing the era that Western scholars have admiringly viewed as “High Qing” and historians in China itself have characterized as “prosperous age” (\textit{sheng shì}), the eighteenth century saw the empire’s highest attainment of material and political success prior to its crisis of confrontation with the West and inundation by Western cultural influences. First, its population doubled.\(^\text{28}\) Then military conquest allowed the Qing doubled its territory by

\(^{27}\) Michael Chang has insightfully demonstrated the link between the West Conquest and its link with Southern Tours in his newly published book. Chang, \textit{A Court on Horseback}, Introduction, 1-33. Peter Perdue uses the model of competitive state-building to demonstrate why Qing eradicated nomadic enemy to its north. He traces the rise of the Qing and demonstrates that military conquest and repression, along through trade policies, economic development, and administrative effectiveness, established a control on Tibet, Xinjinag, and Inner Mongolia, and therefore a multi-ethnic empire in the eighteenth century.

\(^{28}\) In 1700 the country’s population numbered approximately 150 million. By 1794 it had more than doubled, reaching and estimated 313 million. As for general trend of population in China, please see Ho,
effectively incorporating borderlands such as Taiwan, southwest frontier, and Inner Asia under its rule.\textsuperscript{29} Compared with the first conquest of the newly established Qing dynasty in the late seventeenth century (1683), the High Qing era is often referred to as the second conquest, whose main goal was to effectively integrate borderlands into the empire.\textsuperscript{30}

While adopting many well-established bureaucratic procedures for ruling the Han population, the Qing court also employed additional methods. In doubling China’s territory during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries the court did not rely solely on military force but used a variety of techniques growing out of native Manchu traditions to incorporate both vast amounts of territory and numerous non-Han Chinese people into the Empire. In the case of Inner Asia the Manchu heritage,\textsuperscript{31} religions (Tibetan Buddhism and Manchu Shamanism) and martial and nomadic tradition, opened


\textsuperscript{30} Recent scholars are productive on the research of the empires’ borderlands and their peoples in the eighteenth century China. Emma Teng on Taiwan (\textit{Taiwan’s Imagined Geography}), Peter Perdue (\textit{China March West}) and James Millward (\textit{Beyond the Pass}) on Xinjiang, Mark Elliot on Manchus (\textit{Manchu Way}), Laura Hostetler on the southwest frontier (\textit{Qing Colonial Enterprise}). Perdue, \textit{China Marches West}: 1-14

\textsuperscript{31} Both Chang and Elliot dub it as tribal confederation. Chang, \textit{A Court on the Horseback}, 11-15; Elliot, \textit{Manchu Way}, 39-88.
various avenues for legitimizing the extension of Manchu rule.\textsuperscript{32} In the south and southwest where the Manchu heritage provided no advantages or status to the imperial government, the Qing rulers relied largely on an established Chinese model of bureaucratization and Confucianization as well as production of local knowledge for dealing with minority groups in these frontier areas.\textsuperscript{33}

In addition, the Qianlong emperor also promoted a universalist ideology to deal with the expanded empire and newly incorporated peoples. As Pamela Crossley points out, the imperial ruler Qianlong “[controlled] cultures by incarnating them, commanding their moral centers through the conduct of their rituals” in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{34} By “incarnating” Crossley refers to different guises of the Qianlong emperor to different ethnic groups under his rule. As a result, the universal pretense of emperorship was expressed in various ways. To the Mongols he presented himself as Khan, or the

\textsuperscript{32}David Farquhar has demonstrated that the Qianlong emperor exercised the political manipulation of religion by representing himself as a bodhisattva, thus fostering the adulation and compliance of adherents of Tibetan Buddhism. Farquhar, “Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch’ing Empire,” Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 38.1 (June 1978), 5-34.

\textsuperscript{33}It is \textit{Gai tu gui liu}, a system of local administration in which indigenous leaders (\textit{tu si}) ruled non-Han Chinese population. In the early eighteenth century, the policy changed from the \textit{tu si} system and returning to a system of appointed rotating officials assigned by the central government. Details see Smith, “Ch’ing Policy on the Development of the Southwest China,” 42-45; 251; Herman, “Empire in the Southwest: Early Qing Reforms to the Native Chiefdom System.” Journal of Asian Studies 56.1 (Feb., 1997), 47-74.

The production of local knowledge is another way that the Qing court intends to achieve and maintain control in China. Hostetler, \textit{Qing Colonial Enterprise}, 1-32.

\textsuperscript{34}Crossley, \textit{A Translucent Mirror}, 221.
universal “king of kings;” to Tibetans and Tibetan Buddhist Mongols he was a chakravartin, dharmaraja, or bodhisattva, and patron of the Gelukpa;\textsuperscript{35} to the Han Chinese he was a sage-emperor who performed the crucial sacrifices; to Manchus he was an avatar of a lineage linking the Qing to the Jin dynasty, and promoter of Manchu shamanic traditions.\textsuperscript{36}

It is my assertion that there is a hierarchy among various incarnations of the Qianlong emperor in spite of his various incarnations to different ethnic groups. In his study of the Confucian Temple in Chengde, Adler points out that “potential contradiction [of various incarnations] did not often arise” and “[these] multiple identities and practices may have been mutually reinforcing.” In addition, he implicitly demonstrates the hierarchy of various incarnations by showing that “Inner Asian as well as Chinese, the notion that he enjoyed heavenly favor or mandate was equally salient” in the case of the Confucian Temple.\textsuperscript{37} The Qianlong emperor also presented his universal emperorship to the ethnic peoples under his rule by narrating the heavenly favor and mandate he enjoyed. Qianlong apparently imposed the narrative of heavenly favor and mandate to his newly expanded territory.

Even as the empire integrated various ethnic groups through transcendent emperorship, one of big problems the Qianlong emperor needed to deal with was the Han Chinese, with largest population and paying a big share of taxes, living in China proper.

\textsuperscript{35} They were four different schools of Buddhist models of rulership.

\textsuperscript{36} Adler, “The Qianlong Emperor and the Confucian ‘Temple of Culture’ at Chengde” New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde, 116-117.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 117.
China proper, particularly in the Jiangnan area, was crucial to the multi-ethnic empire building. The Jiangnan area was vital to the Qing Empire in many ways. Economically, the area generated a bulk of the empire’s commercial and agricultural wealth, supplying it with tribute grain and the big share of tax revenues,\(^{38}\) not to mention other critical staples and luxury items, such as salt, silk, and porcelain. Culturally, Jiangnan was the undisputed center of Han literati scholarship and refinement. It was also, however, a bastion of Ming loyalism and anti-Manchu sentiment in the wake of the Qing.\(^ {39}\) In the seventeenth century and eighteenth century, the population doubled in the Qing, primarily in the Jiangnan area, marking the area more crucial to the Qing Empire than ever before.

In addition to adopting many well-established bureaucratic procedures for ruling the Han population, the Qing court also ruled Han Chinese through cultural patronage. Since the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1723), the Qing rulers had patronized a series of Chinese cultural and classical projects to convince Han literati the Manchu’s regime was

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\(^{38}\) By the eighteenth century the tribute grain was no longer a big burden on Jiangnan since most of them were from the way of Huguang in particular. But Jiangnan was still a place functioning as a big purse for the state revenue. Li and Jiang, *Qing dai cao yun*, preface 1-5; Chapter 2, 20-45.

\(^{39}\) Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, 648-69. Wakeman showed how the head-shaving united resistance against the Qing at Jiangyin by uniting the sub-bureaucracy, the urban literati, and the local peasant population in emotional opposition to the conquest and to the magistrate who was tempting to implement orders from the capital and spare a blood bath. Wakeman, “Localism and Loyalism during the Ch’ing Conquest of Kiang’nan: The Tragedy of Chiang-yin” *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, 43-85.
nothing but a new dynasty mandated by Heaven. The Qing court also obtained Han elites’ recognition by recruiting them for patronized projects.  

The Qing court had an intricate relationship with the literati in Jiangnan. While they did their best to include a large number of Han Chinese in the new court, the Qing rulers also cast doubts on Han Chinese elites, particularly on those from the Jiangnan area. In the Jiangnan area, the differences between Manchus and Hans had been recognized in the all walks of life. Some Manchu troops were stationed in the Jiangnan area, living separately from Han Chinese and enjoying their own privileges. Manchu provincial governors were more favored than their Chinese counterparts. The tension between Manchus and Hans, primarily from the Jiangnan area, had long existed in the Qing court, though the Qing rulers tended to take the advantage of the tension between Manchus and Hans for the balance of the power in the court.


41 Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World*, 47-76.

42 The Qing adapted the governorship and the circuit governorship system of the Ming. Yet the governorship was more reserved for the Manchus than Han Chinese. In the late eighteenth century, the Qianlong emperor started to reconcile conflicts between governors and circuit governors. Some circuit governorship were integrated or cancelled in favor of the governorship in the eighteenth century. Details please see Lin, *Qing dai de xun fu ji qi xia qu bian qian* (Transformation of Governorship and Circuit Governorship in the Qing Dynasty)” *Li shi li* 20 (2005), 38-55.

The intertwined and complicated relationship between the Qing court and the Jiangnan area continued in the eighteenth century. In addition, a series of literary inquisitions in the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century aimed to suppress the Han elites’ memories of the Manchus’ conquest in the late seventeenth century, which, further exacerbated the tension and suspect between the Manchus and Hans.\(^\text{44}\) As a result, though Han literati showed their identification with and political loyalty to the empire through their poetic voices and literary various literary projects repeatedly, their positions in the Qing bureaucracy were not as secure as they expected. On the contrary, Han Chinese literati would see themselves critically vulnerable to the imperial rulers’ ambivalent attitude towards Jiangnan.\(^\text{45}\) In fact, beginning in the 1770s, the rumors about Qianlong’s birth place, his ethnicity, and the death of his empress had been circulated among literati’s \textit{biji} (Miscellaneous Notes) and \textit{shihua} (Notes on Poetry). The circulated rumors reflected Han Chinese literati’s curiosity and suspicion about a Manchu emperor. The fact that the rumors arose after the Qianlong’s southern imperial tours also indicated the imperial presence in Jiangnan might

\(^\text{44}\) Spence, \textit{Treason by Book}; Struve, \textit{The Ming-Qing Conflict. 1619-1683: A Historiography and Source Guide}, Introduction, Guy, \textit{The emperor’s Four Treasuries}, 157-200. Literary inquisition functioned as censorship in the Qing. The emperors wished to suppress works that impugned the Manchus and their history. For about seven years from 1776 to 1782, the censorship campaign gathered steam as the editors, collators, and officials involved turned the throne’s zeal to their own ends. Entire families were ruined because of writing and publishing indiscretion.

\(^\text{45}\) Philip Kuhn demonstrates the Qianlong emperor’s ambivalent attitude towards Jiangnan. He was pride of the Jiangnan area. However, he was also sensitive to the Manchu and the Han relationship under his rule. Kuhn, \textit{Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768}, 187-222.
go against his intention for the southern imperial tours. While he intended to assert his authority and power over his subjects in Jiangnan with his presence, the imperial presence invoked local literati’s curiosity about the emperor’s ethnic origin. The rumors indicated the crucial role of the southern tours for a multi-ethnic empire at the time. The seawalls project, one of most important and crucial hydraulic projects in the Jiangnan area, provides an arena for the emperor to present himself as a sage-king mandated by heaven to his subjects, both those who were conquered in the late seventeenth century and those in the early eighteenth century.

In addition, the production of local knowledge about Jiangnan also functioned to incorporate and re-incorporate Jiangnan into the empire. It is my contention, however, that the Qing government did not content itself with Chinese model of bureaucratization and cultural patronization for dealing with Han people in Jiangnan area. Especially as it integrated vast territory and diverse populations into the empire, the court also searched for other means of co-opting and ruling Han elite in the multi-ethnic empire. The collection and incorporation of knowledge about Jiangnan area and the peoples who inhabited it gained increasing importance in achieving and maintaining control in the newly expanded empire. One example is the Grand Canon commissioned by the Qianlong emperor, an account of the Qianlong’s six southern tours that detailed what the Qianlong emperor did (hydraulic projects, reduction of taxes, sacrifice, awards, military demonstration, and receiving tributes) and where the most scenic sites were. These literary and visual representations not only enlarged the imperial knowledge about Jiangnan but also shaped narratives of Jiangnan, which had profound ideology justification for the Qing Empire.
All these activities the Qianlong emperor engaged in during the southern imperial tours were to promote a new ideology for a newly established multi-ethnic empire. As Michael Chang points out, the ritual practice of imperial touring is the proper transmission of political authority.\textsuperscript{46} In a similar way, Qianlong’s Haining inspection tours to seawalls is also a multivalent and a highly controversial ritual practice through which competing visions of a proper governance and political authority had been articulated and negotiated throughout his reign.

2) Seawall construction and Building a Multi-Ethnic Empire

Most historians of the Qing dynasty are familiar with the seawall construction under the Qianlong emperor. The tendency among historians, however, has been to assess the seawall projects almost exclusively as instruments of administration and policy-making, especially in the arena of water control.\textsuperscript{47} Yet did the Qianlong emperor embark on the seawall project in order to promote multi-ethnic ideology?

Much of the scholarship on the seawall projects has followed administrative line of inquiry. The result has been a portrayal of the Qianlong emperor’s seawall inspection as exclusively administrative exercises in Haining. For example, as many Chinese historians have observed that the primary mission of the Qianlong emperor’s Haining tours was to control the tidal bores. To be sure, there were other goals of inspecting the provinces and checking on local officials, understanding popular sentiment, and winning over southern intellectuals; however, these were all secondary.\textsuperscript{48} Though a few scholars

\textsuperscript{46} Chang, \textit{A Court on Horseback}, 2007, 37-38.

\textsuperscript{47} Zhang Fang, “Qianlong huang di he hai tang” \textit{Zhong guo nong shi} 1 (1990), 70-75.

have touched upon some of the other “secondary” aspects mentioned above, a broad consensus remains that the Qianlong emperor’s seawall inspections, analogous to what Michael Chang has observed and analyzed in the case of Qianlong’s Yellow River inspection tours, were primarily geared towards the administrative and policy-oriented problems of controlling sea flooding. In this respect, the Qianlong emperor appeared on his Haining inspection tours not only as a political ruler, but also as a diligent and pragmatic administrator who facilitated the process of bureaucratic efficiency and the administrative business of water control. The seawall construction embodies both ideological power and institutional power of the Qianlong emperor.

This tendency among modern historians to overlook the politics of seawall projects and to interpret the relationship between the southern imperial tours and seawall construction solely in terms of administrative instrumentalism can be traced back to the articulation of a state discourse by Qing officials, as well as by Qianlong himself. Both bureaucrats and emperor justified the Haining tours in terms of inspecting critical hydraulic infrastructure. Gao Jin, the compiler of the Grand Canon, framed the formal commencement of the Qianlong emperor’s first Haining tour in terms of seawall construction on March 26, 1762:

49 These studies focus on the transformation of seawall construction techniques. Japanese scholars more focus on the management of seawall construction. Details see Morita, “Kousetsu ni okeru haitang no suiri soshiki 浙における海塘 の水利組織 (Zhejiang Seawalls and the Irrigation Organization)” Shindai suirushi kenkyu 清代水利史研究, Chapter 8.

50 Chang, Fathoming Qianlong, 51-108.

51 QSGJZ, juan 317, 11-9106.
Because the tidal bores breached the seawalls for many years and caused harm among the people for a long time, His Majesty wished to personally travel to those affected areas in order to survey the conditions and inspect the seawall infrastructure. Thus he ordered a seawall inspection tour to commence on that day.\textsuperscript{52}

Not surprisingly, the Qianlong emperor also justified his seawall inspection largely in terms of the administrative precedent set by Kangxi. In a 1762 essay entitled “Record of Inspecting Seawalls” (\textit{yue hai tang ji} \textsuperscript{53} 阅海塘记), Qianlong stated that his Haining inspection tour was nothing but for the seawall construction.\textsuperscript{53} In a 1762 essay entitled “Records of the Seawall Inspection,” Qianlong claimed that his main concern about Haining was the seawall construction, which I will discuss in detail in chapter one.\textsuperscript{54}

Qianlong’s own narrative of his Haining inspection tour and southern tours as manifestations of his diligence and activism in water conservancy has only reinforced scholarly predilections to interpret seawall projects according to standards of administrative efficacy. By categorizing seawall projects as praiseworthy administrative exercises in water control, the studies overlooked the historical insight into Qianlong’s efforts and achievements in seawall projects.\textsuperscript{55} The studies also fail to have a deeper

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\item \textsuperscript{52} \textit{QDNXSD, juan shou}. This was exactly like what Kangxi said about the importance of the Yellow River project. See Chang, \textit{Fathoming Qianlong}, 51.
\item \textsuperscript{53} \textit{HTXZ, juan 2}.
\item \textsuperscript{54} \textit{HTXZ, juan 2}; \textit{QDNXSD, juanshou} 1, 2a.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Zhang Fang, “Qianlong huang di he hai tang,” \textit{Zhongguo nong shi}, 1 (1990), 70-75; Zhang Wencai, \textit{Zhongguo hai tang gong cheng jian shi}, 1990.
\end{itemize}
understanding of the impetus behind his seawall inspection. Therefore it allows the Qianlong emperor’s own narrative of his seawall inspection to be accepted at face value, that is, to “protect local livelihood.”

Indeed, the relationship between the Haining inspection tours and seawall construction revolves around the questions of imperial motives and administrative adeptness in hydraulic effectiveness of administration and policy-making. By remaining visibly involved in the formulation and implementation of seawall construction, the Qianlong emperor was not only addressing the administrative problems of his day, but also maintaining and asserting his own political prerogatives. It is my intention in this dissertation to analyze the complex convergence of both administrative and ideological concerns in physical seawall construction and literary production of seawalls in the eighteenth century. I argue that the seawall construction was crucial to the Qianlong emperor’s multi-ethnic empire building. By performing and communicating to a broader audience through poems about seawall construction, the Qianlong emperor demonstrated his leading role and efficacy in seawalls projects. In the chapters one and two I will examine Qianlong’s interest in seawalls in both its “administrative” and its “ideological” dimensions- that is, as an exercise in both policy-making and meaning-making. I argue that the seawalls inspections were parts of a broader response to specific historical events in 1760s after the Qing integrated vast territory and various peoples under its rule.

3) Landscapes and Building a Multi-ethnic Empire

Dai Yi, Qianlong di ji qi shi dai, 343-345. Dai argues the most important impetus for Qianlong’s southern tours and their main purposes was ultimately to justify the emergency of river control projects.
Not only did Qianlong build a multi-ethnic empire through the seawall construction, he also used poetic and visual representations of local landscape to promote his ideology of a multi-ethnic empire in the eighteenth century. I mean two things about by landscape. One is the physical scenery itself and the other is the cultural, historical, and political meanings imposed by the emperor and local literati to promote the ideology for a multi-ethnic empire in the eighteenth century.

The emperor did this by exerting editorial authority over the exclusion and inclusion of his poems on landscape in the imperially sponsored *Grand Canon* and the *Seawall Records*, the former of which is one of main sources detailing Qianlong’s inspection tours to Haining and the latter of which emphasizes the seawall constructions. The poems in two works record the site on which the emperor inspected, the poems that he wrote, and seawall construction, and sacrifice ceremony, and activities he conducted at Haining.

In fact, the editorial arrangement and re-arrangement of Qianlong’s poems in the *Grand Canon* and the *Seawall Records* reveals the paradox of Qianlong’s perception of landscape. Its ambivalence, particularly in the *Grand Canon*, also provides a good opportunity to explore the shifting political agenda of the imperial ruler in the eighteenth century. The editorial negotiations reflected in the three editions of the *Grand Canon* portray shifting conceptions of landscape that correspond to that evolving political agenda, which shifting from promotion of imperial filiality in 1750s and 1760s to that of the universal emperorship in the later editions. Reading the poems on Haining and examining how they were included and excluded in the *Grand Canon* and local histories,
I examine what landscape means and how the poems were used for different agendas and how they help to build a multi-ethnic empire in the late eighteenth century.

Qianlong’s poems, which were featured in the *Grand Canon* and the *Seawalls Record*, are accounts of personal perceptions that reflect his project of building a multi-ethnic empire. In the context of Chinese history Qianlong was an emperor of particular longevity. He was also a prolific poet who wrote nearly 42,000 poems collected in 54 volumes. Despite his tremendous production of poetry, the emperor has not been considered a poet. Two criteria were applied to assess Qianlong’s poems. One is the aesthetic quality of his poems. Some criticized Qianlong’s poems as being more politically oriented than aesthetically driven. Since they are more about state management and his virtue as a sage-king, literati readers would criticize them because of lacking aesthetic taste on landscape and being too political. The other is the authenticity of his poems. Some suggested that his ministers, rather than the emperor himself, might have composed some poems. It might be true of these criticism and comments to some extent though. There is no doubt that the Qianlong wrote the poems with his own identity as an imperial ruler. The emperor’s self-perception as a universal emperor in a multi-ethnic empire would imbue his political agenda and ideological belief with his poetry. In other words, his pursuit of being a sage-king over multi-ethnic groups and his politically driven agenda, as were criticized by later historians and poets, provides an opportunity to

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57 Dai Yi, *Qianlong di ji qi shi dai*, 415-433.

examine his perception of universal emperorship in his poetic representation of Haining landscape. Therefore Qianlong’s poems on local landscape are accounts of his personal perceptions that reflect his project of building a multi-ethnic empire.

There were three editions of the *Grand Canon*: a 1771 version by Gao Jin, a sequel version by in 1776 by Sazai, and an abbreviated imperially sponsored *Four Treasures* version based on the previous two versions in 1786.\(^5\) The arrangement of the contents reveals political agenda of the *Grand Canon*, which has rarely attracted historians’ attention. The emperor’s poetry constitutes one fourth of the total contents (33 out of 120 *juan*) in the 1771 version. The poems are arranged in the sequence of the tours and entitled the “Heavenly Texts” section, which reveals political authority of the poems. In addition, the “Famous Sites” section in the 1771 *Grand Canon*, which consists of one tenth of the total contents (12 out of 120 *juan*), was set up to accommodate the sites which the emperor visited. The section on seawall construction in the 1771 version, which is portrayed as the main task of the Qianlong emperor’s southern imperial tours, consists of only 11 *juan* of the total contents. The different number of *juan* more or less shows *the Grand Canon* is more concerned with the emperor’s political authority than anything else. In addition, the re-arrangement of the *Grand Canon* in the 1786 *Four Treasures*.

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\(^5\) Gao Jin, a Liangjiang governor, first compiled the *Canon* in 1766, which only included the records on the emperor’s tours in Jiangsu province. Later the Qianlong emperor commissioned the *Canon* project and included the other three provinces Zhili, Zhejiang, and Shandong in 120 *juan* of *Canon*, which was completed in 1771. Sashu, another Liangjiang governor, in 1786 supplemented *A Sequel to the Canon* after the Qianlong emperor’s southern tours in 1780 and 1784. Later, the two *Canons* were combined into 100 *juan* and included in the *Four Treasures*. 
The Four Treasuries edition reveals a shifting political agenda of the emperor’s last two seawalls inspection tours at Haining.

The Four Treasuries version had many revisions based on the other two editions of the Grand Canons. For example, while the 1771 version followed the Kangxi emperor and prioritized imperial filial duty (e.g. to please his mother, the empress dowager) promoted on the southern imperial tours by arranging the Imperial Filiality (en lun 恩纶) in the very front, the Four Treasuries edition moves the Heavenly Text section in the very front to indicate a shifting ideology concern of the Grand Canon in 1786. That is, the concern of the universal emperorship of a newly expanded multi-ethnic empire surpasses that of imperial filiality in the Qianlong emperor’s last two southern inspection tours in Haining.

The editorial inclusion and exclusion of the poems in the Four Treasuries edition also reflects the shifting political agenda concerning the transcendent emperorship in connection with a multi-ethnic empire. The Four Treasuries edition removes some poems, particularly the landscape poems that Qianlong wrote on his seawalls inspection tours. Such removal of the landscape poems accords with the emperor’s repeatedly claim that his seawalls inspection tours was mainly the concern of local property rather than a sightseeing tours that Han Chinese literati usually conducted. The removal of the landscape poems, however, contradicts with the newly set-up Famous Sites section in Grand Canon, which records many famous sites that Qianlong visited on his southern imperial tours. Even Jianshan, one of dangerous seawall construction sites at Haining, was for the first time recorded as one of famous sites in the Grand Canon.
While the Qianlong emperor used local landscape to promote a universal emperorship for a newly expanded multi-ethnic empire, local literati used that to create Haining locality. Beginning in 1765 right after Qianlong’s second seawall inspection tour, Haining local literati were enthusiastically producing local histories. Some were officially sponsored while more were individually compiled and edited (Appendix 1.1). These local histories, in spite of the difference in terms of funds, were similar in presenting Haining locality in terms of local landscape. First, either officially sponsored or individually edited local histories would highlight local landscape with a newly set-up section entitled Famous Sites. Second, local literati began to construct the history of local famous sites, especially those sites closely in connection with the imperial presence. In addition, they also construct local history and culture with their poetic representation of local scenery.

The poems on seawalls and local landscape constitute a unique kind of historical source material, one that invites an interdisciplinary approach. First, this body of material allows for a detailed study of the development of this largely unexamined genre. Second, the poems can serve as a vehicle for examining one aspect of the history of a multi-ethnic empire in China. Third, an exploration of the milieu from which they sprang poses questions about the relationship between the empire and local society from the representation of landscape. Finally, this abundance of poems also sheds light on the transformation of Haining in the Qing history.

The construction of seawalls and the creation of landscape can be productively and appropriately described in each of these six chapters:
The introduction of my dissertation examines the purposes and politics of the construction of seawalls and the Qianlong emperor’s Haining inspection Haining (1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784).

Chapters One, Two, and Three explore the imperial powers (both bureaucratic and ideological dimensions) and local literati’s response to those in the eighteenth century. The Chapters will focus on how the seawall project and the imperial presence at Haining reshaped the images of tidal bores on the local and national natural and cultural landscape.

Chapter One is a study of the bureaucratic expansion and imperial power. Using the seawall construction as a lens, I will examine how the Qianlong emperor negotiated his power with his court ministers and local officials.

Chapter Two discusses the ideological dimension of the imperial power. Exploring poetic and visual representations of tidal bores, seawalls, and other local scenery, I will discuss how the representations promoted the ideology for a multi-ethnic empire.

Chapter Three explores the ways in which scenes of daily life were envisioned as local landscapes in local histories.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six turn to a case study to address the questions of who created landscape and how they used landscape in local societies. Using local histories, the chapters will discuss how politics and culture in the eighteenth century created new meanings for local landscape.

Chapter Four provides a descriptive account of the “Famous Sites” section in terms of its contributors, contents, and styles.
Chapter Five examines changing meanings of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* and their link to local literati’s political agendas of using them in local histories in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.

Chapter Six analyzes readership and utilization of the “Famous Site” section in late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.

Through a three-tiered approach, combining 1) a close look at the Qianlong emperor’s management of the seawalls construction and his poems on local landscape; 2) local re-perception of the presence of the emperor and his poems in local histories; 3) the large political and historical context of the poems informed by the political representations of seawalls construction and local landscape, I hope to enhance our understanding of a multi-ethnic empire building in the eighteenth century, and to contribute a case study to historians working on similar issues in the field. Many of the questions I address in the eighteenth-century context-- including issues of representation and the creation of unity among diverse populations remain highly relevant in the twentieth century in China.
Part One: The Construction of Seawall and a Multi-Ethnic Empire Building

Chapter One

An Imperial Enterprise at Haining:

Seawall Construction and the Prevention of Tidal Bores

Mountain-high hurricane waves uprooted trees,
suddenly shaking heaven and earth;
Thousands of seaside homes,
  washed away, no one survived.

Zhu Miaoduan, 1477

I was awakened at the third watch,
A treacherous clamor as if thousands of horses were galloping;
The power of the tidal bores came,
I am obsessed with the idea of suppressing the tidal bores;
However, just as a humble Yu lacked a good policy,
I express my regrets in my writing;
Tomorrow I will set out for Pointed Mountain,
I will do my best to gather insightful suggestions.

Emperor Qianlong, 1762

In Chapter One, I will focus on how the construction of seawalls, an imperial project
  funded and sponsored by Qing rulers, transformed the image of tidal bores at Haining,
  shifting from that of a ravaging power to that of the aesthetically pleasing scenery. This
  chapter situates the seawall construction in the context of politics of changing Manchu-
  Han relationship in the eighteenth century. I first analyze how Qianlong used the seawall

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1 Zhu Miaoduan, “Jian’an shichao (Zhu Jing’an’s Famous Manuscript)” BJLCS, 3a.

2 HTL, juanshou; YZSWJ, juanshou; NXSD, juanshou; HNXZ (1765, 1775), HNZZG (1922), juanshou.
construction to build local bureaucracy for a newly expanded empire in Jiangnan. Then I examine how he used the seawall for an ideology building of the empire in the eighteenth century. Looking at how the imperial rulers, their advisors, and local elites engaged in the construction in the seawalls at the foot of the Jianshan (Pointed Mountain 尖山) and in the vicinity of Lao Yancang (Old Salt Repository 老盐仓), I argue that the Qing imperial rulers planned the seawall construction as an imperial enterprise both to centralize state power and to negotiate power with local Jiangnan elites. This chapter suggests two different but closely related imperial powers, bureaucratic and ideological power, through the lens of the seawall project. The Qianlong emperor asserted his authority over his bureaucracy through institutional power, including using the mechanisms of policy-making, punishment, policing, and the state financing system to carry out the seawall construction. Meanwhile, the emperor also convinced his subjects his legitimacy with his ideological power. Using the poetic and visual representations of seawalls, tidal bores, and local scenery, Qianlong established himself as a sage-king to legitimate his presence in the Jiangnan area. I will discuss the institutional power of the emperor in chapter one and ideological power of the emperor in chapter two. I will examine how seawall construction stimulated literary works about tidal bores and how this literature transformed seawalls and tidal bores that had significance both locally and trans-locally.

Tidal Bores: Aesthetically Pleasing or Destructive Force?

3 I was inspired by Michael Chang’s analysis of the Qianlong emperor’s exercise of Yellow River Conservancy to impose his authority over his bureaucracy. Chang, “Fathoming Qianlong: Imperial activism, the southern tours, and the politics of water control, 1736-1765” Late Imperial China 24:2 (December 2003), 51-108.
Tidal bores, a natural phenomenon, occur in places where rising tides are forced into geographically constrained places such as river outlets. The rising water creates a “tidal wave” that surges up the river with great kinetic energy and great potential for destruction. Tidal bore strength is impacted by natural factors such as storms.4

The tidal bores at the Hangzhou inspired many literati artists. Zhou Mi’s (1232-1308) essay Guan chao (Observing Tidal Bores 观潮)5 and Xia Gui (c.a. 13th century)’s painting Qiantang chao (Qiantang Tidal Bores 钱塘潮) were two of the earliest and most powerful textual and visual representations of tidal bores, and had great influence on later generations’ literary and visual representations of tidal bores. Zhou, using textual images of fish-scale military troops (yu ling zhen 鱼鳞阵),6 snowy mountains (xue shan 雪山), and silver threads (yin xian 银线), presented the tidal bores as being powerful and mysterious. On the other hand, Xia Gui, using the perspective of a person on a high terrace in the silver moonlight, visualized the bores as being a power off in the distance. In doing so, the visual and textual representations form an aesthetically pleasing image of the tidal bores shaped to the taste of the literati. Later generations, watching the tidal bores on the top of a hill by the bay, created an aesthetically pleasing image through similar literary and visual productions about the tidal bores.

However, tidal bores were not so attractive and aesthetically pleasing to local

4 Han and Dai, “Reclamation and River Training in the Qiantang Estuary,” 121-138.

5 Zhou Mi, “Guan Chao” in Wulin jiu shi, vol 3.

6 It is one of forms that military troops were organized for field battles. Organized in the shape of fish scale, the form intends to help infantry soldiers to support each other.
people who had to live by and deal with them everyday as they were to literati who chanced upon the tidal bores for their literary and visual inspirations. The disasters of tidal bores ravaged local property, arable lands, and salt manufacturing, standing in stark contrast with the above aesthetically pleasing tidal bores of Zhou Mi and Xia Gui. Occasionally, local poets who suffered from the impact of tidal bores presented another image of tidal bores, destructive and uncontrollable. In 1471, Zhu Miaoduan, a woman poet native to Haining, recorded in her poem with which I opened this chapter a destructive sea flooding: People were rushed away and their estates were destroyed. The Zhu family had lost their estate on the seashore and had to relocate to a village on the border of Haining county and Haiyan county.\footnote{\textit{JASG}, Appendix, 2a.}

Haining did not become a destination for appreciating tidal bores until the late eighteenth century. Beginning in the twelfth century places in the provincial capital of Hangzhou, such as Mount Gu (Gushan 孤山), Six Harmony Tower (Liuhe塔 六和塔), Zhang Pavilion (Zhangting 樟亭), were known as locations to watch and appreciate tidal bores. Nowadays, Haining attracts millions of tourists annually. Lao yancang and Jianshan at Haining are two locations known best for watching annual tidal bores in the fall, when the tidal bores are said to have reached their peaks of momentum in a year.\footnote{\textit{Ren min ri bao} (People’s Daily), 15-09-2000.}

What made Haining the best location to watch tidal bores in the late eighteenth century? The answer lies in the seawall construction sponsored and funded by Qing rulers. Examining the process of imperial policies and instruction on the seawall construction, I argue the Qing rulers employed the seawall project as an exercise to building the empire
under their rule. Both physical construction of seawalls and literary production of tidal bores functioned as a political tool to centralize the power as well as to negotiate power with Han Chinese literati. The seawall construction and literary production created tidal bores not only to present imperial presence and authority to their Jiangnan audience but also helped to adjust the Manchu Qing relationship with Han literati elites in the eighteenth century. Situating tidal bores and seawalls in the political culture in the eighteenth century, I argue that the discourse of tidal bores carved out two different but closely related public spaces for Haining. While the Qing rulers used the discourses of tidal bores to integrate Haining into the newly expanded multi-ethnic empire, local literati appropriated the discourses to reinforce their local identities.

Tidal Bores and the Seawall Construction

The Qiantang tidal bore, also referring to the Haining Tide in modern China, is praised as a wonder of the world because of its magnificent momentum. To most people who live by the sea, tidal bores are a common phenomena, which come and go, fluctuating with the tides, twice a day because of the encounter between inflowing sea and outflowing river. However, the encounter between the Qiantang tidal bores and the China East Sea creates a large body of water surging up as high as seven to eight meters and flowing at a speed of seventy to eighty kilometers per hour at its height.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) The marine outfall east is as wide as 60 miles, while the river surface of its west to Ganpu contracts to 14 miles. When it comes to Yanguan Town of Haining, the river surface is only 1.6 miles wide. When the tidal bore begins to flow, the wide and deep Hangzhou Bay swallows a large amount of seawater quickly. Because the river becomes shallow and narrow suddenly, the surging tidal bore has no time to rise in order, resulting in waves upon waves. *MQQTJHT*, 1, 5-10; *Li, Qiantang jiang yu Qiantang chao*; *Su, A Reader on*
The power of the tidal bores was shaped by the unique location and the shape of the Hangzhou Bay, which was in return reshaped by the tidal bores. Beginning in the fifteenth century, a funnel-shaped Hangzhou Bay began to shape long after the tidal bores swept in along the south shore from the east and pass below Hangzhou city. As a result, two expanses of pastures and salterns form the northern shore, anchored on the Mount Zhe (Zheshan 赭山), which faces the Mount Kan (Kanshan 龜山) across the narrowest part of the strait to its south (Map 1.1). By the seventeenth century, the sea had engulfed the northern pastures and salterns, driving the coast back to a vulnerable line of seawall with no natural anchorage between Xiaojianshan (Lesser Pointed Mountain 小尖山) and the city of Hangzhou. Meanwhile, the currents of the Qiantang River had mainly poured through northern outlet, and the mountains that once studded the tongue of land descending from the north had switched to eminences in an emerging tongue that was growing up from the south composed of a mass of newly deposited or transported sediments. The southern outlet had gradually narrowed by the eighteenth century.\(^{10}\)

By the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, the ravaging tidal bores had left Haining the only city on the coast.\(^{11}\) While a triple arc of seawalls linking mounts

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\(^{10}\) Elvin, *The Retreat of Elephants*, 243-244; *HTL*, juan 19, Guo Jun’s *On Haining Tidal Bores*, 28b-29b.

\(^{11}\) *HTL*, juanshou, Edicts. Both the Yongzheng emperor and the Qianlong emperor pointed out the unique situation of Haining in terms of its vulnerability to tidal bores. They repeatedly urged in the edicts that local officials should pay more attention to the Haining seawall construction than elsewhere. Local elites began to talk about the formation of the tidal bores and their connection with the geographic location in the early
Hezhuang, Yanmen, Shu, and the Xiao Jianshan, up to more than six miles inland from the sea, provides the reserve lines fortify the walled city of Haining and arable lands and salt fields along the coastline. There were no natural docks or islands between Jianshan and the city of Hangzhou on the north shore of the Hangzhou Bay (Map 1.2).\(^\text{12}\) This made Haining thereafter the most vulnerable city subject to the destructive tidal bores in the eighteenth century.

The seawalls were crucial for Haining’s prosperity and its people’s safety (Figure 1.1; 1.2).\(^\text{13}\) It was common to see tidal bore, heavy rainfall, and flooding in the area to raise the rivers well beyond flood stage. If the seawalls were in disrepair, the ravaging tidal bores frequently breached the dikes, flooding the area, and destroying life and property. Because of its destroying power, tidal bores were sometimes misrepresented as a destroying tornado and tsunami in news media. In 2004 *Calgary Herald* mistook the picture of Haining tidal bores with the Tsunami (figure 2.1). Chinese new media pointed out the differences between the tidal bores and Tsunami one week later. This is an amazing picture. A close look at the picture reveals that people are not running in fear—that some are smiling and others just sitting—so a careful newsman would have know it is not a tsunami. Thanks to the technology to prevent sea floods, people nowadays are able to appreciate the tidal bores annually when they are at the peak of their power (figure 2.2).


\(^\text{13}\) Jiang and Tao, “The Seawall in Qiantang Estuary,” 139-150.
Maintaining the seawalls in particular was difficult because of the treacherous currents and heavy silt load in the Hangzhou Bay. The currents would erode the seawalls in certain sites for a period, and then silt deposits in an area could quickly change the site where the force of the tidal bores carried on its erosive work. Such dangerous forces had to be guarded against continually with assiduous inspections, dredging, and repair.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} MQQTJHT, 37-48.
Figure 1.1 A Canadian Newspaper *Calgary Herald* Mistakes the Annual Tidal bores at Haining as Tsunami (Source: www.sina.com)

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Figure 1.2 A Picture of Tourists Watching the Tidal Bores by the Haining Seawalls in October, 2005
In addition, the pounding of the tidal bores form the Bay and the invasion of salt water would contaminate low-lying cropland to the north of Haining.\textsuperscript{16} The seawalls had to contend with the treacherous tidal currents in the Hangzhou Bay as the Qiantang River entered the bay. Silting and erosion created continual problems that required constant vigilance.\textsuperscript{17} Wind, rainfall, and tidal bores in the autumn are three major threats to the seawalls.\textsuperscript{18} Rainfall would lead to floods in the Qiantang River and made the encounter between the sea and the river even fiercer. These were even more destructive when winds and water surged due to heavy rainfall, wave intensity, storm action, and the natural fluctuations of tides height over the year. Winds, floods, and tidal bores working together would collapse seawalls in a second and bring about the disaster to local people and property. In the autumn of 1471 and again in 1477 Haining people experienced a terrible disaster as a result of the combination of a huge flood, heavy rains, and fierce tidal bores. A stretch of land about twenty miles long on the coastline collapsed and was submerged into the water.\textsuperscript{19} As Zhu Miaoduan lamented, the disaster was so destructive that “thousands of houses were washed away” and “no one survived.”\textsuperscript{20} In the late sixteenth century, winds, rainfalls, and tidal bores worked together and washed away a stretch of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[17] \textit{HTL}, juan 20, Chen Yu on the Haining Seawall, 19b-26b.
\item[18] \textit{HTL}, juan 20, Fan Xian on the Haining Seawall, 3a-5a.
\item[20] \textit{JASG}, 3a.
\end{footnotes}
land ten miles long along the seashores, exposing the walled city of Haining to the ravage of the tidal bores.\textsuperscript{21}

What was even worse, the destructive tidal bores had a damaging impact on agricultural productivity of Hangzhou, Jiaxing, and Huzhou, three prefectures to the north and west of Haining (figure 2.3). The prefectures, as the core economic centers for grain, cotton, and silk across the empire, were heavily assessed for the grain tribute tax.\textsuperscript{22} The salt water would salinate the arable lands, leaving the fields without productivity for several years.\textsuperscript{23} In addition, the overflowing tidal bores would also leave the first leg of the Grand Canal, which functioned as the main artery between northern and southern China and was crucial for the transport of tribute grains to capital Beijing, subject to the attack of the destructive tidal bores.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{21} HTL, \textit{juan} 20, Chen Xian, On Tidal bores, 5b-19b.

\textsuperscript{22} Guo Songyi et al., \textit{Zhongguo feng jian she hui jing ji shi}, vol 4, 393. For details of the Ming and Qing dynasty tribute grain systems, please see Li and Dray-Novey, “Guarding Beijing’s Food Security in the Qing Dynasty: State, Market, and Police” \textit{Journal of Asian Studies} 58.4 (November 1999), 992-1032.

\textsuperscript{23} HTL, \textit{juanshou}, Edicts, 1a-12b.

\textsuperscript{24} As for the economic and cultural function of the Grand Canal, please see Timothy Brook, \textit{The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China}, 30-55. Brook’s observation of the Grand Canal in the Ming dynasty can also be applied to understand the function of the Canal in the Qing period.
Figure 1.3 Taihu Plain and Hangzhou Bay\(^{25}\)

\(^{25}\) Han and Dai, “Reclamation and Training in Qiantang Estuary,” 122.
Beginning in the eighth century, seawalls, according to local gazetteers of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, were constructed to protect the region’s prosperity and its people’s safety. They functioned as an important way to prevent ravaging tidal bores along the seashores of the Hangzhou Bay. Though seawalls were constructed and reconstructed along the seashore of the Hangzhou Bay since the eighth century, it was only in the eighteenth century that the seawall construction became a systematic project. Seawall construction and maintenance were within the purview of local and, at crisis times, provincial governments. The Qing central government, which had clear strategic concerns about flood control in areas of heavy grain tribute assessment, was directly concerned about sea flooding that might affect grain production in the region. Seawalls were annually inspected, maintained, and (re)constructed.

Before the eighteenth century, the state would occasionally dispatch a limited sum of money to fund the seawall construction or maintenance in the event of sea overflowing. However, the annual construction funds primarily came from local taxes. Local corvée laborers were the main force for the construction. Before the Qing government was fully engaged in the seawall constructions in the eighteenth century, local elites took on a crucial role in the projects. They raised money, mobilized local donations, and came up

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27 MQQTJHT, 16.

28 Li and Jiang, Qing dai cao yun, preface 1-5; Chapter 2, 20-45.

29 Jiang and Tao, “The Seawall in Qiantang Estuary,” 139-150; MQQTJHT, 8-9.

with specific ideas on how to build the seawall project.\textsuperscript{31} The construction was primarily a local project constrained at a local county level. In the event of emergencies, local elites from different counties would cooperate with each other to construct the seawalls trans-locally to resist tidal bores.\textsuperscript{32} As a result, the seawalls were segments scattered along the seashores of Hangzhou Bay.

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the seawall construction and maintenance became part of a national hydraulic project, in which Qing imperial rulers gave unprecedented attention to the seawalls. Three emperors, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, allocated a large sum of money to support the construction. In total, the Qing state allocated more than ten million \textit{taels} of silver to spend on seawall construction in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{33} Yongzheng and Qianlong also set up specific offices in charge of the construction, reconstruction, and maintenance of the seawall construction. In addition, Qianlong inspected Haining seawall construction four times during his southern imperial tours to Jiangnan (1762, 1764, 1780, and 1784).

With so much at stake in keeping the seawall construction and maintenance, it is hardly surprising that it remained one of the main items on the political agenda. Imperial rulers used the seawall project not only to resist tidal bores and to control sea floods, but also to reinforce their ultimate authority over their ministers and local subjects. Deciding

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{HTL, juan} 19, Ren Sanzai’s \textit{On Corvee Laborers for the Seawall Construction}, 12b-13b.


\textsuperscript{33} Tao Chunhuan and Zhou Chaosheng claimed that Qing state invested 30 million to construction the seawalls. During the Qianlong’s rule, 12 million \textit{taels} of silver were invested on the seawall construction. \textit{MQQTJHT}, 2; 115.
who should be appointed to supervise the project, monitoring how local officials would use the funds, and determining where seawalls should be built, imperial rulers presented their political authority to local officials. Funding the annual sacrifice ceremonies to local Tidal Bore Immortal and inspecting Haining seawall project, the imperial rulers also presented their authority to his local subjects in the form of imperial benevolence. In addition, leaving the poems about the solid seawall project and the powerful tidal bores, the imperial rulers created Haining tidal bores as new national scenery that highlighted Haining on the cultural imperial landscape.

In surveying the cases of seawall construction, repair, maintenance, and reconstruction, one finds a number of significant issues regarding the imperial center-local periphery relationships, imperial Manchu identities, and local identities in terms of local famous scenery. Most clearly, the seawall construction points to the contestation and the negotiation between the imperial center and the local. In this process, the central question became what inspired imperial rulers such as Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong to cast a large sum of money on seawall construction and how the task of coercing or offering incentives constantly became a government function. The common issues were, first, the management of seawall project: however the potential construction made its way to the political agenda, who was to superintend the construction project? Second, how was the effort to be funded? Finally, how was the work to be done? What methods of construction were most appropriate and effective?

The Seawall System and Construction Principle
Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong were without a doubt actively engaged in matters of seawall construction throughout their reigns. Michael Chang observed that Kangxi never
made the seawall construction a focal point of his administrative efforts even though he was fully aware of the strategic import of the Zhejiang seawalls from the earliest years of his reign. Nor did Kangxi seek to formulate a comprehensive strategy regarding the seawalls as he had in dealing with Yellow River conservation. Chang also pointed out that while the Yongzheng emperor made the seawalls a top priority and left an impressive record of activism in both Yellow River conservation and seawall fortification, he did so without once embarking on an imperial tour of inspection.\footnote{Chang, \textit{A Court on Horseback}, 2001a, 347.} The three emperors were interested in the seawalls as a means to insure continuing agricultural production and salt tax revenue. The prevention of tidal bores had an impact upon agriculture in the fertile Jiangnan region and thus upon both economic stability and political legitimacy. In 1707 the Kangxi emperor stated the seawall construction was crucial to the people’s livelihood.\footnote{HTL, \textit{juanshou}, 1a.} Qianlong in 1735 echoed Kangxi’s sentiments, saying that the “seawall construction was crucial to local people’s livelihood.”\footnote{NXSD, \textit{juanshou}, The Record of Southern Imperial Tours (\textit{Nan xun ji}).}

Qianlong wrote the above lines in the \textit{Record of Southern Tours (\textit{Nan xun ji})}\footnote{Qianlong wrote the record in 1784 to commemorate his southern imperial tours. It was later anthologized into the \textit{Grand Canon of Southern Imperial Tours} and Haining local gazetteers.} after his last southern imperial tours and his fourth Haining seawall inspection tour at Lao Yancang and Jianshan. Lao Yancang and Jianshan were situated at the east and the west ends of the Haining seawalls, where the Hangzhou Bay narrows and forms the fiercest tidal bores found anywhere in the world. The construction and the maintenance of the

\footnote{Qianlong wrote the record in 1784 to commemorate his southern imperial tours. It was later anthologized into the \textit{Grand Canon of Southern Imperial Tours} and Haining local gazetteers.}
Lao Yancang and Jianshan seawalls was to a great extent just the visible aspect of construction projects, for the proper functioning of the seawalls was directly related to the overall stability of the seawall system on the north shore of Hanghzou. By the early eighteenth century the geographic scope of the tidal bores and the bureaucratic apparatus had expanded far beyond the critical Haining seawalls. According to local officials in their memorials, the very rationale of an expansive approach to the seawall construction derived from two simple facts. First, the salt water would salinate the arable lands in Jiaxing, Hangzhou, and Huzhou; Second, the sea flooding would destroy the salt fields on the coastline of the Haining, which contributed a big share of the state’s revenue in the Qing:

The seawall construction must be considered as the matter of great importance in the Yue region. So to construct Lao Yancang and Jianshan is to protect the Haining seawall. To protect the Haining seawall is to protect [people’s livelihood] in seven prefectures of Jiangnan and Zhejiang provinces.  

The Lao Yancang and Jianshan seawalls were in many ways the crux of the seawall system. They were two important geographic points that formed a natural “choking” of water flow up the Hangzhou Bay during tidal changes. Jianshan is located where the Hangzhou sharply narrows down and where the East Sea enters the mouth of the Hangzhou Bay. When tidal waters surged into the mouth of the Hangzhou Bay at Jianshan, the seawater would suddenly turn into an “unconstrained wild horse,” rushing fiercely toward the coastline at the foot of the Jianshan, where thousands of salt fields

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38 HTL, juanshou, Edicts; 1a-3b; juan 4, Chen Xian’s On Tidal Bores, 12b-14b.
were located.\textsuperscript{39} Lao Yancang, on the other hand, was located at the northern outlet of the Qiantang River. Without the protection of any mountains, the Lao Yancang seawall was particularly vulnerable. Things became even worse when silted sands blocked the middle and southern outlets of the Qiantang River. The tidal bores thus poured through the northern outlet and endangered the Lao Yancang seawalls more than ever before.\textsuperscript{40}

Additionally, the sands tended to pile up on the southern bank and collapse on the northern bank, exposing the foot of the seawalls to the endangering tidal bores. Thus, as the tidal bores passed from the northern shore to the southern shore, the riverbed titled southward—higher southward and lower northward. First, the tidal bores swirled in the bay and thus intensified when the tidal bores behind caught up to those in the front, which local people called “returning tides” \textit{(hu tou chao 回头潮)}.\textsuperscript{41} The subsequent intensification of the tidal bores brought the threat of flooding to the northern bank, particularly the Lao Yancang seawalls and the walled city seawalls, both of whose footings were exposed to the tidal bores, lacking the protective silted sands.

A major task of the seawall bureaucracy was to build solid stone seawalls. However, this was not an easy task and required a delicate management of the constantly shifting hydraulic and geological forces. Unlike on the southern bank where mountains stood up along the coastline and formed a solid base for the seawalls, the Haining coastline was primarily made up of sands and therefore was not able to support the solid yet heavy stone seawall. In addition, the frequent tidal bores on the northern bank would

\textsuperscript{39} HNXZ (1675), \textit{juan} 4, Salt Taxes \textit{(yan ke)}; HNXZ (1765), \textit{juan} 5, Salt Taxes, Salt Taxes \textit{(yan fa)}

\textsuperscript{40} HTL, \textit{juan} 14, Chen Xian’s \textit{On Tidal Bores}, 17a-18a.

\textsuperscript{41} HTL, \textit{juan} 20, Chen Xian’s \textit{On Tidal Bores}, 6a.
wash away the sands that had piled up at the foot of the seawalls and thus cause the
deterioration of the seawall itself.

In addition to the solid seawalls, the prevention of tidal bores might be achieved
by constructing reduction dams (figure 2.5)\textsuperscript{42} and sluice-gates (\textit{zha 防}, figure 2.4) --
silting on the northern bank is to keep the sands from silting only on the southern bank.
While they piled up on the northern bank, the sands can protect the foot of the seawalls
by slowing down the tidal bores. Since the early eighteenth century, reduction dam and
sluice-gates located along the coastline from Jianshan to Lao Yancang were the primary
means of preventing tidal bores.\textsuperscript{43} These various devices were meant to draw off and thus
reduce the force of the tidal bores before they reached the seawalls at the walled city and
Lao Yancang. The diversion of too much water would cause the tidal bores to slow down
and increase meandering and silting along the seashore and the middle and the southern
outlets, which would in turn greatly increase the risk of breaches of the seawalls on the
northern shore. Even more disastrous was the possibility that the opening of a reduction
dam or sluice-gate in and of itself might draw the tidal bores into the initial point of
diversion and flooded surrounding areas.

\textsuperscript{42} Reduction dam is literally in Chinese as timber-headed dam “\textit{caotou ba},” braid-headed dam (\textit{pantou ba}),
or round-headed dam “\textit{yuan tou ba}.” They were built along the coastline to block and divert the currents so
that the tidal bores could slow down or be diverted to other directions.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{HTL, juan} 14, \textit{Haiwang on the Construction of the Jianshan-Tashan Reduction Dam}, 8b-14a.
Figure 1.4 The Sluice-gate of the Preventive Earthen Seawalls (source: HTL, juan 10)
Figure 1.5 A Reduction Dam for the Seawall Construction (Sources, *NXSD, juqn 59, 1072*)
Additionally, the management of tidal bores might be accomplished by dredging silted sands at the middle outlet of the Qiantang River—that is to keep the middle outlet clear (figure 2.5). This was also no easy task. During seasonal high waters in summer and autumn, the current of the Qiantang River might be blocked and the force of the seawater thus grew stronger. Two currents ran against each other at the three outlets (north, middle, and south). Because the seabed tilted southward, the tidal bores tended southward and the sands tended to silt at the southern and the middle outlets of the Qiantang River. More sands piled up on the southern bank. Local people gradually opened up the arable lands and salt fields on the sands. Local government also helped to establish the seawalls to protect these newly claimed lands for local people. The southern bank therefore was pushed northward. Meanwhile, the currents of the Qiantang River tended to go through the northern outlet where less sand silted up, because the southern outlet was so close to the southern bank that silted gradually silted up the outlet.

The consequences of the encounter of two currents at the northern outlet were severe. First, since the currents of the Qiantang River were much stronger than the seawater at the northern outlet, the sands bringing over by both the seawater and the Qiantang River silted up in the middle and the southern outlets, gradually clogging the middle outlet. Thus, the Qiantang River primarily poured through the northern and southern outlets, leaving the Lao Yancang particularly vulnerable. Second, the sands

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44 HTL, juan 14, E’ertai on Dredging and Digging, 26b-27a.
45 Haining shi shui li zhi, 126
46 HTL, juan 14, E’ertai’s On Dredging and Digging, 26b-27a.
silted at the middle outlet, blocking the tidal bores from going further upstream. The obstruction of the middle outlet could lead to the rise of tidal bores, becoming the highest and the most devastating power on the northern bank. This put more pressure on the seawalls at Lao Yancang and the walled city, and subsequently threatened the overall safety of the northern bank. The tidal bores roaring through beaches in the Lao Yancang seawall would flood stretches of the coastline as well as lower-lying coastal regions even further west and north (i.e., the Wuxing, Renhe, Qiantang, Jiaxing; see Map1.1 & 1.2, Figure 2.3). Meanwhile, sea flooding would cause losses in agriculture and salt production, not to mention tremendous human suffering and casualties. If these sorts of catastrophes were to be prevented, it was important to keep the southern and the middle outlet clear and to allow the current of Qiantang River to be of sufficient force to withstand the seawater. Only then would the Qiantang River be kept on its southward and middle courses through the middle and the southern outlets, leaving the northern outlet less vulnerable to the tidal bores.

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47 *Haining shi shu li zhi*, 126.

48 *HTL, juan* 14, Memorials, E’er’toi’s *On Tidal Bores*, 4a-b.

49 *NXSD, juan* 55, Seawall, Yang Tingzhang’s *On Seawall Construction*, 3a; Zhuang Yongong’s *On Seawall Construction*, 4a.
Figure 1.6 Silting Sands at the Middle Outlet (Source: HTL, juan 1)
In addition, the pressure on the Lao Yancang might be reduced by creating a series of man-made diversionary channels on the coastline (Figure 2.5 and 2.6). This excess water from the Hangzhou Bay thus could course into another series of channels abutting the seawalls. From there it could find its way back to the sea by flowing eastward through a network of man-made canals (tang 塘) in the vicinity of the seawalls. The eastward flow of water was largely controlled by a series of dams built into the western bank of the seawalls between the Jianshan and the Lao Yancang. The two most important of these were (from west to east) Twenty-five-li Canal (Er’shi li tang he 二十里塘河) and Sixty-li Canal (Liu shi li tang he 六十里塘河). This, too, was a problem. First, the canals might be full of salt water when the tidal bores were peaking and thus would not be able to channel the water out. The excessive seawater could flow over the canals and salinized the arable land as well. Second, the maintenance of embankment of the canals also cost tremendously, as laborers would be needed to monitor the sea level, to dredge sands, or to maintain the embankment of the canal. In addition, the preventive earthen dikes were usually planned to construct on the lands where local residents lived. The relocation may cause the local resistance to the seawall project since local residents might lose the lands they depended on for a living for the seawall construction site. Sometimes local gentry also rejected the seawall construction, claiming that “[the] tidal bores traveled constantly between the northern and southern banks… there was no need

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50 HTL, juan 14, Haiwang’s On Preventive Earthen Seawalls, 7a-8a.
to construct the seawalls… since they would cost local people’s money and corvée labors.”

In addition to these concerns, the diversion of the tidal bores might bring about a conflict of interest between the Lao Yancang and the Jianshan. While more laborers and funds might go for clearing silted sands at the outlets, less labor and funds might go to the construction of the reduction dam. For example, the Zhejiang governor Cheng Yuanzhang (1684—1767) preferred to spend more money on the construction and the maintenance of seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang over the reduction dam in 1733. In contrast, his college Longsheng preferred the drainage of the southern and middle outlets, and the construction of the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam. This led to a conflict between Longsheng and Cheng Yuanzhang in 1735, which I will discuss in the next section. The intricate balance of hydraulic forces became increasingly difficult to manage as the prevention of tidal bore and the construction of seawalls became more of a focus in the eighteenth century.

**Funding Seawalls and Constructing an Efficient Bureaucracy (1720s -1730s)**

The complex prevention system of tidal bores was in fact the production of a long-term evolution dating back to the theories and policies of water control experts such as Huang Guansheng (??-1589, 1529 juren), Zhao Weihuan (1600 juren), and Fan Xiang (1608-

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51 *HTL, juan* 19, Ren Sanzai’s *On Corvée Laborers for the Seawall Construction*, 12b-13b.

52 *HTL, juan* 14, Cheng Yuanzhang’s *On Seawall Construction*, 29b-33a.

53 *HTL, juan* 14, Longsheng’s *On the Reduction Dam*, 27b-29b.
Chen Xian (1643-1722) was one of the best well-known experts on the seawall construction in the early Qing period. He modified and refined the theories of his predecessors. Zhu Shi (1665-1763) was a crucial figure to the seawall construction in the eighteenth century. His approach drew on Huang Guanxian and Chen Xian, that is, to construct a fish-scale-stone seawall (yu lin da shi tang) with the support of other strategies to prevent tidal bores, such as dredging the silting sands, constructing a reduction dam, and controlling the sluice gates. The comprehensive proposal was not carried out in its entirety because of a lack of state financial support. In addition, the plans for the stone seawall construction, which took place between 1718 and 1724, hinted the beginning of a major expansion of the seawall construction project that would open

54 For more on Huang, Zhao, and Fan on the sea floods control and the seawall construction, see HTL, juan 20.

55 HTL, juan 20, Chen Xian on Tidal Bores, 5b-19b. Chen Xian wrote seven commentary essays (yi) on how to prevent tidal bores.

56 QSGJZ, juan 281, 11-8662. Chen was a native to Haining. He obtained juren degree in 1674. He was an expert at water control and wrote various memorials to the Kangxi emperor on the Yellow River conservancy when he served in the Qing court.

57 QSGJZ, juan 296, 11-8816.

58 Huang Guangsheng started the idea of the fish-scale stone seawall in late Ming. It is made up of five layers of horizontal stones and five layers of vertical stones on a solid base. Huang used the method to construct the seawall at Haiyan, which turned out to be very successful. When it was employed on the Haining seawall construction. It turned out not to be so workable, because the soft soil at Haining coastline cannot sustain the heavy layers of stone.
up over the next three decades. Kangxi and Yongzheng were actively involved in the process of how to prevent tidal bores. They made a great effort to raise enough funds for the seawall project in spite of the fact that the Qing state maintained the taxes at a fixed and low rate. Their commitment and their big investment were crucial to the success of this long-term construction. The Yongzheng emperor carried on his father’s legacy of activism in matters of the Haining seawall construction. He presided over the expansion of the seawall project in the 1720s and 1730s. The Yongzheng period signaled an important moment in the expansion of the seawall project in terms of the state’s financial support to prevent tidal bores.

59 HTL, juan 13, The Memorial on Using Stones to Build a Solid Seawall. Zhu Shi’s five points on the seawall construction are: 1) to build a solid stone seawall on the sand base; 2) to construct the reduction dam to slow down the tidal bores; 3) to build sluice-gate to exclude the floods in the emergency; 4) to maintain the earthen seawalls; 5) to dredge the sands piling up at the Qiantang outlets.

60 There were four main sources of government revenue in the Qing: the land tax, the grain tribute, the taxes on domestic commerce and the salt monopoly. The land tax constituted 75% of the total taxes. In 1712, Kangxi decreed that the per capita tax (ding 升) would be permanently fixed at the current level. His son Yongzheng gradually merged the per capita tax with one tax-paying unit. The tax rate was maintained at a relatively fixed rate for these traditional sources of dynastic revenue through the Qing.

61 In the mid-1680s the silver reserve from the wars of conquest. In 1686 there was some 26 million taels of silver in the Board of Revenue. Over the next century silver reserves in the Board of Revenue treasury would never again drop below the figure of 23 million taels (1723). In the eighteenth century, the silver in the Board of Revenue ranged from 40 million to 70 millions taels. Guo, Kang-Qian sheng shi,

62 Yongzheng intensified the role of the monarch as an administrator by transforming funding system on the seawall project into state sponsored. He also set up an office in charge of the seawall construction at Haining. Meanwhile, a thousand of stationed military forces at Haining were employed to inspect the sea
The Yongzheng emperor did not simply perceive the seawall construction as a physical hydraulic project. More importantly, he used the project as a tool to construct an efficient bureaucracy. The Yongzheng emperor’s ideas on the Haining seawall construction were consistent with the political and economic policies he set up right after he succeeded to the throne. Historians have observed that harmony, to the Kangxi emperor, had been of great importance, which means, among other things, a policy of reappeasement and compromise, and a resistance to dramatic changes. To the Yongzheng emperor, efficient administration and fighting against corruption had high priority and he was ready to take radical and ruthless measures to achieve his goals, and to attack the accumulated problems from his father’s long reign.63 The shift of the imperial policies shaped the seawall project at Haining. With sufficient financial support from the central government, the construction of stone seawalls was prioritized over that of wooden seawalls and earthen seawalls.

One example is how the Yongzheng emperor raised the funds for the seawall construction. Funds had always played an important role in shaping the seawalls. The amount of funds determined how much of the seawall could be completed and therefore where was it built. In some cases, those who raised the funds had priorities to decide the

level and seawall maintenance. In the emergency of seawall collapse, Yongzheng allocated state funds for the construction. For example, Yongzheng allocated 290,000 taels of silver for the reconstruction of the collapsed fish-scale seawalls in 1724. He also allocated 180,000 taels for dredging silting sands and maintaining sluice gates, 50,000 taels for constructing reduction dam between Jianshan and Tashan, 120,000 for reconstructing the collapsed earthen seawall between 1733 and 1735. The above data is based on the table “Funding the Seawall Construction in the Ming and Qing” MQQTHTJHT, 114-115.

63 Mote, Imperial China, 900-1800, 892-896.
size, the shape, and the site of the seawalls. In late Ming local merchants and local
officials took the responsibility to raise the funds since the central government could not
raise sufficient funds and authority over the seawall construction. Funds for Haining
seawall construction primarily came from local merchants’ voluntary donations. In
addition, local corvée laborers assigned by local officials also helped to save a big sum of
money for the seawall construction.⁶⁴ Therefore, local officials, local merchants, and
some local literati dominated local seawall construction.

In the early Qing, the central government actively engaged in funding seawall
construction. In his early years, Kangxi set up an annual emergency fund for the
reconstruction of the bruised seawalls.⁶⁵ Yongzheng carried on that policy. In 1724, he
even set up a new annual construction fund, which was supposed to be used for the
construction of new stone seawalls along the coastline. But the funds were very limited in
terms of its amount. Local officials often memorialized the emperor that the construction
and maintenance could not be completed since there was not enough money to purchase
materials (stones, timber, and boats).⁶⁶ In addition to the land taxes and merchants’
donations, official title selling therefore became a supplementary financial support for the
seawall construction. For example, when a sea flood broke the seawalls in 1664, it took
about nearly 28,000 taels of silvers to construct a new stone seawall at the foot of Mount
Jianshan. The Qing state allotted 5,800 taels in terms of the annual reconstruction fund,

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⁶⁴ MQQTJHT, 112.
⁶⁵ CXHTTZ, juanshou.
⁶⁶ HNZZG, juan 5, 613-614.
local officials donated 5,300 *taels*, and local elites donated 9,000 *shi* of grain. The rest of 7,404 *taels* of silvers came from a seven-year loan from Hangzhou prefecture.\(^{67}\)

However, the amount of the funds was still not able to cover financial needs for the seawall construction and reconstruction once Kangxi and Yongzheng (later his son Qianlong) decided to replace the timber or earthen seawalls with the stone ones. Local officials had to turn to the official title selling to cover the financial gap. In 1718, Kangxi granted a new official-title selling donation named “Seawall Construction Donation” (*hai tang juan*) to make up for the funds for the Haining seawalls. Even with the various donations, the funds were not sufficient, which delayed the construction and the maintenance of the seawalls in many ways. In the late years of the Kangxi’s reign, as a result, there were no sufficient funds for the seawalls construction and the seawalls were repeatedly breached and collapsed in 1720, 1721, and 1722.\(^{68}\)

When he came into power, the Yongzheng emperor also realized the problem of insufficient funds. However, he did not prefer the official title selling donations and thought the title selling donations might lead to an inefficient bureaucracy as a result of local official corruption. He worried that local officials, “using their powers,” imposed various surcharges on local merchants and peasants in terms of “the seawalls construction donation.” In other words, the emperor worried that local officials would misuse their power to appropriate the funds for their own interests.\(^{69}\) He gradually did away with the title selling But he introduced new voluntary contribution for the seawalls: 1) salt voluntary contribution coming from the merchants who obtained licenses from the state;

\(^{67}\) ZJTZ, *juan* 64.

\(^{68}\) HTL, Memorials, 1a-12b.

2) redeemed voluntary contribution originating from criminals; 3) and confiscated silver coming from corrupt officials when their property were confiscated and auctioned. In spite of diverse origins, all the donations were set up with the emperor’s consent and were all under his scrutiny.

Yongzheng set up the donation money for two purposes: 1) he raised the money to make up with the financial gap for the seawall construction; 2) he supervised local officials and to impose his authority over them.

Nothing was more illustrative than his use of the confiscated money from Chen family’s donated money for the Haining seawall construction. The Chen family was native to Haining. For three generations, the family produced three prime ministers serving in the Qing court, which won them reputation both locally and nationally. However, the reputation did not guarantee to produce the servants who disciplined themselves to abide by the law. In 1723, one of the Chen family’s servants was involved with a quarrel with a local butcher in Hangzhou. Huang Shulin (1672-1756),70 the Zhejiang governor at the time and a marriage relative of Chen family, adjudicated the butcher as a “tricky people” (*diao ming* 刁民) and flogged the butcher to death. The situation got worse when a servant of Huang’s brother became involved in a quarrel with an owner of a local silk shop. Huang again adjudicated the owner as a “tricky people” and flogged the owner in the court. The two cases intrigued local riots. Local merchants protested three times in Hangzhou to show their outrages against the Huang and Chen families.71 The cases attracted the Yongzheng emperor’s attention. He asked the Zhejiang

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70 *QSGJZ*, juan 290.

censor to report about the cases. The latter suggested that Huang Shulin did not really do anything wrong about the cases except that he was “too quick” to conclude the cases.72

The Yongzheng emperor agreed with the censor that these incidents were nothing but minor cases (xiao shi 小事). However he decided to use the cases to give a lesson to his court officials. What really annoyed the emperor was less the cases than Huang’s attitude to the imperial authority in the above cases:

“Since he was promoted [to the position], I repeatedly called upon him. I realized that his attitude changed dramatically. His words were empty and frivolous. When he listened to my instruction, he is always impatient and not respectful. When he served the position, he was not fair in his recommendations [of local talents] and his reports were not properly written. The things he privately memorialized were not consistent [with what he did]. I had repeatedly issued the edits to warn him. However, he did not pay attention ... The incidents were minor. Yet he was just appointed the position. If he continued to act recklessly like this, what affair might he not do in the future? He confirmed what I had expected of him.”73

What Yongzheng really feared was the behavior of his court officials: whether they paid respect to the imperial instruction and whether they efficiently carried out the imperial edicts. Huang did not demonstrate himself properly in the above two ways, thus the emperor claimed that Huang did not live up to the imperial expectation and deserved punishment.


In addition, Yongzheng also feared that the intimate relationship between the Chen family and the Huang family, which he thought led to threat of local prominent families to the imperial authority. In fact, the tension between the imperial authority and local prominent families is a common theme in imperial China. Centralization the domination of the imperial power over local prominent families had long been an imperial concern. This was main agenda after Yongzheng succeeded the power. He made great efforts to centralize the imperial authority by purging the Censorate, curbing the aristocracy, and settling financial accounts. In the above cases, the owner of the servant Chen Shilong and Chen Shikan did not really engage in the incident. Eventually Yongzheng punished them in terms of losing their responsibilities (shi ze 失职). This suggested that they be punished because they did not follow Confucian ethics and values to carry on their responsibility to discipline the servants.

Yongzheng further justified his supervision over local prominent families through the seawall construction. After the emperor’s adjudication, officials from Chen family and Huang family who were involved in the cases were deprived of the position titles. However, that was not Yongzheng’s real intention. His adjudication was nothing but a reminder punishment. He intended to give his ministers a reminder rather than to ruin their political life. Therefore he allowed Chen Shikan, Huang Shujin, and Huang Shulin, who were still “carrying the crime charge” (fu zui 服罪), to retain their position titles to contribute to the Haining seawall construction. In return, the two families agreed to

74 Mote, Imperial China, 900-1800, 895-896.
75 HCJSWB, juan 160, gongzheng, 22, ge sheng shui li 3.
76 YZCHWZPZZHB, juan 3, 612.
commute their “crime” with their donation money for the seawall, which totally amounted to 400,000 *taels* of silvers. Considering the annual emergency funds for the seawall in 1725 was about to 9,000 *taels*, the contribution was a big sum of money to local seawall construction. In doing so, the Yongzheng emperor not only raised the money for the seawalls, he also used the case to warn other officials to recognize the imperial presence locally. Yongzheng’s adjudication to the Chen family and the Huang family was consistent with his polices on finance, land taxes, and bureaucracy to centralize the imperial dominance during his reign. The seawall construction was therefore instrumental to implement this agenda. His son Qianlong followed his approach and supervised his bureaucracy through the seawall construction project, which I will discuss in the following sections.

**Political Controversy and Negotiation:**

**Building a Reduction Dam and Silting Sand? (1730s-1750s)**

In addition to funds, the Yongzheng period indicated an important moment in the expansion of the seawall bureaucracy. In 1730, the Zhejiang governor Li Wei (1687-)

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77 *YZCHWZPZZHB, juan* 3, 612.

78 Yongzheng intensified the role of the monarch as an administrator by transforming funding system on the seawall project. He actively engaged in raising funds. He also set up an office in charge of the seawall construction at Haining. Meanwhile, a thousand soldiers stationed at Haining were employed to inspect the sea level and seawall maintenance. In the emergency of seawall collapse, Yongzheng allocated state funds for the construction. For example, Yongzheng allocated 290,000 *taels* of silver for the reconstruction of the collapsed fish-scale seawalls in 1724. He also allocated 180,000 taels of silver for dredging silting sands and maintaining sluice gates, 50,000 for constructing reduction dam between Jianshan and Tashan, 120,000 *taels* of silver for reconstructing the collapsed earthen seawall between 1733 and 1735. The above
1738)\textsuperscript{79} suggested that a Seawall Construction Bureau be established, following that of the Yellow River and Grand Canal conservancy. Li argued that the new bureau was capable of coordinating a vast waterworks scheme that did a great deal to save money and laborers for both the state and the local government.\textsuperscript{80} Therefore an organized administrative structure was gradually established to supervise the seawall system consisting of a dense network of seawalls, reduction dams, canals, and sluice-gates. In 1733, a new office called the Sea Defense Subprefecture (hai fang tong zhi 海防同知) was set up. One thousand soldiers were recruited and stationed at Haining, supervising the currents in the Hangzhou Bay and the seawall construction. The seawalls on the northern shore were divided into segments and one thousand soldiers were divided into small groups, each of which would take care one segment of seawalls. In addition to the administration under the Zhejiang governor, the imperial textile commissioner based in Hangzhou also participated in the seawall administration. This expansion of the seawall bureaucracy took place in 1730s and was a direct response not only to the sea overflowing at Haining between 1729 and 1733, but also to the longer-term problems which ensued throughout the whole system. In other words, both the Yongzheng emperor

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\textsuperscript{79} QSGJZ, juan 301, 11-8883

\textsuperscript{80} LZHTTZ, juan 17.
and the Qianlong emperor and their officials were dealing with a still fragile seawall and an expanding seawall administration.\(^8\)

The fragile seawalls repeatedly collapsed in the late Yongzheng reign and the early Qianlong reign.\(^8\) The situation was getting even worse in 1740s and 1750s, evidenced in the large number of memorials on the tidal bores disasters and the collapse of the seawalls that were sent to the throne. Most recurrent collapses happened at the Lao Yancang seawall and the Jianshan reduction dam. More specifically, the seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang were plagued by a series of seawall collapse in 1729, 1733, 1735-36, 1747, 1757, 1762, and 1781.\(^3\) A close reading of these events not only reveals the problems of physical seawall construction, but also political controversies and negotiations in the Qianlong period.

In 1735 the tidal bores breached the seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang, Nianli ting, and the walled city of Haining. Thousands of people lost their lives, and

\(^8\) Pierre-Etienne Will has argued that Qing imperial rulers more actively engaged in the hydraulic construction than their predecessors. He thus defined that the Qing as a society based on “hydraulic bureaucracy,” in which the Qing maintained power and control through exclusive control over access to flood control and irrigation. Lillian Li observed an expanding bureaucracy on the river control in north China. Michael Chang has observed that an expanding bureaucracy of Yellow River control in 1750s. He argues that the Qianlong’s engagement in the Yellow River control during his southern tour was both an administrative management of his bureaucracy but also functioned to establish the imperial authority over his subjects. Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth-century China*, 75; Li, *Fighting Famine in North China: State, Market, and Environmental Decline*, 71-73. Chang, “Fathoming Qianlong,” 65-66.

\(^3\) *Haining shi shui li zhi*, 20—21.

\(^3\) HTL, juan 4, Jianzhu (construction). *Haining shi shui li zhi*, 18-20.
crops and homes were destroyed. Both bureaucratic problems and geological factors resulted in the collapse. In terms of geological factors, beginning in 1729 the sand silted in the middle and southern outlets, which led to the northern outlet the only channel for the current of the Qiantang River. The more fundamental problem was the fact that the soft sands in the vicinity of Lao Yancang could not sustain the fish-scale stone seawall, which, as a missionary witnessed in 1866 at Haining, was made of heavy blocks of granite, varying from twenty-five to thirty feet in height. In 1718, five miles of fish-scale stone-seawalls were planned to be constructed at Lao Yancang, which ended up with only one mile completed. Even that one mile of the seawall continued to be maintained and reconstructed after the completion. The problem had been severe since 1724, and the area had flooded in 1729 and again 1733. In fact, provincial officials had actually already started to dredge and widen the increasingly shallow and obstructed southern and middle outlets in 1734. Not surprisingly, they responded quickly to the problem with a more comprehensive plan not only to overhaul the outlet, but also to

84 HNXZ, juan 3.

85 The Popular Science Monthly, 1866, New York, N.Y.: Popular Science Pub. Co, 288. The fish-scale stone seawall in the eighteenth century might not be so strong as what missionary saw in the nineteenth century. But the technology of the fish-scale-stone seawalls did not have dramatically changed until the twentieth century when cements were used in the construction. MQQTJHT, 64-69.

86 Originally five miles of fish-scale of stone were planned to be constructed. The plan was cancelled because the soil along some part of coastline was too soft to sustain the seawall.

87 HTL, juan 4, Construction.

88 LZMCZY, vol 1, 19-27.
complete the reduction dam at the foot of the Jianshan, expecting to slow down the tidal bores for the later reconstruction of the seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang.

The Yongzheng emperor and his officials recognized the reconstruction should be done in a complete network of seawall system. The two main policy recommendations attributed to the Zhili governor Li Wei and the imperial special commissioner Haiwang (? – 1755), reflected dual concerns, prevention and construction, over the effective seawalls. The plan called for dredging silting sands at the southern and middle outlets to decrease the pressure on the northern outlet and building reduction dams to slow down the speed of the tidal bores so that sands would pile up on the foot of the seawall on the northern bank to protect the seawalls. It also called for reconstructing a preventive earthen seawall (tu bei tang 土备塘) behind the fish-scale-stone seawall as a special line of defense. The idea was to decrease the pressure of the tidal bores on the seawalls so that reconstruction or maintenance of the seawall could function.

Not all officials completely agreed with Li Wei and Haiwang. Some questioned the possibility of constructing the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam. The Zhejiang governor Cheng Yuanzhang suggested that the construction not be completed until the sands piled up at the foot of the seawalls. However, Chen agreed that the preventive earthen seawall should be maintained and consolidated. Some questioned the burden of

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89 QSGJZ, juan 298, 11-8846. Haiwang was a Manchu bannerman. He memorialized to the throne in 1733

90 HTL, juan 14, Haiwang’s On the Seawall Construction, 8b-20a.

91 HTL, juan 14, E’ertai’s On the Seawall Construction, 13b-14a.

92 HTL, juan 15, The Board of Works’ Reply to Cheng Yuanzhang’s Proposal on the Timber Seawalls, 1a-2b.
corvéé labors. The Hangzhou prefect Jiang Lin (1694-1748)\textsuperscript{93} expressed his objection about the effect of dredging the outlets and possibility of building the reduction dam: “If the tidal bores could be prevented, then laborers should be recruited; Otherwise, it would foil the people and exhaust finances.”\textsuperscript{94} Here was a contradiction between the imperial center and local officials, couched in terms of the “necessity” of seawall construction versus the “protection” of local people. While Yongzheng was concerned with the completion of the seawall system, local officials such as Jiang Lin worried that the employment of corvéé laborers would bring more laborers out of agricultural production and eventually local government had to take care of the bills for the seawall construction. Jiang thus appealed to the governor Cheng Yuanzhang to decline the project.

Jiang Lin’s proposal on the seawall policy agitated the conflict that had already existed among local officials, in particular between the Zhejiang governor Cheng Yaunzhang and the special commissioner in charge of the seawall (\textit{zhong li hai tang da cheng} 总理海塘大臣) Longsheng. Cheng Yuanzhang memorialized to the throne that it was not practical to dredge since the currents would pile up the sands and clog the outlet immediately after drainage.\textsuperscript{95} He also claimed the “treacherous currents” made it impossible to build a reduction dam between Mount Jianshan and Mount Tashan.\textsuperscript{96} As far as Cheng was concerned, the project would cause excessive corvéé service for the

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{QSGJZ, juan} 484, 14-10901.

\textsuperscript{94} Jiang Qinghui, \textit{Quanzhou lin shi ren wu} (Quanzhou Historical Figures), 133-134.

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{LZHTTZ, juanshou}, 398.

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{LZHTTZ, juanshou}, 398.
Zhejiang province and have little to no effect. Though he proposed differently from Jiang Lin, Cheng was on the side of Jiang Lin.

Longsheng, on the other hand, defended Li Wei and Haiwang’s proposal to handle the situation in terms of dredging silted sands and constructing the reduction dam at the foot of the Jianshan. Longsheng was at this point the imperial textile commissioner and the associate commander-in-chief (du tong 都统) of Hangzhou Prefecture. More importantly, he was an intimate informant of the Yongzheng emperor in the Jiangnan region.

As a result, Cheng Yuanzhang was deposed from the position in charge of the seawall construction. Longsheng took the full responsibility for the dredging and reduction dam construction. However, Longsheng was challenged by local metropolitan officials such as Jiang Lin, and even corvée laborers. When he requested ten thousand corvée laborers for drainage and reduction dam construction in May 1735, the Hangzhou

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97 LZMCZY, vol 1, 19-62. There were three offices of textile commissioner based in Qing Jiangnan: Suzhou, Nanjing, and Hangzhou. They were in charge of managing the textile factories in those cities and sending quotas of silk for imperial and official use in Beijing. The commissioners were appointed directly by the emperor and they were usually bannermen from imperial households. They were considered in the same category as governors and financial commissioners, the key figures in provincial administrations. Though they remained commissioners outside of bureaucracy, commissioners were very powerful considering that they were the emperors’ eyes and ears in the Jiangnan area. They sent private memorials reporting local rice prices, rainfall, social activity, public opinions, and local officials’ social gathering. On local level, they often bypassed provincial governors and set up an immediate liaison with district and prefectural administrators. Their power facilitated a lot of their business but also led to conflicts with local provincial officials. Spence, *Ts’ao Yin and the K’ang-Hsi Emperor*, 83.
prefect Jiang Lin first declined, claiming that “both plowing planting and silkworm raising need laborers. If they were sent for the seawall construction, their livelihood would be affected.” Jiang also pointed out that it was also impossible to recruit ten thousand laborers in a couple of days.\textsuperscript{98} Using the term of “livelihood,” Jiang implicitly accused the central government of being more interested in the seawall works than in local residents’ well being. This was a formidable challenge to the imperial authority since the Yongzheng emperor completely supported Longsheng’s ideas on the seawall construction. Longsheng arrested Jiang in charge of “Jiang’s being not cooperative.”\textsuperscript{99}

However, Longsheng was not able to control laborers. Ten thousand laborers were sent to the seawall construction sites. They challenged Longsheng by expressing dissatisfaction with their daily pay and the future livelihood. Some laborers fled; some delayed the work; and some organized themselves and directly asked to raise their payment. They prioritized their future livelihood and their current well being over the construction of the seawalls. Two reasons accounted for this. First, while the seawall construction might protect their property, local residents might lose their arable lands for the seawall construction, for the seawalls would be put on their lands and the land would be used as dirt for the walls.\textsuperscript{100} Second, Longsheng, as a new hand to the seawall construction, was not so well aware of existing problems and did not have a very good communication with local bureaucrats and laborers. For example, when Longsheng had a confrontation with laborers, Jiang Lin, who had been arrested by Longsheng, was set free

\textsuperscript{98} Jiang, \textit{Quanzhou lin shi ren wu}, 133-134.

\textsuperscript{99} \textit{QSGJZ}, juan 484, 14-10901.

\textsuperscript{100} \textit{LZHTTZ}, juanshou, 399.
to persuade laborers to go on with the seawall construction. The incident reveals two kinds of conflicts. First, it was the conflict between the state interests and local interests in terms of the function of the seawalls. While Yongzheng was concerned with protective function of seawalls to the agricultural production and the salt production in the whole Jiangnan region, local residents were concerned with their well-beings in the immediate future.\textsuperscript{101} Second, it was the conflict among bureaucrats derived from bureaucratic expansion. While Yongzheng wanted his informant Longsheng to help with handling seawall construction, Longsheng’s ignorance and mishandling of local officials and laborers brought about the big problem to the seawall construction.

The Yongzheng emperor responded to the resistance incident in an imperial edict. He suggested that local officials “increase the daily wage of corvée laborers” and censured them for “not cooperating with each other.”\textsuperscript{102} But all of this work came to naught. Two months later, the seawalls collapsed again. The reduction dam was not completed and the dredging of silting sands did not function to prevent sea floods.\textsuperscript{103} The sudden death of the Yongzheng emperor two months later left the controversy to a twenty-four year old young emperor Qianlong.

\textsuperscript{101} This is a common sure of tension. Pierre Étienne Will discusses such tension in the case of famine and relief. Christopher Isett discusses the tension in the case of the state’s policy on the migration of peasants to Manchuria in the eighteenth century. Will, \textit{Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth-Century China}, 79-96. Isett, \textit{State, Peasant, and Merchant in Qing Manchuria, 1644-1862}, 60-74.

\textsuperscript{102} LZHTTZ, juanshou, 399.

\textsuperscript{103} LZHTTZ, juanshou, 400.
The 1735 controversy was not simply about the construction of the seawalls, but more importantly how the young emperor dealt with the crises and established imperial authority over local officials, who apparently challenged the imperial authority in 1735. The situation was ironic when the ensuing sea flooding and the seawall collapse proved that local officials such as Cheng Yuanzhang and Jiang Lin were not wrong at all in terms of their objection to the reduction dams and drainage. The reduction dam could not be completed because of the treacherous currents and the drainage did not prevent sands from silting at the middle and southern outlets.

Qianlong, on the one hand, criticized local officials such as Cheng Yuanzhang and Longsheng as responsible for the seawall collapse since they “disputed and did not cooperate with each other.” But, on the other hand, he criticized local prominent families and local functionaries who only cared about their own benefits, underpaid corvée laborers, and imposed various surcharges on local residents, which led to the delay of the seawall construction and eventually the collapse of the seawall in the construction.104 But Jiang Lin who had challenged the imperial authority in the 1735 controversy, was promoted as the Changlu Salt Transport Commissioner (Changlu yanyunshi), an important position in charge of the salt certificate licensing.105

Qianlong’s handling of local officials was consistent with his narrative of protecting local livelihood he iterated and reiterated in his edicts on the seawall construction. Jiang Lin was promoted because he took care of local residents’ well beings even he confronted himself with his supervisor Longsheng. Longsheng was punished

104 LZHTTZ, juanshou, 402.

105 Jiang, Quanzhou lin shi ren wu, 133-134.
because he was not able to handle the situation. More importantly, he did not take care of local livelihood. Cheng Yuanzhang might be correct in terms of objecting the reduction dam construction and drainage of sands. However, Cheng was not able to cooperate with and failed to give good advice to Longsheng, which according to the Qianlong emperor’s edicts in 1735 and 1736, also caused the collapse of the seawalls. Rather than emphasizing the strategic benefits for the state, Qianlong articulated the necessity of the seawall in terms of protecting local benefits. This became a dominant tone that Qianlong had for the Haining seawall construction.

In addition, Qianlong also used the incident as a way to remove officials who had served his father and replaced them with those people who might be more loyal to him. He abandoned these officials, particularly those experts trusted by his father such as the Zhili Governor Li Wei and Haiwang. He relied upon the Southern Riverway Governor Ji Zengyun (1671-1739) for the solution to the seawall construction at Haining. Li Wei had long engaged in the seawall construction since 1724. He was in favor of the strategy of drainage and the construction of preventive earthen dike for the prevention of tidal bores. Li Wei, Zhang Tingyu (1672-1755), E’ertai (1680-1745), and Haiwang had been favorites of the Yongzheng emperor. More importantly, they were the most senior

106 HTL, juan 15, 8b-14b.
107 QSGJZ, juan 317, 11-9097
108 Feng Er’kang, Zhongguo li dai di wang zhuang ji: Yongzheng zhuang, 470- 502. Bartlett, Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch’ing China, 1723-1800, 138, 139-141. The highest ranking members of the Interim Council in 1736 were Qianlong’s uncle, the first-degree Zhuang Prince, Yinlu, and the Guo Prince, Yinli.
members of the four-person Interim Council (zong li shi wu wang da cheng 总理财务望大臣) and were thus among the most powerful court officials of the early Qianlong period. However, the young emperor abandoned Li Wei in spite of his rich experience in the seawall construction.\textsuperscript{109} Ji Zengyun, who had never engaged in Haining construction, was sent for the solution to the prevention of sea floods.\textsuperscript{110}

Qianlong’s handling of Li Wei reflected that the young emperor decided to use the controversy to establish his authority over his ministers and local officials. In 1736, Ji Zengyun arrived at Haining, fully in charge of the seawall project. After the inspection on site, Ji proposed to abandon both the drainage and the reduction dam construction, claiming that neither was practical enough to solve the problems. This seemed to echo what Cheng Yuanzhang claimed. However, he proposed to dredge the sands on the southern bank of the Hangzhou Bay rather than completely abandoning the drainage strategy.\textsuperscript{111} His logic was that the sands at the southern and middle outlets were automatically washed away by the tidal bores to the southern bank once the sands on the southern bank were dredged away. The strategy turned out to be very successful at the time. The middle outlet was not clogged any more and no drainage was required until 1747. The sands started to pile up at the foot of the seawalls on the northern bank. Ji also

\textsuperscript{109} Michael Chang also observed that Qianlong abandoned Li Wei and Zhang Tingyu in the Yellow River Control project. Chang, “Fathoming Qianlong,” 70.

\textsuperscript{110} Originally Zhu Shi, a seawall construction expert who proposed the network of seawall construction system in the early Yongzheng period was sent as an imperial special commissioner to Haining. However, he passed away shortly after he was appointed. Ji Zengyun then succeeded that position.

\textsuperscript{111} HTL, juan 15, 14b-16b.
requested to stop the reduction dam project,\textsuperscript{112} which both Cheng and Jiang had proposed before.

Most importantly, Ji Zengyun proposed to replace the earthen and timber seawalls with the fish-scale-stone seawalls wherever possible.\textsuperscript{113} Therefore, Ji not only approached the seawalls as a protection for local property but also a secured way to wrest lands from the sea for local people. The seawall changed the flat land, allowing peasants to claim the lands along the seashore. The Qing state’s attitude to lands reclamation varies from region to region. The imperial rulers were aware of the environmental deterioration caused by land reclamation in the mountain area. They were alert to ethnic conflicts caused by land reclamation by migrant Hans in frontier area. They were also cautious about lands reclamation by Han migrants in Manchuria. In Taiwan, lands reclamation was costly. However, lands reclamation gained supports from the imperial rulers who concerned about social stability and the relief of population pressure on coastal area. In the Jiangnan area, the population pressure and limited lands made the lands reclamation more difficult than many other regions in China. Both the state and local government made a great effort to maintain the amount of lands. They would increase the lands for tax revenue once lands could be reclaimed. To build a solid seawall along the seawall allowed land reclamation possible once sands silted at the riverbanks. This eventually became one of important principles and purposes of the Haining seawall construction in the eighteenth century.

\textsuperscript{112} HTL, juan 15, 16b-17b

\textsuperscript{113} HTL, juan 15, 20b-25a.
By the fall of 1736, a five-mile-long seawall was constructed in the vicinity of Lao Yancang. To the pleasure of Qianlong, the Qiantang River flowed through the southern outlet, maybe as a result of the drainage of sands on the southern bank.\footnote{HTL, juan 1} Three years later the strategies of drainage and reduction dam, which the emperor rejected in 1736, was restored. In 1739 the Zhejiang governor Lu Zhao memorialized to the throne, asking to restore the construction of the reduction dam and completed the whole project in 1739.\footnote{HTL, juan 15, 28a-30b.} Meanwhile, Qianlong, upon Lu’s request, agreed to restore the drainage of the middle outlet, the approach he stopped in 1735.\footnote{HTL, juan 15, 30b-32b.} The restoration of the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam and the drainage project lay in a large part to the fact that the tidal bores tended to press on the southern bank beginning in 1738. More importantly, Qianlong, after four years on the throne, felt more confident to handle the seawall construction than he was four years earlier.

The 1735-1739 controversy provided important insights onto the place of the tidal bore prevention issues in the constitution of Qianlong’s political authority. It was through the procedure of handling the imperial special commissioner and local officials; deciding the strategies of the sea floods control, and dealing with local concerns about the seawall construction, that a twenty-four years old young emperor, who had at that point only just succeeded to the throne, asserted his own prerogatives over the powerful court officials, experienced local officials, and the complicated seawall construction itself.
In his handling of the controversy, the Qianlong emperor proved himself to be a quick student of seawall construction system. His ability to construct a reliable tidal bore prevention system was important both administratively and politically. In addition, some local officials’ conflicts ultimately shaped the content and tenor of Qianlong’s response. As Qianlong emphasized in the 1736 Qianlong’s instruction to his officials, that is, “not to overwork local residents and exhaust local corvée laborers.” In 1740, Qianlong issued an edict commanding that no one be allowed to appropriate lands of local residents within the reach of the seawall construction site. As he continued to grapple with the problems of the sea flooding control in the next half century, Qianlong remained equally preoccupied with publicizing his administrative ability and benevolent concerns to the Haining residents. This would become evident on his later inspection tours to Haining in 1765, 1780, and 1784.

Seawall Inspection Tours: Sands Piling Up for the Fish-scale-stone Seawalls?

From the very start, the Qianlong emperor had placed his own political authority and his reputation for benevolence upon the issue of the seawall construction. However, his political agendas were under the shadow of risks and uncertainties as both the reduction dam at the foot of the Jianshan and the fish-scale-stone seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang experienced major breaches in 1750s. Meanwhile, sands had once again silted up and clogged the middle and the southern outlets after tidal bores again frequented northern bank. As a result, the Qiantang River flowed again only through the

117 Following the Qianlong’s instruction, Ji proposed four points on the seawall construction: 1) no soil could be dug away within 300 feet of the seawalls; 2) those whose lands were confiscated for the seawall sites should be paid fairly and should be exempted from land taxes. LZMCZY, vol 2, 165-170.
northern outlet, putting tremendous pressure on the seawall in the vicinity of Lao Yancang. The fish-scale-stone seawall, which played a crucial role in preventing tidal bores in the 1735 controversy, turned out not to be as sustainable as it should be. The sands no longer piled up on the northern bank, leaving the foot of the fish-scale-stone seawall exposed to the attack of the treacherous tidal bores again. In 1747, the fish-scale-stone seawall in the vicinity of Lao Yancang collapsed again.\footnote{LZMCZY, vol 3, 415-422.} In addition to causing tremendous physical damage and devastation, the breaches and the collapse of the seawalls also generated many disputes. Influenced by the great achievement of his intimate minister Ji Zengyun in the 1730s, the Qianlong emperor insisted that the fish-scale-stone seawalls should replace the earthen and timbers ones wherever possible.\footnote{HTL, juan 16, 2a-8a.} However, when the drainage of the southern and northern outlets and the reduction dam functioned so successfully in 1740s, the emperor abandoned the idea of fish-scale-stone seawalls because the latter strategy required much more financial support.\footnote{HTL, juan 16, 8a-10b.} After the seawall collapse and sea flooding in 1747 and 1759. However, the need to revisit the question of the seawalls was once again apparent to the emperor and his bureaucrats. There was a huge debate in the court. While some ministers were on the side of the Qianlong emperor,\footnote{HTL, juan 16, 11b-25a.} many others preferred to maintain timber and earthen seawalls in terms of silting sands issues and soft soil problems.\footnote{LZMCZY, vol 2, vol 3, 305-390.} The fish-scale stone might confront the press of tidal bores. However the soft soil could not sustain them. In
addition, the tidal bores would wash away the sands, exposing the footing of the seawalls to the torrents. Unable to settle the dispute, the emperor turned to local officials such as the Zhejiang governor Zhuang Yongong, who reported on the function of the stone seawalls.123

This opened the door for local officials to express more doubts about the fish-scale-stone seawalls at Haining.124 Zhuang Yougong reported on the condition of the stone seawall and the timber seawall, indicating uncertainty of the stone seawalls and the possible tremendous financial demands for the project.125 Not convinced by Zhuang, the emperor decided to visit the stone seawall construction sites on his third southern imperial tour to Jiangnan in 1762. He issued an edict to local officials and the Imperial Household Department, commanding them to figure out the route to some critical construction sites for his seawall inspection tours.126

The Qianlong emperor’s inaugural Haining inspection tour of 1762 served to showcase his continuing commitments to the seawall construction. The inspection of Haining seawalls remained important both as a substantive policy-making problem and as a highly visible testament to Qianlong’s benevolence. In fact, Qianlong’s role during this first seawall inspection tour was not actually to formulate new seawall construction policies, but simply to check on the progress of current seawall construction in the wake of major sea flooding and the seawall collapse in Haining. The progress included

123 HTL, juan 17, 10a-13a.
125 LZMCZY, vol 3, 414-422. HTL, juan 17, 3a-14b.
126 NXSD, juan 56, 3a, 1009.
improvements to the drainage system, the possibility of replacing the earthen dikes with timber and grass ones, and the effects of reduction dams. That’s why Qianlong went to Lao Yanchang and Jianshan for the inspection. The two sites appeared many times on the memorials to the throne and in the disputes among the court officials. Therefore the 1762 first imperial inspection tour was very much the culmination of a broader response to the difficulties of constructing fish-scale-stone seawall at Haining.

In April 1762, the emperor arrived in Haining with the escort of his court officials Liu Tongxun, the Zhejiang governor Yang Tingzhang, and the Zhejiang circuit governor Zhuang Yougong.127 The emperor’s first stop was Lao Yancang, where he witnessed the procedure of “stake punching” (da zhuang 打桩) for the stone seawall base. The on-site demonstration testified to the difficulties, even the impossibilities for the stone seawall construction in the vicinity of Lao Yancang. Local officials came up with a solution, that is, to relocate the stone seawall site one mile back, where the bed rock was hard enough to sustain the heavy stone seawall.128 However, the relocation of the seawall sites meant both the relocation of local residents and the loss of the land. Qianlong voiced his dissatisfaction with the plan: “For years, I supervised the seawall construction, hoping that [the project] could protect local residents. …Now how can I tolerate harming the people (shang min 伤民) in order to protect the people (hu min 护民).”129 Claiming that local residents’ benefits were paramount, Qianlong rejected the proposal. Now the question was whether the stone seawall construction at Lao Yancang was possible.

127 NXSD, juan 54, 2a, 984, juan 56, 4a, 1011.
128 NXSD, juan 56, 4a, 1011.
129 HTL, shoujuan.
The Lao Yancang site was directly associated with the security of the whole seawall system, and by extension the annual agricultural and salt production. Yet during the first imperial inspection tour, Qianlong made no reference to his inspection of either the preventive seawalls and the drainage system of the middle and the southern outlets of the Qiantang River, both of which were closely related to the protection and proper functioning of the seawall system. Neither did he comment upon the conditions at the timber seawalls (caitang 柴塘, caotang 草塘)—large timber and wood structures which were planned to be replaced by the fish-scale-stone seawalls. Instead of drawing attention to any strategic concerns that might be associated with specific aspects of seawall engineering infrastructures, the emperor highlighted general importance of the walls to the local community and the need to maintain it. The immediate problems were how to construct the stone seawalls on the soft soils and how to protect footing of the seawalls.

As the imperial procession arrived on the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam the next day, Qianlong noticed that the dam was built in a similar situation to that of Lao Yancang. The emperor observed that the sands piling up about one inch thick at the foot of the dam. The emperor therefore ordered that provincial authorities send a monthly report on the silting sands at the foot of the dam to the throne from then on. Later he had a stele set up recording his instruction on the seawall construction and his concerns about the sands issues. He also wrote a poem instructing local officials the ways to proceed with the seawall construction. He asked local officials to observe the trend of sands at the Jianshan-Tashan Dam. If the sands could pile up there, Qianlong instructed, they would pile up at the footing of the Lao Yancang seawalls. Therefore the construction of the fish-scale-stone seawall was possible. With his concerns about relocation problems, his poems
and the stele recorded his instructions erected at the site where he inspected, Qianlong constructed his public image as a ruler who was mindful of both benevolence and popular welfare.

Qianlong sought to present himself as a well-informed and benevolent ruler whose action in the sphere of seawall construction sprang not from more strategic concerns but rather from a genuine desire to protect local residents from the dangers of tidal bores. On his way to the Jianshan construction site through the preventive earthen seawall, which was built in the 1730s and was planted with many willows and plum trees, the emperor took the opportunity to directly address a controversial theme that had pervaded the relocation proposal, namely, balancing the necessity to construct a solid fish-scale-stone seawall on the one hand, and residents living along the preventive earthen seawall on the other.\textsuperscript{130}

Qianlong took credit for a number of policy changes that had in all likelihood been devised in close consultation with his trusted seawall construction experts. For instance, Qianlong’s decision to delay the fish-scale-stone seawall construction at Lao Yancang was undoubtedly welcome news among local officials. But this was not a new proposal. The seawall officials had also repeatedly recommended such policies to the throne in previous years. In addition to these changes, Qianlong also ordered local officials to replace the timber seawalls in the vicinity of the walled city, and to reinforce the preventive earthen seawalls behind the timber-structured seawall in the forefront.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{130} NXSD, Imperial Texts (\textit{tian zhang}); HTL, juanshou, Imperial Brush (\textit{cheng han} 宸翰).

\textsuperscript{131} HTL,
Qianlong was inclined to give earnest advice to his officials. After approving the various changes in the seawall construction project, the emperor wrote a poem addressing the Zhejiang governor Yang Tingzhang\textsuperscript{132} and the Zhejiang circuit governor Zhuang Yougong\textsuperscript{133}:

Tomorrow we set out to celebrate the spring,

The imperial vehicle heads to Haining;

Why do we go to Haining?

Because we are going to observe the form of the seawalls,

The unpredictability of [the sands in the Zhejiang sea],

That collapse constantly on both the southern and the northern banks;

Collapses on the northern bank endanger Haining,

Collapses on the southern bank destroy Shaoxing;

[Fortunately], it eventually goes through the middle outlets,

both the southern and the northern banks gain peace;

However, the middle outlet is so narrow,

such a situation could not be maintained;

Shaoxing has mountains,

Therefore disasters are much less;

Haining has plains and low-lying lands,

Which can only depend on the seawalls;

The tidal bores tend to frequent the southern bank,

The silting sands thus become arable lands.

\textsuperscript{132} QSGJZ, \textit{juan} 330, 11-9242.

\textsuperscript{133} QSGJZ, \textit{juan} 330, 11-9243.
For two decades, the tidal bores did not frequent [threaten],
The great leader paid gratitude to luminous spirits,
In 1759, the currents shifted northward,
Tidal bores tended to enter the sea close to the stone seawall.
The seawall is adjacent to the timber seawall,
The stone seawall, of course, is much more solid than the timber seawall,
I do not care about how much it would cost,
I only care about the livelihood of local residents.
Some [ministers] said that there were shifting sands underneath the
stone seawalls,
Therefore, it was difficult to construct the stone seawalls;
Some said the seawalls site could be relocated inward,
Then the construction was possible;
Not replying to the disputes,
Nothing would be clearer than my own witness;
It is true that sands are moving,
There is no chance to [have stake punching] one inch further;
It is also possible that the seawall construction site be relocated inward,
However, [I realized] the neighborhoods were adjacent to each other, row by row;
As for the site where there were no houses, it has nothing but ponds
and paddles;
The old saying goes, to carry out a great enterprise, one should not care
about petty harm (xiao hai 小害);
However, how can I bear to disturb my people,
With my first willingness to protect my people;
How can I bear to have the stone seawall to be built inland,
While letting the outside seawall collapse;
As a result, between the two seawalls,
There are people who would suffer;
If we still can take care of the outside seawall,
Why do we bother ourselves with considering construction of the inside seawall;
Therefore I have decided,
To devote myself to the seawall construction;
With cages filled with granite and stones,
The foot of the stone seawalls could be protected and consolidated;
If timbers are lacking,
Do not impose the burdens on farmers;
What is critical is to repair and to maintain the seawalls,
When we practice, we should be thoughtful and cautious.\textsuperscript{134}

In the poem, Qianlong advised local officials to be concern with local livelihood. He persuaded local officials that the problem should be immediately solved once they took the imperial advice seriously. However such advice alone did not improve the quality of the seawalls in the following decade. The problems continued when the Qianlong emperor came to inspect Haining seawalls in 1765 and 1780. The Qianlong emperor

\textsuperscript{134} HTL, juanshou, Imperial Texts.
therefore wrote poems in which the rhymes matched this one to continue his instruction on local officials each time he inspected Haining seawalls.\textsuperscript{135}

Therefore, Qianlong’s imperial seawall inspections were as much a political spectacle aimed at glorifying the emperor as they were an exercise in seawall administration, as Michael Chang observed about Qianlong’s inspection tour to the Yellow River Conservancy in 1751 and 1757.\textsuperscript{136} There had always been important reasons for the state to work actively to control coastal flooding. Avoiding the costs of both lost tax revenues and increased disaster relief were two important concerns for Qing imperial rulers. However, the emperor chose to describe his actions in terms of local benevolence rather than the state’s interests. The 1762 seawall inspection tour was to enhance the emperor’s domination over local officials. The emperor’s goal and intentions of 1762, however, were soon undermined by the advent of sands erosion (\textit{tan sha} 坡沙) on the northern bank through 1760s and 1770s.

Local officials and court officials disputed again when the sands did not pile up at the foot of the Jianshan-Tashan Dam in the 1760s. This means that the construction of a fish-scale-stone seawall on the northern bank became impossible. While Qianlong and his

\textsuperscript{135}Matching rhymes require poets to write a new poem in the same rhyme. As some poets matched rhymes to their friends’ poem to show their friendship, some poets matched rhymes to their own poems to show their reflection of an incident in different times. Qianlong here used the same rhyme to record his instruction on the seawall construction each time he inspected the seawall.

\textsuperscript{136}Michael Chang, “Fathoming Qianlong.” 81-83. Chang analyzes the development of the yellow river control and the Qianlong’s southern imperial tours. He argues that the Qianlong emperor gained his recognition as imperial ruler through his handling of the Yellow River Control. My analysis of Qianlong’s seawall construction project is inspired by Chang’s analysis of the Yellow River Control.
supporters were positive that the sands would pile up on the northern bank for stake punching, local officials such as Zhuang Yougong disagreed. Indeed, the shifting outlets in the past two decades indicated an uncertainty of that strategy. The sands kept collapsing on the northern banks after a short time of piling up and continued to pile up on the southern bank.

The on-site inspections on the reduction dam thus become a new site to settle the dispute. Qianlong was accompanied by his court officials to inspect the site in 1762, 1765, and 1780. The dam was the largest one built on the northern bank and depending on the silting sands to protect the foot and thus the whole reduction dam. Interestingly, Qianlong and his escorts were happy to have observed that sands piled up about three inches thick at the foot of the dam in about two hours in 1762.\(^{137}\) While the emperor was positive about piling up of sands in the future, local officials were hesitant to draw a conclusion.\(^{138}\) Eventually, an agreement was made between the emperor and both court officials and local officials. Both the emperor and his officials wanted to see whether the sands would pile up in the future. Qianlong issued an edict, commanding that a monthly report on the sand hallmark at the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam should be sent to the throne.

In the 1765, Qianlong had his second seawall inspection tour. He observed that the sands had increased about five \textit{chi} (about five feet) higher since the last time he visited.\(^{139}\) This ensured the emperor’s determination to stick with the strategies on the

\(^{137}\) HTL, juanshou. I would think this should be two separate words???

\(^{138}\) HTL, juanshou; HTXZ,

\(^{139}\) NXSD, juan 33, 3b, Imperial Texts.
seawall construction he set up three years earlier. Again, the emperor wrote a poem addressed to local officials, which, on the one hand, was further instruction on the seawall construction while on the other hand demonstrated his insightful decision of three years earlier.

**Supervising Local Officials: Poems, Tours, and Seawalls (1760s-1780s)**

After the second inspection tour, the sands at the foot of the Jianshan-Tashan Dam and Lao Yancang seawall continued to be washed away through 1760s and 1780s. The two sides of the reduction dam could not be joined (he long 合龙) and needed to be rebuilt repeatedly over the decades.\(^{140}\) In 1772, the current of the Qiantang River went only through the northern outlet again. The seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang and the walled city were exposed completely to the tidal bores. The bores even washed away layers of protective stones at the foot of the seawalls. In February 1772, the Zhejiang governor Fulehun memorialized the throne, suggesting that the middle outlet should be dredged and the project should be funded by setting up voluntary donations from local merchants.\(^{141}\)

Qianlong rejected the proposal, insisting that “the direction of the tidal bores was always unpredictable ... and it is natural that the tidal bores shift, which manpower cannot counter…. It is normal to solve the problem by dredging the silting sands. However, how can [you] do this when the tidal bores are so treacherous?... Therefore, Fulehun should make an effort to protect the seawalls in place. You should wait until the tidal bores go back to their regular course. You do not have to dredge the sands in a hurry with the

\(^{140}\) *LZMCZY*, vol 3, 479-484.

\(^{141}\) *LZMCZY (HTJ)*, vol 3, 479-498.
intention beating the tidal bores with the manpower.”  

Qianlong clearly reiterated what Ji Zengyun said in the 1735 controversy, namely, the drainage of the middle outlet could not be accomplished because of the topography.

However, the tidal bores kept going through the northern outlet throughout 1772 to 1776. Every year, local authorities invested tremendous sources in order to maintain the seawalls at Lao Yancang. In 1778, the Zhejiang and Jiangshu governor-general and a seasoned expert in seawall construction Gao Jin was sent to Haining to see to the possibility of dredging the sands in the outlet. Gao reported that “there was nowhere else to guide the current. Even if the middle outlet was dredged and opened wider, the tidal bores would bring the sands over and silt up the outlet again. It is useless.”

Protecting the seawalls continued to be the only solution at time.

In 1780, the Qianlong emperor embarked upon his third seawall inspection tour, fifteen years after his previous tour in 1765. He went to the Jianshan, only to find out that the sands at the foot of the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam were washed away. Some part of the seawall was completely exposed to the treacherous tidal bores. Meanwhile, the seawalls in the vicinity of Lao Yancang had not been improved, and the tidal bores had collapsed the timber walls in the vicinity of the walled city. The stone seawalls were also endangered as a result of the fact that sands on the northern bank had been washed away and had clogged the middle outlet. At the very least, the state’s tidal bore prevention policies were clearly proving to be ineffective.

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142 HTXZ, juan 1, 40-42.

143 HTXZ, juan 1, 43-44.
The collapsed sands at the foot of the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam exposed problems of the policies on the seawall construction and shook Qianlong’s confidence in the strategies he set up two years earlier, namely, hoping that the sands piling up at the foot of the seawalls would protect the base of the stone seawalls. The emperor matched the rhyme to the poem he addressed to local officials, in which he expressed his disappointment to the collapse of sands at the foot of the reduction dam:

In 1762, I inspected the seawalls,
I composed a long poem to record the affair;
At that time, the sands collapsed on the northern bank,
However, there were sands piling up at the foot of the seawalls;
This time, I came to inspect again,
Unexpectedly, I saw the tidal bores had reached the foot of the seawalls;
In the vicinity of Lao Yancang,
Only the timber seawalls stand to confront the tidal bores;
Last time I observed with my own eyes,
Seeing the test of stake punching;
That the sands could not sustain the stake,
It is also impossible to relocate the seawalls inland,
Therefore I abandoned the plan to build a stone seawall,
This time I have thought about the stone seawall again,
What I set up last time should be the final decision;
The timber seawall is about five miles long,

144 HTXZ, juan 20, 32a-b, 179-180.
How could it be possible that they were all shifting sands;

It is true that some places could not sustain the stake punching,

However, only the stone seawall could sustain it;

I ordered this should be inspected again,

And do not worry about the funds from the state;

As long as the tidal bores are suppressed for good,

Then we should pray to the heaven for the protection of people.

The poem brought the dilemma between the imperial willingness of protecting people and non-cooperation of the nature into sharp relief. The emperor privileged the first-handed experience and knowledge of the seawalls. He favored purposeful administrative action, as he explicitly stated in the poem. By articulating such preferences, the Qianlong emperor attempted to enhance his own authority in managing a highly specialized and probably still expanding seawall project. In this respect, Qianlong’s poem represented an ongoing attempt to elevate his own authority in the case of the seawall construction. At the center of this was the emperor, who would capitalize on the unfolding of historical events in the 1760s and 1770s to further his aims of seawall administration and imperial domination.

The poem also reveals a shift of the Qianlong emperor’s concern from that of seawall administration to that of his imagination of his sovereignty. He lamented that the seawalls continued to be destroyed by the tidal bores, which neither he nor the local officials could control. As far as Qianlong was concerned, how to suppress the tidal bores for good and a constantly shifting ecology were the cores of the seawall system under his supervision.
Qianlong sought a remedy to the problem in the thoughtful decision and careful on-site inspection on the seawall construction. He sent several imperial commissioners to Haining for on-site reports. He himself went to Haining several times to inspect the seawalls on-site. Following the precedents of 1762 and 1765, the emperor visited the Lao Yancang seawall and the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam again in 1780. It was there that he announced important policy changes.

Since 1762, state policy regarding the management of the reduction dam and the seawall in vicinity of Lao Yancang was to employ caution, namely, to postpone the fish-scale-stone construction until the sands piled up on the northern bank. This issue, as we may recall, had been a divisive topic during both the emperor’s 1762 and 1765 seawall inspection tours.

While personally inspecting the Lao Yancang seawall and the Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam in 1780, the Qianlong emperor came to the conclusion that a policy of constructing a fish-scale-stone seawall was more beneficial and should thus be made permanent. The constant loss of sands on the northern bank in the past decade made the emperor realize that the postponing of the seawall construction could not guarantee what he had planned. Eventually the emperor decided to take an immediate step for the seawall construction to prevent sea floods for good.

Qianlong demonstrated his governance over local officials and salt merchants in the management of the seawall construction in the next four years. From 1780 to 1784, the emperor allocated 5 million taels of silver in total for the fish-scale-stone seawall construction. Meanwhile local officials and merchants contributed greatly to the seawall project with silver. For example, Qianlong accepted 800,000 taels of silver from salt
merchants for the seawall construction in 1780. He also encouraged local officials to make voluntary donations for the seawall. In 1780, the Zhejiang governor Wang Tanwang (?-1781)\textsuperscript{145} donated 500,000 taels of silver for the seawall construction.\textsuperscript{146} In return, the emperor did a favor to Wang by allowing Wang serving in the position in charge of the seawall construction during his mourning period for his mother. This was a special treatment, since the filial duties demanded of a Han official, when a parent passed away, to resign his post and return to his ancestral home for an extended period—nominally three years, but in reality twenty-seven month. With the sufficient silver, about twenty miles of the fish-scale-stone seawall was accomplished from the Jianshan to the Lao Yancang on the northern bank of the seawall.\textsuperscript{147}

The silver, which Wang might donate for his future political career, turned out to be a disaster to Wang and his family. While he praised Wang’s generosity in the beginning, Qianlong was alerted by the sum of the silver. The average monthly salary for local officials ranged from 25 taels of silver and 25 bushel of grain to that of 180 taels of silver and 180 bushels of grain.\textsuperscript{148} The annual “integrity bonus” (yang lian yin, money to nourish integrity) for Zhejiang local officials ranged from 600 to 18,00.\textsuperscript{149} To the huge amount of the donation from Wang Tanwang alerted Qianlong, who did not believe that a local official had the capacity to own such amount of money. Qianlong reversed his

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item QSGJZ, juan 346, 12-9439.
\item QLD\textsuperscript{2}D, 483-450.
\item XHTXZ, juan 2, 10b, 652.
\item Guo, Kang-Qian sheng shi, The Table on Qing Civil Officials’ Salary, Appendix, 410.
\item Guo, Kang-Qian shengshi, The Table on Qing Civil Officials’ Integrity Bonus, 410.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
decision and forced Wang out of office. He first deposed Wang Tanwang out of the position because Wang did not follow the ritual to mourn his mother for three years. In an edict, Qianlong censured that Wang forgot how a filial son should follow the rite to sit at home rather than serving in the court during his three-year mourning period. Qianlong seems to have forgotten that it was he who did a favor to Wang by allowing him to assist in the seawall construction during Wang’s mourning period, nominally from 1780 to 1783. Meanwhile, the emperor secretly sent his intimate informant Agui (1717-1797) to investigate Wang Tanwang’s service in Gangsu province before his promotion to the position of the Zhejiang circuit governor. Agui was a banner man who made great achievement in the military conquest of Xinjiang in 1750s. He served as a member of Grand Council in the Qianlong period. Agui did not take the civil service exam to obtain the position in the court. With his military achievements, Agui gained the trust from the emperor. He was promoted to be a grand secretary in the 1770s. In 1780, Agui was sent as an imperial special commissioner to Hangzhou to inspect the seawall. He caught a local official Wang Sui appropriating the seawall construction funds for his own benefits. In 1780, Agui was sent to the northwest to suppress the Muslim rebellion. Qianlong secretly asked his favored general to secretly investigate Wang Tanwang’s service in Gansu. It turned out that Wang had accumulated 20 million tael of silver during his service in the Gansu province and he was the most corrupted official in the Qianlong period.

Qianlong’s handling of the case demonstrated again that he used the seawall inspection tour as an exercise in supervising his bureaucracy. The Wang Tanwang case

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150 *QSGJZ, juan* 325, 11-9187.
eventually turned into a nation-wide anti-corruption movement.¹⁵¹ Many officials were involved. After two years of investigation, about twenty high-ranking officials were executed, including some officials such as Yu Mingzhong (1714-180) and Bi Yuan. Yu served as a grand secretary during the Qianlong period. He was one of the emperor’s favored ministers. He accompanied the emperor to Jiangnan several times and engaged in many critical decisions in the court. He was a first Han Chinese official who was bestowed with “a yellow vest” with “purple pavilion,” the highest honor in the Qing period reserved for banner men. The emperor was so outraged by Yu’s involvement in the corruption case of Wang Tanwang that he ordered the confiscation of Yu family’s property and estates. Even worse, the emperor ordered that Yu’s statue should be removed out of the State Loyalty Shrine.¹⁵² It might be controversial to say the fact that the officials getting in trouble were Han Chinese revealed the tension between the emperor and Han Chinese elites in 1780s. But the fact that Qianlong only appointed Manchus as Zhejiang circuit governors after Wang was removed from that position caused local Han Chinese elites’ confusion about the Manchu emperor’s political agenda in Jiangnan. They used rumors to show their anxiety about the Qianlong’s presence in Jiangnan. Since the 1780s, the rumors about the birth of Qianlong, his handling of his empress, and a series of literary inquisitions Qianlong initiated were sensational stories popular in the Jiangnan area, especially among the literary community.¹⁵³ These groundless rumors revealed the tension between the emperor and the Jiangnan literati.

¹⁵¹ Xin Ziliu, Zhongguo li dai ming an ji, 303-305.
¹⁵² QSGJZ, juan 326, 11-9196.
¹⁵³ Guo, Qianlong da di, 739-4; 765; Qianlong huang di quan zhua, 924. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the rumor that Qianlong was a son of Haining Chen family gradually disseminated through
Meanwhile, the emperor also portrayed his third seawall inspection as an exercise in bureaucratic discipline. He lamented the behavior among bureaucrats in the seawall administration. After his seawall inspection tour in 1780, Qianlong attributed the failure of his policy about the silting sands on the northern bank to “constantly uncertainty of the heaven’s will.” From Qianlong’s perspective, the impossibility of controlling the sand was the source of the problems. However, he determined to construct the fish-scale-stone seawalls to replace the timber/earthen seawalls in spite of the heaven’s non-cooperation.

In order to successfully implement his fish-scale-stone project, Qianlong directly ended up the debates among officials on whether the stone seawall should or could be constructed. He even further disciplined metropolitan and provincial officials. After the 1780 inspection tour, Qianlong first sent the imperial special commissioner Agui to Hangzhou to inspect the seawall construction. At Hangzhou, Agui caught Wang Sui, an attendant of Hangzhou, Jiaxing, and Huzhou (Hang jia hu dao dai 杭嘉湖道台) in charge of the seawall construction. According to Agui’s report, Wang bought several estates and gardens in Hangzhou and Haining, buying a concubine for his supervisor, the Jiaxing prefecture, Chen Yusheng. Both Wang and Chen were eventually punished. Their property was confiscated for the funds on the seawall construction.\(^{154}\)

\[^{154}\]Ma and Lu, *Xu zi zhi tong jian ping yao* (2), 1164.
Qianlong’s handling of Wang Sui stemmed from his inspection tour to Haining.

“Once I saw local officials competing with each other to welcome [me] in a luxurious way, I had inquired the Zhejiang circuit governor Wang Tanwang. He replied that Cheng Shengyu and Wang Sui handled everything…. Now it seemed it was Wang Tanwang who concealed the truth.”\(^{155}\) Wang Tanwang, and many other high-ranking officials, as I discussed above, was soon caught in the largest anti-corruption movement that ensued in 1781. Qianlong not only confiscated their property for the funds of the seawall construction but also was able to appoint his trusted officials, unfortunately most of them were Manchu banner men who were either not very good at the seawall management nor acquainted with local gentry, to the position in charge of the seawall construction. All these paved the way for the completion of the fish-stone-scale seawall construction of Haining in the next three years.

In 1783, the Zhejiang circuit governor Fusong (?-1793)\(^{156}\) announced the completion of the seawall. The next year the Qianlong emperor went on his fourth inspection tour. The emperor attributed the completion to his determination of building a solid fish-scale-stone scale with a tremendous state financial support (\textit{da fa guo lu} 大发国帑), the imperial benevolence to take care of local people, and the appointment of right officials in charge of the construction.\(^{157}\) In fact, a large sum of financial support for the fish-scale-stone seawall came from the voluntary donations from salt merchants and


\(^{156}\) \textit{QSGJZ}, juan 354, 12-9433.

\(^{157}\) \textit{NXSD}, juanshou.
confiscated property from local officials. Take the financial support between the years of 1780 to 1783. In total, the state claimed to have funded 1.36 million *taels* of silver.\(^{158}\) However, the salt merchants donated 1.6 million and confiscated property from corrupt officials amounted to one million.\(^{159}\) It was hard to say how much the state funded the seawall.

Despite completing the walls in three years, new problems arose. First, the problem of corruption continued. As for the right officials to be appointed for the seawall, it was another round of failure. When he replaced Han officials with Manchu officials, the emperor intended to relieve the tension among bureaucrats. He appointed Fusong as the Zhejiang circuit governor and Fulehun (fl 1780s-1790s)\(^{160}\) as the Zhejiang-Fujian governor. There were many other Manchu bannermen appointed as metropolitan attendants in charge of the seawall construction. In 1784, Fusong memorialized to the throne that Deke, a circuit attendant (*daotai*) of Xuzhou, Jinghua, and Yangzhou (*xujingyangdao*) in charge of the seawall construction, paid for low-quality timbers for timber merchants, spending 65,000 *taels* of silver while claiming 75,000 *taels* from the central government. In 1785, Fusong was caught embezzling 36,4000 *taels* of silver originally

\(^{158}\) *LZMQJHT*, 114.

\(^{159}\) This number is incomplete. About 200,000 *taels* were confiscated from Wang Sui. Wang Tanwang donated 5000,000 in 1780 when he still served as the Zhejiang governor. His property was also confiscated for the seawall funds after the whole lineage was punished. In the reality, corrupted officials’ confiscated property was over 1 million taels. Guo, *Qianlong da di*, 483-480.

\(^{160}\) *QSGJZ*, *juan* 339, 12-9349
assigned to buy materials for the seawalls. In 1790, Fusong was deposed from the position in charge of the seawall project because of his involvement in embezzlement.

Second, the cost of seawalls continued to be a big burden to the state. The fish-scale-stone seawall became a standard for the seawall construction in both Zhejiang and Jiangsu province, which caused a heavy burden on state finances. 1784, Qianlong issued an edict, commanding that all seawalls in Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces should be built in the form of the fish-scale-stone seawalls. “Only in this way,” the emperor claimed, “the seawall could be solid for ever.” He then allocated 5 million tael of silver to support the plan. By the end of the eighteenth century, the fish-scale-stone seawall stood along the Hangzhou Bay. However, this does not mean that the seawall was as solid for good as Qianlong had expected. In fact, both the state and local government had to maintain the stone seawall at a very high cost. Salt merchants and local gentry continued to donate money for annual maintenance and reconstruction. Qianlong appeared surprised by the continued coast of from what said. By 1825, the annual seawall maintenance amounted to 150,000 taels of silver. The annual cost was so big that provincial officials even felt the heavy financial burden. In 1792, the Zhejiang circuit governor memorialized the throne to abandon the stone seawall reconstruction after some seawalls collapsed on the northern bank. In 1832, after years of problems with funding and mismanagement of the seawall maintenance, the tidal bores overflowed the Haining seawall and damaged 400,000 mu of arable lands. A new round of the seawall stone construction began. The annual seawall

161 MQOTJHT, 219.

162 HTXZ, juan 6.

163 QLQJZ, vol 40, 250.
construction became a seasonal rhythm of local people’s life until the arrival of the twentieth when the new technologies eventually sustain the seawall.

The completion of the stone seawall reflected an extension of imperial concerns from a multi-ethnic empire perspective. In spite of the problems, the fish-scale-stone seawall stood on the Haining coastline for about half a decade. Qianlong himself was pleased to see a solid stone seawall for two reasons. The completion of the seawalls, from the emperor’s perspective, was his victory over those who opposed the stone seawall in terms of impossibility and uncertainty. For many years, the emperor had to convince many officials that the necessity of building a stone seawall. Using the seawall as an exercise, Qianlong obtained his superiority over his courtiers and local officials many times. The completion of the seawall even enhanced the emperor’s superiority, which weighed in the 1780s when the relationship between Qianlong and the Jiangnan elites became so tense. Second, the completion of seawall reflected an extension of Qianlong’s concern from the western conquest to southern conquest, which I define as “management of Jiangnan as a part of a newly expanded multi-ethnic empire.” Qianlong, using the seawall to solve the administrative problems, helped to shape the Qing political authority and the enhancement of his imperial power. Meanwhile he also saw the Jiangnan as a part of his newly conquest empire. As he concluded in his famous *The Record Southern Imperial Tours* in 1784: “For my fifty years on the throne, there was nothing more important than western conquest and southern tours.”

In his poem, he repeatedly celebrated that a sea frontier was consolidated to beat the tidal bores. In Chapter Two, I will discuss how the emperor used the poetic and the visual representation of Haining.

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164 NXSD, Preface.
seawalls, tidal bores, and other scenery to assert his ideological power to re-incorporate Jiangnan into the newly expanded empire.
Chapter Two

Literary and Visual Production of Local Landscape: Ideological Power

In addition to seawalls, Qianlong further used his poetic and visual representations of seawalls, tidal bores, and local scenery to re-orient the Jiangnan area into a newly expanded empire. Since 1784, Jianshan and Lao Yancang had become two new sites for literati tourists, both local and from across the country, to watch and to appreciate tidal bores. A tremendous number of poems, essays, and illustrations were produced to celebrate the tidal bores one enjoyed on the seawalls at Lao Yancang or on the top of Jianshan.

As William Skinner states, Jiangnan has been crucial to the expansion of a multi-ethnic empire on the frontiers. With its enormous economic supplies, Jiangnan provided revenue for the Qing state to expand and defend its control on the newly expanded empire.¹ Peter Perdue has observed that the Qing state’s control of the Jiangnan area helped to consolidate a multi-ethnic empire after the vast expansion of new frontiers in the eighteenth century.² Zhao Gao also points out that the Qing legacies to modern China include not just the country’s vast territory but also a new concept of China that laid solid foundation for the rise of its national identity.³

This was also the case of Haining. Using the poetic and visual representations of seawalls, tidal bores, and other local scenery, Qianlong created landscape sovereignty under his rule, which reflected his ambitions and imperatives to control the newly

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¹ Skinner, “Cities and the Hierarchy of Local System.” *The City in Late Imperial China*, 338.
expanded empire. These representations function to promote both aesthetic local scenery as well as the emperor’s authority over local scenery, which eventually leads to the promotion of the ideology of a multi-ethnic empire, the other side of Qianlong’s imperial power, in the eighteenth century. The emperor, using the representations of tidal bores and seawalls, invented new local scenery. In addition, the emperor, presenting the solid and sturdy seawalls in contrast with the damaging power of tidal bores in the poems and the paintings, created his sovereignty over both the natural scenery and the construction project under his command. The textual and visual representations of tidal bores and seawalls thus functioned to promote the ideology of a newly expanded multi-ethnic empire.

In this chapter, I will focus on the multiple dimensions of representations of local scenery and political agendas behind that in the eighteenth century. In terms of a multi-ethnic empire, I will discuss how the Qianlong emperor used literary styles to present local scenery, whether he imprinted Han identities on local landscape, and whether he overtly referred to the Haining area as a separate Han Chinese area in contrast to the newly expanded territory in the northwest of the empire. By examining these questions, I will analyze the ways in which Qianlong’s poetic and visual representations of local scenery had an ethnic component.

In the following section, I will list the tidal bores, seawalls, and other local scenery represented in three types of documents, 1) the imperially sponsored works such as the *Grand Canon of the Southern Imperial Tours* (*Nan xun sheng dian*, 1765-1784), the *Seawall Records* (*Hai tang lu*, 1765-1784), and the *New Seawall Gazetteer* (*Hai tang xin zhi*, 1790); 2) Local histories; 3) Literati poetry and essay of 1780s and 1790s, to
examine the shifting images and meanings of local scenery in the second half of the eighteenth century.

**The Poetic Representation of Tidal Bores and Imperial Authority and Domination**

Poetry and illustration are two forms of representations of the Haining tidal bores in the imperially sponsored literary projects. They were either written or commissioned by the Qianlong emperor during his inspection tours to Haining, and included in the records about his southern imperial tours or about the seawall construction project itself. I will focus on three works: 1) *The Grand Canon*; 2) *The Seawall Records*; 3) *A Sequel to the Seawall Gazetteer*. The first two were produced during the years between 1765 and 1784 while the third one in 1790s after the fish-scale-stone seawall project was claimed to have been completed in 1784. I mainly focus on the poems that Qianlong wrote and the illustrations he commissioned to understand what the literary and visual representations tell us of seawalls and tidal bores and how the representations shifted over the time.

Qianlong wrote his first poem about the tidal bores in 1762, when he first went on his seawall inspection tour to Haining. He represented the tidal bores both as an extraordinary natural wonder and terrifying tides:

4 In order to decide about defending the tidal bores, I inspected the seawalls,
Terrified, I had a glimpse of the startling tides;
The huge tidal bores were the biggest on the third day of the third month,
As if they were waiting for my arrival;
Riding on my horse, [I] headed eastward to Yanguan,
I saw a strand of silver thread approaching from the horizon;

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4 *HTXZ, juan* 2, 21b-22a;
In a second they arrived, rolling up the river and stirring up the sea,

[As if] they welcome the River and Mountain Boat (jiang shan chuan 江山船);\(^5\)

I heard their sound before I could even see them,

Roaring, blowing, and crashing, they sprawled over;

I stopped, then walked slowly, watching their shapes,

Grand and spectacular, what can compete with them?

…

On first sight, I was astonished by the unprecedented encounter,

After a while, my worries started to grow;

Long timbers and heavy stones do not guarantee safety,

How can the seawall confront the tidal bores when the autumn comes?

As had many literati before him, Qianlong composed the poem with the intent of revealing his thoughts and motivations. In doing so, he also articulated a particular form of a multi-ethnic empire’s authority, namely, to use poetic representation of local scenery to incorporate Jiangnan in a newly expanded multi-ethnic empire.

In the above poem, Qianlong represented himself as a Han Chinese sage-king, an ideal image of Chinese monarchy promoted by Confucian scholars. The idea started from Confucius, who emphasized the moral excellence of the greater founders of the dynasty and insisted that the unity of a sovereignty depended on the moral power (de 德) of sage-kings, to which able and virtuous ministers and common people would be attracted. The sage-kings’ chief role was to act as the moral exemplar to the people, following the will

\(^5\) River and Mountain Boat is an open vessel made for Kangxi and Qianlong traveling on water in Hangzhou during their southern imperial tours.
or command of heaven. Therefore, sage-kings were idealized as ultimate father-mother official (fu mu guan 父母官) who cared about everything related to people’s livelihood and benefits ranging from low taxation burden, minimal government, famine relief, water control projects, to diminution of a fixed store of goods available to the people. These ideas were reinforced in many works about philosophy on Chinese emperorship in imperial China.

Qianlong obtained the idea of sage-kings from his early education. Most of his instructors such as Zhang Tingyu, Ji Zengyun, Zhu Shi, Fumin, and Xu Mengyuan were scholars and masters of Song li xue neo-Confucianism, who emphasized the social reality and the importance of statecraft (jing shi 经世) for a sage-king. Their active role in court service also gave them a good command of knowledge to shape Qianlong to be a sage-king based on their political ideals. Among them, Zhu Shi (1665-1763) had a particular influence on Qianlong. Zhu worked as Qianlong’s tutor about three years. He believed that “Well instructed with [principles], a prince would become [a sage-king like] Yao and Shun. Without good instruction, a prince would turn into Jie and Zhou [the last rulers of the Xia and the Zhou dynasties].” As a pragmatic Confucian scholar and bureaucrat, Zhu introduced social reality, people’s hard livelihood, and the history of the previous dynasty

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6 As for Qianlong as a sage-king, please see Adler, “The Qianlong Emperor and the Confucian ‘Temple of Culture’ at Chengde,” 109-112.

7 Zhang Fengtian, Zhongguo di wang guan nian: she hui pu pian yi shi zhong de “zhun jun-zui jun” wen hua fan shi, 726-730.

8 QSGJZ, juan 296, 11-8816.

9 Du Jiaji, Qing Huangzu yu guo zheng guan xi yan jiu, 378.
to Qianlong, hoping that he would achieve both consciousness and skills to fulfill a sage-king’s responsibilities. Like many of his contemporaries such as Chen Hongmou,\(^\text{10}\) Zhu participated in many public projects such as the construction of seawalls, as I have discussed in chapter one, assisting to manage water conservancy in the capital, and engaging in projects to control the Yellow River.\(^\text{11}\) His experience in the water control projects and his service in the bureaucracy made him one of resourceful ministers in the court. Qianlong later in a poem mentioned Zhu Shi’s great impact on him and claimed that he could never forget Zhu’s instruction on how to “order the world (jing shi).”\(^\text{12}\)

Cai Shiyuan (1678-1734),\(^\text{13}\) another brilliant and defiantly Lixue (Learning of Principle) neo-Confucianism scholar of the era, had great influence on Qianlong too. Qianlong stated that Cai, along with Zhu Shi and Fumin, was one of three masters in his life that he would never forget.\(^\text{14}\) Not infected by the intellectual fashion of his time--Han learning--Cai, like Zhu Shi, concerned an intense dedication to personal morality it improved and a belief in social efficacy of family and community ritual in preserving the established order. In his own works, Cai emphasized that morality played a crucial role in shaping human nature. He introduced poets such as Han Yu and Du Fu, two of the great poets in the Tang Dynasty known as their sympathy for commoners’ suffering and hardship in imperial China, to the emperor. Cai hoped that the emperor should reinforce

\(^{10}\) On Chen Hongmou, see Rowe, Saving the World.

\(^{11}\) QSGJZ, juan 296, 11-8816.

\(^{12}\) Dai Yi, Qianlong di ji qi shi dai, 72-75.

\(^{13}\) Zhang Jiefu, Qing dai ren wu zhuang gao (1), vol. 10, 168-174.

\(^{14}\) Dai Yi, Qianling di ji qi shi dai, 88.
his morality and responsibility as a sage-king after he was completely exposed to the poems. This worked very successfully. Qianlong, like Han Yu and Du Fu, wrote about commoners’ hardship in his poems on his inspection tours to Jiangnan. He lamented people’s suffering and presented himself as a sake-king who inspected local people’s sufferings and tried his best to relieve their hardship.

For Qianlong, these scholar’s instructions on neo-Confucianism, in particular, a mandate of administrative skills and social responsibility as a whole,\(^{15}\) were major influences both intellectually and politically. All of these ideas about a sage-king were represented in Qianlong’s various edicts on personal, social, and political problems. In the above poem on the seawall, Qianlong again presented himself as a responsible sage-king. He “inspected the seawalls,” worried that “long timbers and heavy stones do not guarantee safety.” He also would like to consult his advisors “for a decision to defend the tidal bores.” All these self-representations in the poem fit in the ideal of a sage-king promoted by the li xue neo-Confucianism.

In spite of his self-representations as a benevolent sage-king who cared about local people, Qianlong’s southern imperial tours (his visiting to temples, mountains, gardens, and his poems about local scenery such as tidal bores), constructed an ambivalent image of the imperial presence in the Jiangnan area. Did the emperor go to Jiangnan for sightseeing, like many Chinese literati did in the past or did he go there to improve local people’s livelihood? The question apparently arose among his court officials right after Qianlong’s second tour to Jiangnan in 1757. Some court officials,

\(^{15}\) William Rowe has a detailed description of Song-era li xue and its impact on Confucian scholars such as Chen Hongmou in the eighteenth century. Rowe, *Saving the World*, 122-123.
especially those from the Jiangnan region, pointed out that the imperial tours to Jiangnan “depleted and exhausted people (lao min shang cai 劳民伤财).”¹⁶

Qianlong responded to the criticisms and defended the southern imperial tours in many ways. He pointed out his southern imperial tours functioned as a way “to express filial piety,” a basic value a sage king should follow, to his mother empress dowager. He claimed that he wanted to please his mother with the beautiful scenery under his rule. For example, the first imperial tour was to please the dowager for her sixtieth birthday. The second one was also to please his mother with the beautiful scenery in the Jiangnan area. However, his Han officials did not accept that. Right after the second tours in 1757, they further suggested that the emperor had his own motivation (as opposed to his filial piety to his mother) for visiting Jiangnan scenery.¹⁷

Qianlong further legitimized his southern imperial tours to Jiangnan as a way to both emulate and show deference to his grandfather Kangxi. He defended the tours by pointing out his main task in the south was to “inquire about customs” (wen su 问俗) and “observe people’s livelihood” (guan min 观民), which was a conventional way for imperial rulers to demonstrate benevolence to their subjects.¹⁸ The emperor also used his inspection tours to the Yellow River control project at Shandong to defend the legitimacy of his southern imperial tours, as Michael Chang has demonstrated in his study of the

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¹⁶ QLCSYD, vol 3, 818; Jia Yuyin, zhongguo gu dai jiancha zhi du fa zhan shi, 432-434.

¹⁷ QLCSYD, vol 3, 818; Jia Yuyin, zhongguo gu dai jiancha zhi du fa zhan shi, 432-434.

¹⁸ QLCSYD, vol 3, 818; NXSD, Preface (1771), 4a.
Qianlong’s inspection tours to the Yellow River.\textsuperscript{19} Qianlong’s inspection tours to Haining seawall project provided a new example to represent him as a sage-king who cared about people’s well-being, which thereby legitimized the southern imperial tours.

However, some Han Chinese officials insisted on criticizing the tours as a luxurious pleasure than as a real administrative engagement. They argued that the beautiful scenery would distract the emperor from his responsibilities to take care of people’s livelihood.\textsuperscript{20} A large number of Qianlong’s landscape poems about local scenery also demonstrated that the emperor did spend tremendous time on sightseeing.

Landscape poetry, which is called “mountain and river verse (shan shui shi 山水诗),” had long been a trademark of Chinese literati culture. Its existence can be traced back to the rise of literati culture in the Six Dynasties in the fourth century.\textsuperscript{21} Landscape poetry could encompass a wide variety of themes, including the military frontier, separation and travel, the ephemeral nature of existence, political and social criticism, and lonely and abandoned women. Landscape poetry does not simply describe the beauty of the nature; more importantly it carried social, political, and cultural meanings created in specific historical moments.

Because of its various themes, landscape poetry sometimes functions as a representation of literati’s obsession with beautiful scenery; sometimes it summons the recluse on roaming into immortality in mountains; sometimes it functions to express

\textsuperscript{19} Chang, “Fathoming Qianlong,” 70-84. Dai Yi, \textit{Qianlong di ji qi shi dai}, 330-334; Bai Xinliang, \textit{Qianlong zhuang}, 144-149.

\textsuperscript{20} Jia Yuyin, \textit{Zhongguo gu dai jian cha zhi du fa zhan shi}, 432-434.

\textsuperscript{21} Mair, \textit{The Columbia History of Chinese Literature}, 268.
literati’s political aspiration; sometimes it called upon literati to take their political responsibility to escape from a chaotic world. Usually landscape poetry includes several layers of meanings, which made the contents even more ambiguous.

Qianlong wrote a large number of poems on Jiangnan scenery. His poems wrote about ten views of the west lake in Hangzhou, temples and gardens in Yangzhou, Jiangxing, and Haining, and extraordinary mountains along the inspection tours. These poems celebrated the beauty of local scenery. The spectacle of mountains, the beauty of gardens, and antiquity of temples engendered a number of poems that served to complete the aestheticism of Jiangnan scenery. The emperor also held several poetry parties to invite his ministers and local poets to match rhyme to his poems on local scenery.

The landscape poems assisted Qianlong to understand human nature and reinforced his Confucian love for his people. Take his poems on the seawalls, Qianlong represented himself as a sage-king who did his best to suppress tidal bores and to relieve local people’s suffering.

In spite of his defense, Qianlong did realize the ambiguities and tensions surrounding the issue of sightseeing on his southern imperial tours. The Han Chinese officials stood up to criticize the tours as more of a luxurious pleasure than as a real administrative engagement. Local literati’s textual and visual accounts about the southern imperial tours also legitimized Han Chinese officials’ criticism. Yangzhou hua fanglu (Reminiscences from the Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou 扬州花舫录), a late eighteenth-century account of the city of Yangzhou, depicts gardens, temples, and restaurants the
Qianlong emperor visited on his southern imperial tours. The aesthetic account of local gardens and temples revealed local literati’s perception of the tours as sightseeing. Such perception was so popular that Chinese merchants in Japan portrayed the tours as a tourism. The *Daqing huang di nan xun shi mo wen shu* (A Complete Account of the Great Qing Emperor’s Tours to the South), a Japanese account on the Qianlong’s southern tour, depicted the receptions of the Qianlong emperor at the Suzhou, Yangzhou, Jiaxing, and Hangzhou in 1751:

“Hundred of stages were built and twenty pavilions were erected. The emperor enjoyed various singing and dancing performance. His attendants guarded the four directions. At night, lights were flashing like stars. Hundreds of lantern boats floated on the river. Fireworks were fired. They were really extraordinary. .. The emperor toured famous sites such as *Qian chi xue* (Thousand chi snow), Zhao Yuan (Zhao Garden), and Zhiqi shan (Zhiqi Mountain)... The emperor visited Taihu (Lake Tai) on the first day of the third month... On the fifth day, the emperor went to Lumeng [of Suzhou]. Every household raised lanterns to welcome the emperor. When he went to the palace at Huqiu (Tiger Hill), a leading monk ushered the emperor visiting local eighteen famous sites... On the thirteenth day, the emperor arrived Hangzhou and visited famous sites in the mountains. On

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22 The book was written over a thirty-year period and was completed in 1795. The author Li Dou, a *shengyuan* degree holder, was an educated, well-traveled man who made his living as a playwright and song composer. In his spare time, he kept writing this lengthy compendium, following the town’s topography and capturing in details its sights and personalities. Zhang Qinqing, “Qianlong Quan sheng shi dai yang zhou shi lu: Yangzhou hua bang lu” *Ming-Qing xiao shuo yan jiu*, 60 (2), 2001, 190-196.
the twenty first day, the emperor visited West Lake (ten famous sites of the West Lake and other sixteen). On the evening of twenty-sixth, lantern boats were floating on the west lake and various fireworks were fired. The emperor enjoyed. He also let local people to enjoy that with him…”

The Japanese account might not be accurate since they recorded what they heard from Chinese merchants. However, the above accounts about tours to local famous sites and local lavish reception of the emperor not only validated commoners’ perception of the southern imperial as sightseeing but also confirmed Chinese officials’ criticism on the southern imperial tours.

The poetic and visual representations of seawalls and tidal bores on his third tour to Jiangnan were crucial to Qianlong to re-articulate the legitimacy his inspection tours. The poem on tidal bores, which featured both with aesthetically pleasing scenery and an imperial hydraulic project, served as a perfect rebuttal to that criticism on the southern imperial tours. Therefore, it was not coincidence that Qianlong used the poetic representation of tidal bores, namely, a terrifying natural wonder, to legitimate his southern inspection tours. He amply justified his tour to Jiangnan for the purposing of constructing seawalls. He justified his southern tours in terms of serving the people, following precedents, and acting site for the purpose of re-creating local tidal bores. In this respect, Qianlong used the poem creating a space to defend his reputation as a benevolent imperial ruler who cared about his subjects.

23 Hua Li, “‘Tangquan fengshuo shu’ yu liuchuan zai riben de Qianlong nanxun shiliao” Qing shi yan jiu, 3, 1997, 99-101.
Qianlong spent a lot of time trying to strike the right tone and posture for his seawall inspection tour. He presented himself as devoted to a public project to beat tidal bores after his first encounter with the natural wonder. However, such tone still remained ambivalent concerning the relationship between the seawall inspection tours and sightseeing. Michael Chang has demonstrated that the possibility that the presence of emperor dowager as a convenient means of accommodating southern imperial tours in the 1750s and 1760s in terms of filial piety (xiao dao) was perhaps not as convincing a reason in the 1780s when the empress dowager had passed away.\(^{24}\) I further argue that, beginning in 1762, Qianlong employed the discourse of both appreciating beautiful scenery and taking care of local people’s livelihood to legitimate his presence in the Jiangnan region.

One of the *Four Poems on the Seawall* (*Tang shang si shou*, 1762) in particular encapsulates Qianlong’s attempt to manage the often-contradictory meanings that might be assigned his presence at Haining. The emperor repeatedly claimed that his presence at Haining was not “surrounding for landscape” but “to inspect seawalls,” as I have discussed in the chapter of Introduction.

Meanwhile, the Qianlong emperor consciously used a series of poems on tidal bores and seawalls at Haining addressed to his officials to demonstrate that his intention was not about sightseeing but rather was focused on seawall construction. On his first Haining inspection tour in 1762, the emperor wrote one poem to instruct local officials about his policies on the seawall construction, four poems on local rustic scenery he ran into as he headed to the Jianshan-Tashan Reduction Dam, and one poem about tidal bores.

\(^{24}\) Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 311.
In the ensuing seawall inspection tours in 1765, 1780, and 1784, Qianlong matched rhymes with new poems on the same topic. The emperor apparently used the poems making a follow-up report about his Haining inspection tour. Take the poem on the tidal bores I cited above for example, Qianlong matched rhymes to the four poems in 1765, 1780, and 1784, in which he reiterated his responsibility to control the tidal bores and to manage the seawall construction. Therefore, the poetic representation of tidal bore was a perfect example to relieve the tension between Qianlong’s reputation as a benevolent imperial ruler and a poet who enjoyed the leisure life with local scenery.

**Table 2.1 The Poems that Qianlong Wrote on the Haining Inspection Tours (1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Number of poems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ti tu bei tang</em> (Poems on Preventive Earthen Seawalls)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tangshang si shou</em> (Four Poems [composed] on the Seawalls)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jianshan guan hai</em> (Watching the Sea at Jianshan)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jianshan li da shi</em> (Paying Respect to Guanyin at Jianshan)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Zhu An’ an yuan ji shi za yong</em> (Miscellaneous Poems about Pacifying Tidal Bores Garden)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Shi Tashan zhi shi</em> (Recording Affairs about the Tashan)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yue hai tang</em> (Inspecting Seawalls)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guan chao</em> (Watching Tidal Bores)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hai sheng miao zhan li</em> (Ritual Practice at the Sea God Temple)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** *QDNXSD, juan 5-35*
Meanwhile, Qianlong’s poetic representation of tidal bores also indicated the imperial ambivalent attitude to Han Chinese literati culture. In the poem, the emperor praised the tidal bore as a natural wonder. His representation of the tidal bores as aesthetically beautiful functioned as a socio-cultural construction that mirrored the representations of literati class. That is, it was constituted and transmitted through painterly and poetic compositions, both of which were closely allied fields of literati skills in imperial China. He included the poems in the Imperial Texts (tian zhang) Section in the Grand Canon, intermingled with many other poems about Jiangnan scenery. The number of the poems was so tremendous that the whole section covered about thirty juan (juan 5-35), consisting of one third of the complete Grand Canon. This is Qianlong’s goal to publicize his literary achievements.

Qianlong’s tremendous production of poems about tidal bores also contradicted his criticism on the over-indulgence in poetry, a core value that Han Chinese literati identified with and a specific skill they were required to master in the eighteenth century.\(^\text{25}\) The emperor repeatedly criticized Han Chinese literati for paying too much attention to literary skills and attributed the collapse of the previous Han Chinese regime, the Ming Dynasty, to the refined and over-developed literati culture in the Jiangnan region. He also repeatedly admonished Manchu banners to shun poetic skill and encouraged them to maintain their customs such as shooting, riding, and wrestling.\(^\text{26}\) He

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\(^\text{25}\) QLYZWEJ, *Qianlong yu zhi wen er ji, juan 14*, *Nan xun ji* (Record of Southern Tours).

\(^\text{26}\) Crossley, *Manchus*, 129.
attributed the victory of military conquest in the west during the 1750s to the victory of Banner’s military skills.\textsuperscript{27}

However, when he turned to his Han Chinese subjects in Jiangnan, the emperor showed his poetic talents as well as his aesthetic taste in poetry and landscape paintings.\textsuperscript{28} This is a clear political message to his Han Chinese subjects, that is, a Manchu emperor could also be skilled in Chinese poetry as well as Han Chinese literati. Qianlong was very successful in doing this. With special examination on poetry on his southern imperial tours, many Chinese elites in Jiangnan were recruited in the court. More importantly, these Han elites, no matter whether they were successful in the examination, devoted themselves to the poetry production, which, I argue, further stimulated the production of poetry in Haining of the eighteenth century. Qianlong used the genre of poem to present himself as a patron of Chinese literati culture. His poems on the seawalls and tidal bores not only served as political edicts and instructions on the seawall construction but also functioned as a vehicle to engage imperial subjects to the newly expanded empire.

In addition, the poems not only established Qianlong as a scholar who was gifted in poetry, calligraphy, and bibliophile with a literati taste, their anthologizing in the imperially sponsored works also functioned to create him as a monarch who had ultimate authority to decide which should be considered as local scenery and which should not. Take Haining for example, Jianshan and Lao Yanchang, which had never been considered as tourist destinations in local history, for the first time were recorded as two

\textsuperscript{27} Waley-Cohen, \textit{The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty}, 20; \textit{The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History}, 115.

\textsuperscript{28} Philip Kuhn has characterized Qianlong’s attitude to Jiangnan literati culture as “fear, mistrust, admiration, and envy.” Kuhn, \textit{Soul Stealer}, 70-71.
local famous sites in the imperially sponsored works. In 1770s, many literati were attracted to the sites to appreciate tidal bores and seawalls. They wrote poems and essays about the two sites, claiming they were inspired by the emperor’s poems. They, additionally, hoped that their poems would be included in the imperially sponsored works in the future. Qianlong’s poems function as the ultimate imperial authority in determining local famous sites. They both validated the emperor’s literary talents as well as his imperial power. In the following section, I will discuss how Qianlong used visual images to frame his two layered agendas.

**Visual Representations of Seawalls and Tidal Bores and Imperial Power**

In addition to poems, Qianlong commissioned the illustration of tidal bores or scenes related to tidal bores for the imperially sponsored works under his patronage. *The Zhejiang Tidal Bores, the Pacifying Tidal Bores Garden, and the Suppressing Tidal Bores Tower-Temple* were three illustrations first included in the *Grand Canon* in 1776 and later were included in the *Four Treasuries* in 1784 (Figure 2. 6-8)
Figure 2.7 Zhejiang Tidal Bores in the Autumn (sources: QDNXSD, juan 103, 1990)
Figure 2.8 The Pacifying Tidal Bores Garden (source: *QDNXSD*, *juan* 105, 2052)
Figure 2.9 The Temple-Tower of Suppressing the Sea (source: QDNXSD, juan 105, 2054)
A court artist named Xu Yang, possibly with the help of his assistants, sketched the illustrations on the southern imperial tours. They revised the drafts for different imperially sponsored works after they came back to Beijing. The artists employed the composition of landscape painting to portray the tidal bores in an attractive way in the three illustrations. They produced pine trees, bamboos, and remote mountains, with fine brushes. They also set up the pavilions, temples, artificial rocks, paths, and pagoda in the center of the illustrations. While these elements constructed a peaceful and enjoyable circumstance in the half of the illustrations, the threatening tidal bores constituted the other half. They were rolling up in the sky, fierce and endangering, which stood in stark contrast with the scene of gardens, temples, pavilions, and pagoda.

Worth noting here is Zhejiang Tidal Bores in the Autumn (Figure 2.6), in which the Observing Tidal Bores Platform is framed in the upper center of the illustration, surrounding by the threatening tidal bores. The Yongzheng emperor funded the construction of the platform in 1727. Since then, officials from the minister of rites were sent for the state’s sacrifice to the sea god annually. The Qianlong emperor conducted the sacrifice ceremony each time he went to Haining. The platform thus functioned as a state apparatus, representing the power of the state or even the imperial ruler himself. The platform was only open to local officials, scholars, and some merchants when the state’s sacrificial ceremony was conducted.

In the illustration, behind the platform are the willow trees and family houses the row by row. We can see how the houses are close to the seawalls. The compartmentalizing of the illustration reveals the function of the state apparatus, the platform, between the angry tidal bores and the beautiful scene, namely, to control the

29 QSGJZ, juan 291, Art (yishu) 3.
tidal bores for local people’s livelihood and the beautiful scenery in which they lived. In doing so, the illustration thus fully echoed the Qianlong emperor’s poetic representation of the tidal bores, a threatening natural wonder needed to be controlled for the protection of local people.

The illustration also implied the function of the platform, namely, to guard local people and their property merging into local beautiful scenery. In the illustration, the seawalls wound along the seashore while the tidal bores were rolling up and blocked down. The seawalls separated the trees and the houses from the tidal bores. More interestingly, the seawall was portrayed in the way very similar to the form of the Great Wall on the northern frontier. Even though the fish-scale-stone seawall in the vicinity was not completed until 1784, the illustration was produced and included in the Grand Canon in 1777, seven years before the construction was finished. Yet, Xu Yang, possibly after, say, after conversions, with the emperor, visualized the seawalls in a similar way to that of the Great Wall.

However, the illustrations of the An lan yuan (Pacifying Tidal Bores Garden) emphasized the beautiful scene of the garden rather than on the tidal bore itself. There was not a single sign of tidal bores in the illustration except its name. The sea and the tidal bores have been totally suppressed. It is not obvious in the woodblock print at all. The Anlan Garden belonged to a local prominent Chen family. It originally name was Corner Garden (yuyuan) for it was located in a corner of the Chen estate. When they found out that Qianlong had decided to stay at the Chen family estate during his Haining inspection tour in 1762, the Chen family expanded the garden, maybe with the funds from local government or the seawall construction office. Qianlong stayed at the Garden
four times on his seawall inspection tours. The emperor bestowed the name to the garden. *An lan*, literally translated as “pacifying tidal bores.” The name functioned in a way similar to that of the platform to represent the imperial presence and his political agenda. The illustrations of the *Temple-Tower* echoed the agenda of the previous two illustrations, namely, to replace an image of wonder and danger with that of beauty and tranquility.

The threatening image of tidal bores was relieved when the illustrations were included in the Famous Sites Section of the *Grand Canon of the Southern Imperial Tours*. The Section enforced literati aesthetic taste by listing the illustrations of tidal bores with other famous sites in Zhejiang such as *Ten Scenic Views of West Lake*. In this respect, the Famous Sites Section of the *Grand Canon* prioritized the aesthetic aspect of the seawalls over that of the administrative aspect.

Another imperially sponsored work, the *Seawall Records* (1765-1784), however, emphasized the administrative aspect of tidal bores over that of aesthetic taste catering to literati culture. The *Records* was produced in 1765 after the Qianlong emperor’s second inspection tour to Haining. It included Qianlong’s already compiled poems about Haining from the Imperial Texts Section of the *Grand Canon*. However, the poems incorporated in the *Records* functioned more importantly as the sources that can be analogized to imperial edicts than as poetry. The poems discussed the techniques of the seawall construction, imperial policies on the seawalls, and history of the seawall construction. While they also revealed aesthetic aspect of local scenery, these poems functioned as the Qianlong’s edicts when they were compiled into the “Imperial Texts” section of the *Records*. Take Jianshan for example, in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, it was represented as a remote mountain on the border of Haining and Haiyan on the map of
local gazetteers (1675, 1765, 1775; Figure 2.8): no houses, no smoke, no trees, and no residency except rocks and the tidal bores at the foot of the mountain. As a result, rarely was Jianshan represented in local histories and local literati’s poems. In 1762, however, Qianlong was the first poet who wrote on Jianshan, in which he presented Jianshan as a critical seawall construction site. In a poem entitled, Mounting Jianshan and Observing the Sea (Deng Jianshan guan hai)

Through drawings (yu tu), I have already known about Jianshan,
Earthly designed and heavenly created, Jianshan is a block at the sea pass;
In the northeast, it is easy for hills to block [tidal bores],
In the southwest, it is difficult to use timber seawalls to resist [tidal bores];
Sincerely I pray, [because] the prevention of tidal bores
depends on the collapse and the pileup of [sands],
Worried, my hair shedding, I came up with no good idea;
I consulted with high-ranking officials for good suggestion,
I sincerely did my best, and how dare I loiter?\(^{30}\)

The poem portrays an imperial ruler who sought good ideas for the prevention of seawalls while Jianshan is represented as a heavenly created key point crucial to that project. With the same title and the same rhyme, Qianlong wrote three other poems on Jianshan in 1765, 1780, and 1784, all included in the Seawall Records. He observed that “the tidal bores splashed at the foot of the Jianshan.” He lamented the delays in the construction of the reduction in 1765.\(^{31}\) With the imperial presence, the temples at the

\(^{30}\) HTXZ, juan 2, 19a, 195.

\(^{31}\) HTXZ, juan 2, 25a, 167.
Jianshan began to attract more local people in the spring. In the 1770s, Jianshan gradually turned into a tourist destination for local people in the springtime. More pavilions and temples were built along the stairs to the top where Qianlong observed the sea.\(^{32}\) Qianlong must have observed the changes in the area over the years. At that time, Qianlong began to reflect on his policy on the prevention of tidal bores and the seawall construction. Though he changed his policy and decided to focus on the stone seawall construction, Qianlong, as I discussed in the above, attributed to the failure to local bureaucrats’ laity and complacency. Later, he initiated the largest anti-corruption movement, in which local officials in charge of the seawall construction were caught and punished. Qianlong wrote in the poem:

“Why did [you] build the pavilions and temples to decorate [Jianshan],

Sighed, I was dissatisfied with what I had seen in the front of my eyes.”\(^{33}\)

When the reduction dam was completed in 1784, Qianlong went to Jianshan again. This time, Qianlong, after mounting Jianshan and watching the sea, attributed the success to the cooperation among local officials:

Heavenly timing, location advantage, and harmonious human relations,

Which were true in the ancient time;

With cooperation with each other, one thus did not make mistakes.\(^{34}\)

The four poems, with the same title and the same rhyme, portrayed Qianlong emperor’s different concerns at different moments. However, the seawall construction and

\(^{32}\) *HNXZ*, Famous sites.

\(^{33}\) *HTXZ*, *juan* 2, 29b, 176.

\(^{34}\) *HTXZ*, *juan* 2, 34a, 185.
bureaucratic management were two main concerns of the poems. With these poems, Jianshan became a point where literati enjoyed the tidal bores and went hiking. Essays and poems about Jianshan began to flourish in the late eighteenth century.

With such big changes over the years, the visual representation in the 1790 *Seawall Record* portrayed Jianshan both as a site of local scenery and a public construction site (Figure 2.9). Tidal bores existed in the upper middle of the illustration while mountains with trees, pavilions, temples consist of the other half. The reduction dam was completed. Trees were planted along the preventive earthen seawalls. More interestingly, tidal bores were not as fierce as those in the illustration of *Zhejiang Tidal Bores in the Autumn* and that of the * Suppressing Tidal Bores Tower-Temple in the Grand Canon*. This partly lies in the fact that *the Seawall Records* were published in 1790 after the completion of the seawall in 1784 while *the Grand Canon* was published in 1770s and 1780s before the completion of the seawalls at Jianshan. Therefore the illustration latter still focused on the uncontrollable aspect of tidal bores while that in *the Seawall Record* focuses on the scenery aspect. More interestingly, the arable land was covered behind the beautiful scenery, which embodied a peaceful scene of rustic themes that Qianlong kept writing on the scenery of Haining.
Figure 2.10 Jianshan Seawalls (Source: HTXZ, juan 3, 237)
In spite of their different priorities and political agendas, the *Grand Canon* and the *Seawall Records* shared some characteristics, namely, to construct the tidal bores both as scenery and a public construction project. The poems, illustrations, and the ways in which they were included in the imperially sponsored works transmitted that dual functions of the tidal bores to many other imperially sponsored works and to local gazetteers in the next century. The construction of seawalls was a perfect example to demonstrate Qianlong’s struggling for legitimating his southern imperial tours.

Qianlong further legitimated his southern tours through glorifying bucolic literature. In a group of poems written on his way to inspect Jianshan-Tashan reduction dam, Qianlong constructed local rustic scenery as representing the morality of rustic themes. \(^{35}\) In another poem, he portrayed the willows, plum blossoms, and vegetable fields along the preventive earthen dike as an ideal scene for rustic themes that he made an effort to achieve for his subjects. \(^{36}\) In another poem, the emperor portrayed salt laborers working hard in the sun to produce salt on the beach. He lamented that they were a group of people he intended to protect, for they worked hard for petty profits while merchants did not work but gain a big fortune. Using the poem, Qianlong celebrated morality of landscape. We see this best in his representations of rustic themes on Haining scenery. In a third poem, the emperor consciously compared Haining rustic scenery with the scenery in prefectural capitals such as Jiaxing, Hangzhou, and Suzhou:

\[
\text{Yan’guan never knows how to welcome a guest,}
\]
\[
\text{Simple and ancient customs made it worth visiting;}
\]

\(^{35}\) *HTXZ, juan* 2, 18b, 154.

\(^{36}\) *HTXZ, juan* 2, 18b, 154.
However, it is superior to Hangzhou and Jiaxing,

By the riverside are drums and boats, with luxurious decoration.\textsuperscript{37}

Well worth our attention here is the image of a ruler who associated with the concept of local customs and observing the people and the disavowal of sightseeing, as he repeatedly claimed that he enjoyed ancient style of local custom. So Qianlong celebrated Haining as an ancient town whose people did not provide a luxurious reception of the emperor. It was, Qianlong wrote, “ancient customs” making Haining worth visiting. Qianlong, thus, used the poetic representation of local custom subverting sightseeing catering to literati taste into an administrative activism. In a poem entitled \textit{the Completion of the Seawalls in the Vicinity of Lao Yancang (Lao Yancang yi dai yu lin shi tang ming chen xiu)},\textsuperscript{38} the emperor first claimed that he galloped slowly on the seawalls in order to inquire of local people about the policy on the prevention of tidal bores. Then in a footnote he recorded a local elder whom he ran into and who gave advice on how to handle “stake punching” on the sands. The advice, Qianlong wrote, helped to solve the problem of building the fish-scale-stone seawall on the sands, which was crucial to the completion of the whole seawalls in 1784. Qianlong used the story to demonstrate the completion of the seawalls and its connection with his practice of “observing people” and “inquiring of people.”

These poems also twisted the literati’s leisurely sightseeing to a promotion of bucolic literature. In the second poem, Qianlong contrasted the salt laborers with the salt merchants. While the former group worked hard in the field, the latter group made a fortune out of their hardship. It was not surprising that Qianlong would use such

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{HTXZ, juan} 2, 19a, 154.

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{HTXZ, juan} 2, 36b.
Confucian ideology to describe what he saw on his seawall inspection tours. This on the one hand reinforced his image as an imperial benevolent ruler. On the other hand, it created an idealized rustic scenery embedded in morality of subsistence economy, namely, people who were hardworking, no suspicious, and self-reliant. It also fits into an anti-merchant agenda of Qianlong, particularly Jiangnan salt merchants who funded the southern imperial tours and seawall construction. Qianlong depended on salt merchants for state revenue and hydraulic projects, yet he envied their economic power. He used the rhetoric of “stressing agriculture and constraining business” (zhong nong qing shang) to express his dissatisfaction with merchant. In spite of the emperor’s contempt, salt merchants played a pivotal role in the Qing economy in the eighteenth century. Using the metaphor of local scenery, Qianlong added a new layer meaning of sightseeing, that is, to walk around and to inquire about local customs to build an ideal society under his sovereignty. This was why the tidal bores were so important. They were a public project to be done to shift a threatening tidal bores into a natural wonder for a better local life, which embodied in the creation and maintenance of beautiful scenery for sightseeing.

Local Literati’s Representation of Local Scenery

Many provincial officials and local elites seemed to appreciate the court’s recognition of Haining’s scenic “pre-eminence,” and produced a number of poems about and illustrations of the tidal bores. They even anthologized those poems and illustrations in local gazetteers and specialized guidebooks to famous local sites. They spent time leisurely watching the tidal bores at Lao Yanchang, the Tower of Suppressing Tidal Bores, and even Jianshan, where the completed fish-scale-stone seawalls made it possible. They organized poetry parties such as that recorded in Listening to Tidal Bores Poetry
Hall (Ting chao shi guan) for poetic inspiration. In addition, they started to bring together a wide range of written records on tidal bores from the old gazetteers for their own various local history projects. The result was that the poems and illustrations about tidal bores included in Haining Local Gazetteer (Haining xian zhi, 1775), Haichang Famous Sites (Haichang sheng lan, 1780), Folk Songs on Li Ponds (Li tang yu nai, 1778), and Xinban Folk Songs (Xin ban tu feng, 1778). These works were compiled in anticipation of Qianlong’s third and fourth southern tours. This small sample of local histories represents not only a flurry of production of local knowledge promoted by Qianlong’s first two seawall inspection tours, but also the mixed significance that might be invested in an imperial visit to Haining.

Haichang Famous Sites, Folk Songs on Li Ponds, and Xinban Folk Songs were aimed at an audience of the emperor himself, as well as those interested in retracing the imperial procession’s itinerary once the imperial inspection tours were finished. The authors of these books glorified the tidal bores in connection with imperial presence at Haining through literary and visual production. Both the Qianlong emperor and literati tourists would feel that they should glorify local scenery. Since he needed to articulate his

39 Litang yu nai was produced in 1778, the year when the Qianlong emperor announced his third imperial tour to Haining. In the preface of a manuscript of Litang yu nai, Wu Qian explicitly stated that he composed poems of local history to anticipate the emperor’s recognition. The sentence was deleted in the published edition of Litang yu nai. Wu Qian, Litang za yong, Preface, Manuscript, Shanghai Library.

40 Haining was not the only place that both the emperor and literati tried to glory. Meyer-Fong has also observed that the leisure touring had lead to the fetishesnization of scenic sites as hallmarks of elite practice in the eighteenth century as well. Meyer-Fong, Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou, 1652-1684, 185-93.
legitimacy to the Jiangnan, Qianlong used the tidal bores and seawalls to articulate an imperial ruler’s responsibility to take care of local people. In addition, he also used the metaphor of local rustic scenery to represent social stability and prosperity under his rule. Local literati glorified local landscape in anticipation to glorify their own poetic reputation.

Therefore, local literati used the production of local history to promote their literary reputations. Works such as the *Haining Local Gazetteer* (1765, 1775, and 1848) used the emperor’s own poems about the tidal bores to glorify the emperor and his great enterprise of the seawall construction. The poems were included in the section of Imperial Texts (*tiān zhāng*) section not only to retain the imperial authority and his favor of Haining but also to elevate Haining’s position within the cultural hierarchy of places in the empire. In that section, local compilers included the emperor’s poems about tidal bores with imperial edicts about Haining seawalls. In addition, the poems about tidal bores were included into the “Famous Sites” section. In other words, local literati, through anthologizing the poems in the local gazetteers, presented tidal bores not only as a scenic view but also as an administrative entity.

While the emperor made an effort to disavow his Haining tour for tidal bores as sightseeing, the ambiguity of the poetic texts and the ways in which he presented tidal bores created a new space for local literati to present tidal bores in terms of local beautiful scenery. Local literati, used poetic representation of tidal bores to articulate local identity connected to local past and imperial presence. They repeatedly celebrated the tidal bores as “a masterpiece of the heaven with intelligent people (*tiān jié rén nǐng*).” They also emphasized the imperial attention to Haining. They claimed that the imperial
presence in Haining made a “remote soil” (pi rang 僑壤) into “an area with famous sites (ming sheng zhi qu 名胜之区).” They constructed tidal bores as both an aesthetically pleasing scene as well as the representation of imperial ruler himself. In doing so, both Han Chinese officials and local elites considered that Qianlong’s seawall inspection would include both administrative and sightseeing functions.

With the poems about the tidal bores in terms of its power and momentum, local literati showed their gratitude to the Qianlong emperor and his presence at Haining. Tidal bores, once a natural disaster, were re-invented as being local remarkable scenery that inspired local literati, as shown in their poems. Observing the tidal bores, either at Jianshan or in the vicinity of Lao Yanchang, on the eighteenth day of the eighth month became a new custom at Haining. Literati devoted themselves to poetic representations about local tidal bores.

In addition to the aesthetic taste and the administrative aspect of tidal bores, local literati emphasized their “locality.” Jianshan, which was a new location at which one could appreciate tidal bores, now became a hallmark on both local physical and cultural map. Local literati began to identify themselves with Jianshan. An example is Wu Qian (1733-1813), a noted bibliophile and poet, who began to use “Jianshan” to identify his origin. The Wu family migrated to Haining during the Ming and Qing transition in the seventeenth century after several generations of engaging in salt production. The family settled in Haining. Wu Qian of the fourth generation of the Haining-based lineage, began to establish himself in local society as a literary scholar in local society in the eighteenth century. Like many of his contemporaries, Wu Qian devoted himself to collecting.

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41 HNXZ (1765), Preface; NZYW (1789), Preface.
writing, and producing books. He also made a lot of reading notes. Eventually he
anthologized all those notes into a bi ji entitled Miscellanies on Jianshan (Jian yang cong
bi). The contents of bi ji was extremely extensive, ranging from local anecdotes, stories
about local figures, collections of a famous inkstone, to the records of relics sites, temples,
gardens, and so on. However, Wu Qian used Jianyang to name his works. Jianyang can
be literally translated into English as “north of Jianshan.” Wu Qian in his prefaces
claimed he chose the name for this reason, as his house was located to the north of
Jianshan.42 His using the location of his home to name his works was not uncommon for
a Chinese literatus in imperial China. However, Wu Qian’s home was actually in Xin
yancang (New Salt Repository), where there were no residents in the seventeenth century
and which only gradually grew after salt fields were opened up and salt merchants’
families gradually settled there in the eighteenth century. In addition, Xin Yanchang was
about ten miles away from Jianshan. As I presented in the above, Jianshan was an
isolated border mountain to which even local elites rarely went prior to the eighteenth
century. After Jianshan became visible on local map as a new location at which to
appreciate tidal bores, Wu Qian decided to use it as a means to identify himself.
Designating his house as being “to the north of Jianshan,” Wu Qian not only designated
the physical location of his own house but also marked it – and-- therefore himself on the
Haining cultural map by associating his house with a place where the Qianlong emperor
went.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Haining had become a destination for
tourists around the country. Lao Yancang and Jianshan, where the fish-scale-stone
seawall was completed, became scenic spots where tourists enjoyed the tidal bores. In

42 Wu Qian, Jian yang cong bi, Preface.
1789, Shen Fu, a Suzhou literatus who was later known as the author of *Six Chapters of a Floating Life*, traveled to Haining. He took the time to walk by seawalls from Lao Yancang to Jiangshan to watch the tidal bore on the eighteenth day of the eighth month. He saw the tidal bores with their “white-crested bores rushing by twice daily, with the ebb and tide like miles-long silvery embankments.” He saw “the surf-riding boats lying in wait with the bow facing the on-coming bores.” Rather than constructing tidal bores as a threat, Shen Fu constructed an image of them as being something that local people could coexist with. As for Jianshan, Shen represented it as a mountain “rising up abruptly and ending up in the sea.” He also used the emperor’s inscription that was on the top of a temple signboard, “wide sea and spacious sky,” as a testament to his observation. In the eyes of literati, Jianshan was not a construction site any more. Instead it was place, “from which one could gain an unlimited view of the universe, with nothing except an angry sea waves rising to meet the sky at the horizon.”

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Chapter Three: Productivity, Aesthetics, and Histories of Haining Scenic Views

Song Di: his landscape painting is neat and remote and his calligraphy is marvelous. The style of his *Eight Scenic Views*, people competed to imitate; Su Ping also had good poems about *Haining Eight Scenic Views*, which became a wordless stele of Yan’guan, disseminating local histories.

Zhou Chun: *HCSL*, “Famous Sites”

Chapter Two discussed the construction of the seawalls and representations of local scenery and their connections with Qianlong’s multi-ethnic empire enterprise. This chapter analyzes local response to the emperor’s imperial enterprise. Through examining the literary production of local landscape, I investigate the ways in which local landscapes were created and their connection with imperial enterprises. I argue that local literati employed local landscapes for three primary purposes: 1) to emphasize productivity of local scenery to comply with the Qianlong emperor’s praise of local landscape in terms of political morality of a sage king; 2) to focus on aesthetic taste of local landscape.

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1 Song Di (c. 1015-c. 1080) was a literati painter in the Northern Song dynasty. He was noted for his landscape painting and poetry for Eight Scenic Views of Xiao Xiang. Details about Song Di and his landscape painting, please see Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*, 3-28; 66-68.

2 Su Ping was native of Haining during the Jingtai period (1450-1457). Su Ping and his brother Su Zheng were known as members of ten talents of the Jing’tai period in local histories. Their biographies were included in local histories beginning in late Ming.

3 Yan’guan was the ancient name of Haining.

4 *HCSL, juan* 8, Famous Sites, 235.
local scenery in order to favor local literati social status and cultural prestige in local society; 3) to address timelessness of local scenery in terms of its long history. It is my assertion that examining the creation and the recreation of local landscape not only helps us to understand how local literati responded to the imperial enterprises but also demonstrates how local literati contested and negotiated with each other to write local history and formulate locality. I will proceed with the analysis and discussion in the following two parts. First, I examine local literati’s three ways of literary production of local scenery. Second, I discuss how literati contested and negotiated with each other and how this connected with the Qianlong emperor’s perception of local scenery as an embodiment of a multi-ethnic empire.

Contrasting Views of Local Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Haining

In 1778 Zhou Chun (1730-1815), a Haining literary figure, started to work on the “Famous Sites” (ningsheng 名胜) section for the Haichang Famous Sites (Haichang sheng lan) which he edited. Zhou starts the opening entry with the poem I cite in the above, in which he discussed the origin of the poems on local Eight Scenic Views. He commented on the genre known as “eight-view poetry” (ba jing shi 八景诗), which is usually comprised of eight stanzas and eight paintings related to a geographic scene shown from different perspectives and on different occasions. Zhou attributed the invention of the genre to Song Di and local introduction of the genre to Su Ping (c. 1435-1457). Meanwhile, Zhou Chun praised Su Ping for his use of the Eight Scenic Views Poetry to celebrate and preserve local landscape. Comparing Haichang Eight Scenic Views to a “wordless” stone stele, Zhou Chun praises the hails poems, saying they “serve
to preserve and disseminate local histories.”

Ironically Zhou fiercely opposed his contemporaries’ use of the genre to exalt local landscape though he praised Su Ping and Song Di so highly in the poem. In his commentary to the poem, Zhou criticized the practice of his contemporaries to use the genre of Eight Scenic View Poetry to write local histories and present local landscape. He criticized the practice as being “a bad habit” (lou xi), which should not be promoted.\(^6\)

Why does Zhou Chun have such contrasting attitudes towards using this genre to celebrate the local landscape? This partially resulted from his dissatisfaction with the 1775 local gazetteer. After the Qianlong’s visits to Haining in 1762 and 1765, Haining was promoted from a county-level administrative unit to a sub-prefecture unit. As a result, two local gazetteers were commissioned by local officials to rewrite local history. Zhou, as a noted local literatus, was invited to serve the local gazetteer bureau twice for the 1765 and the 1775 local gazetteers. While the 1765 edition retained the style and the contents of the previous local gazetteers, the compilers who worked for the 1775 edition expanded the contents and tended to include as much local histories as possible in the local gazetteer. Zhou Chun was so annoyed by the ways his colleagues approached the 1775 edition that he immediately withdrew from the project.\(^7\) To him, the inclusion of too many newly created scenic views had breached the rule of “authenticity” and “antiquity,” which he tended to defend, for local gazetteers. He was so unsatisfied with the newly

\(^5\) *HCSL*, *juan* 8, Famous Sites, 235.

\(^6\) *HCSL*, *juan* 8, Famous Sites, 235.

\(^7\) *NZYW*, Preface.
created categories of eight scenic views, ten scenic views, and twelve scenic views that he later completed a local history under his own editorship in 1780, the year when the Qianlong emperor had his third inspection tour to Haining. Titling his local history *Haining Famous Landscape (Haichang sheng lan)*, Zhou Chun intended to use his local history to revise the 1775 edition.

In addition, Zhou’s paradoxical attitude reflects local literati’s complicated perceptions of local landscape writing in the late eighteenth century: attracted to beautiful scenery to elevate local identity yet repelled by its potential association with vulgarity. In fact, Zhou Chun was one of the local literati who embarked upon literary production of local landscape to write local histories. In addition to the genre of Eight Scenic Views Poetry, local literati also employed bamboo-branch lyrics (*zhu zhi ci*). Unlike bamboo-branch lyrics (*zhu zhi ci*), lyrical descriptions of everyday life written by members of the elite class and containing four lines of seven characters each, was a traditional form of Chinese literature. Compared with other forms of poetry, bamboo-branch lyrics was a literary form that more directly and concretely described people, events, and things—although it also often included the author’s opinions. Bamboo-branch lyrics largely deal with people’s real life. It is described in some traditional Chinese narratives as being distinguished from lyric poetry. Although Qing poets did not invent new genres as did the poets of Tang, Song, and Yuan times, they did compose verse more closely related to people’s lives. The emergence of bamboo-branch lyrics was most likely attributable, as some scholars point out, to “the rise of realism in Qing poetry.” Because of this feature, bamboo-branch lyrics contains rich information regarding everyday life in the Qing dynasty, that is usually absent in conventional historical data. Bamboo-branch
other types of Chinese poetry, bamboo-branch lyrics’ style was simple and did not require adherence to the strict rules of traditional Chinese verse. Scholars of Chinese literature regard bamboo-branch poetry as “fishermen’s folk songs” (yu’ge 渔歌, zhaog’ge 捞歌) or songs reflecting local customs (tu feng 土风). By using this form, poets were able to express directly what they saw and how they felt about local people, markets, products, and customs. These poems gave more ink to the depictions of people’s lives; for example, many poems contain actual names of people and places. Some authors of bamboo-branch lyrics emphasized that their writings described “local customs and practices” (feng tu 风土). Wu Qian expressed his thoughts in this way: “I wrote the folk songs to record local customs and practices.”

The two genres prospered in Haining in the late eighteenth century. Some literati entitled their poems of local scenery in terms of eight views, ten views, twelve views, and even sixteen views. Others entitled their poems in terms of songs: bamboo-branch lyrics, folk songs, or fishermen’s songs. Altogether about two thousand of the poems under the two genres that were produced in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century are still extant. The genres feature a four-line poetry that typically describes some local scenery and customs, intentionally using the language of “vulgar” (su 俗) and

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lyrics also provides insights into how local elites viewed ordinary people and popular culture. Zhu Yizun (1629-1709), a native to Hangzhou Prefecture, was considered as a pioneer to compose the form to record “literature of native places.” The form was first popular in the early Qing. In the eighteenth century, the form became popular in Haining, where local literati used the form to re-write local history.

9 NTYN, Preface.
colloquialism, to celebrate local histories and culture in terms of local scenery.

It was in fact such colloquialism and vulgarity that Zhou Chun intended to criticize the above poem. According to Zhou, what was crucial to local eight scenic views is authenticity formed through the long time of history. Without that long history, Zhou implicitly suggested that the authenticity of eight scenic views is suspect. Therefore he criticized the poems of local eight scenic views hailed by his contemporaries as nothing but newly entitled “fake stuff,” which were not able to disseminate history as Su Ping and Song Di did.

There was no one else so critical as Zhou Chun was. Though they might start individual local histories project as he did, many local literati tended to supplement the previous local gazetteer rather than subvert the edition. In 1789, Zhou Chun’s cousin Zhou Guanye, another noted local literatus, also completed a new local gazetteer under his own editorship. Entitling the gazetteer as *Remnant Affairs of Haining* (*Ningzhi yu wen* 宁志余闻), Zhou Guanye explicitly claimed that his local histories project intended to supplement the previous gazetteer rather than challenge it. In spite of their different agenda, Zhou Chun was invited to write the preface for the *Remnant Affairs of Haining*, in which Zhou Chun again expressed his displeasure with the 1775 local gazetteer.

However, Zhou Chun constructed his dissatisfaction with the discourse of local scenery. Claiming local scenery as being fake and not antique, Zhou Chun drew on his criteria for local scenery. His criteria not only contended with the perception of his contemporaries but also it conflicted with that of Qianlong who tended to create and praise local scenery to embody and promote the ideology of the multi-ethnic empire under the construction of his rule, as discussed in chapter two. How can we understand
Zhou Chun’s perception of local scenery and in which ways it connected with that of Qianlong? By examining the genres of poems on local landscape and their social and cultural contexts and political implications, I address the complexity of local landscape and its connection with the ideology of multi-ethnic empire and regional literati culture.

Eight Scenic Views and Bamboo-branch Lyrics: Productivity and Political Morality

Eight Scenic Views in the Eighteenth Century: Politics of Aesthetics

The genre of “Eight scenic views” (八景) in poetry and painting has been a long-time cultural practice among literati in late imperial China. Literati presented eight scenic views of a specific location in paintings linked with eight poems: such as eight views of a lake, a mountain, a river, a temple, or a temple, from different perspective and in different occasions.

Literati used the eight scenic views to represent their political agenda, aesthetic taste, and their cultural prestige and social status. They used mountains and rivers outside of the walled city to represent eremitism, estrangement from the political center, and political integrity. They also used artificial hills, ponds, paths, and bamboo groves in the gardens to formulate literati identity, articulate their aesthetic identities, and thus reinforce literati community.

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10 Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*, 3-28. Ortiz discusses the origin and the format of eight scenic views and its link to Song Di in northern Song Dynasty.

11 Liscomb argues literati were inspired to use eight scenic views to assure recognition of his position as one of the elite group of scholar-officials. Kathlyn Liscomb, “The Eight Views of Beijing”: Politics in Literati Art” *Artibus Asiae* 49.1-2 (1988-1989), 127-152. In the late Ming, literati used scenes in gardens to present multiple views in the poems and paintings. Craig Clunas argues that the consumption of gardens in
The genre began to prosper beginning in the eighteenth century and continued in the early nineteenth century. A large number of poems and paintings were produced in the name of eight scenic views at an unprecedented rate. While some were included in personal poetry collections, more were included for local histories to celebrate local cultural prestige. Accordingly, many scenic views were created or recreated to highlight local cultural prestige.

The prosperity of the genre attributed to a great deal to the imperial political agenda to legitimize the universal emperorship of a multi-ethnic empire in terms of landscape in the eighteenth century. Both the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors used the scenic views to present their ultimate authority in the empire. For example, both emperors used scenic views in the Chengde complex, a vast complex of palaces and administrative and ceremonial buildings that the Qing imperial rulers usually stayed to avoid hot summers in Beijing, to indicate that each scenic view represented a small political entity; taken together, the views constitute the empire under their rule.  

Kangxi and Qianlong gave more attention to Jiangnan and savored the refined delights of Jiangnan scenic views compared to the inconveniences or perils in the moving palace Chengde. They each designated thirty-six views, which were displayed around the reality and through literary paintings and poems in the format of eight views, ten views, and twelve views of paintings helped to establish and reinforce the reputation of the gardens and the owners as well as their producers. Clunas, Fruitful Sites, 137-176.

12 Elliot, New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde, Introduction, 1-12.
palaces at Chengde, using plaques and poems to commemorate the charms of each.\(^{13}\) On their southern imperial tours to Jiangnan, the two emperors composed the poems to hail local eight scenic views, asked their advisors to match rhymes, and even inscribed them on stone steles or plaques to praise the charm of each scenic spot. Palace painters were commissioned to draw them for imperially sponsored works such as the *Grand Canon*. They even built mimic scenic views of Jiangnan in the palace gardens to show their appreciation.\(^{14}\) Using the genre of eight scenic views, Kangxi and Qianlong re-appropriated the discourse of aesthetic beauty of the scenery to articulate their legitimacy for the multi-ethnic empire over their audiences of the Jiangnan as well as Central Asia, as discussed in Chapter One and Two. Kangxi and Qianlong’s poems about local scenic views were widely scattered in their personal poetry collections, imperially sponsored works on the southern imperial tours, and local gazetteers of the places where they visited.

In addition, literati culture contributed to the popularity of the genre in the eighteenth century. Using the genre of eight or ten scenic views, literati followed their predecessors to articulate their aesthetic and literary taste, build their literary community, and thus reinforce their social status and cultural prestige. Local literati, stimulated by the imperial promotion of Jiangnan scenic views on the southern imperial tours, matched rhymes, painted the pictures, compiled local eight scenic views, and incorporated those in local histories. Li Yimeng observed that the mid-eighteenth century witnessed the inclusion of multi-view poetry in the local gazetteer “Famous Sites” section. He pointed out that it had been common to come across eight-view or ten-view poems in many Qing

\(^{13}\) Elliot, *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 167-170.

\(^{14}\) *YMYSSJTY, Bi shu shang zhuang* (避暑山庄 The Vista Where One Can Avoid Heat), 73.
local gazetteers. For example, the West Lake Ten Scenic Views was included in the 1731 West Lake Records, 1779 Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer, and 1749 Zhejiang General Gazetteer.  

The popularity of the eight-scenic-view genre in Haining can be understood in the above social, historical, and cultural contexts. Su Ping’s Eight Views of Haichang (Haichang ba jing 海昌八景) and Zhu Yin’s Eight Scenic Views of the An’guo Temple (An’guo si ba jing 安国寺八景), the two earliest sets of Haining eight scenic views, were rediscovered in the eighteenth century (Table 3.1). Several poems from two sets were included as Haining Famous Sites in the imperially sponsored Seawalls Records (1762-1784).  

In addition to matching the rhymes to Su and Zhou’s, local literati also composed their own poems to celebrate local scenic views. Zhu Wenzhi’s Eight Scenic Views of Zhan Tang (Zhantang ba jing 澹塘八景), Fang Cheng’gui’s Four Scenic Views of Zun jing ge (Zun jin ge si jing 尊经阁四景), and Chen Zhan’s Ten Scenic Views of Little Tongxi (Xiao tongxi shi jing 小桐溪十景) were a few among them. In addition to personal poetry collections, most of these poems were included in local poetry collections and local histories. Zha Qichang first included Su Ping’s Eight Scenic Views of Haichang in local gazetteer in 1765, the moment when some of them were included in imperially sponsored publications.

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15 Li Yimeng, Xihu shijing (West Lake Ten Views), Preface.

16 HTL, juan 8, Famous Sites 2, 44a-b. Su Ping’s two poems from Haichang Eight Scenic Views were incorporated in the section.

17 HNXZ (1765), juan 8, Famous Sites.
sponsored *Seawalls Records* after the Qianlong emperor’s first inspection tour to Haining.\(^\text{18}\)

### Table 3.1 Poems on Haining Eight Scenic Views

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<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
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<td>Zhu Yin (c.a. 1450s)(^\text{19})</td>
<td>Su Ping, Shen Yiming, Wu Hong (1469 Jinshi),(^\text{20}) Wu Weihuan, Monk Zhengci, Monk Ru’quan</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Eight Scenic Views of Haichang</em></td>
<td>Su Ping (ca. 1435)(^\text{21})</td>
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<td><em>HTL</em> (1762-1784)</td>
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<td><em>HNZZG</em> (1922)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Eight Scenic Views of Suxi</em></td>
<td>Wu Beitai (1634 jinshi)</td>
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<td><em>Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan</em></td>
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<td><em>A Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of</em></td>
<td>Xu Ying (ca. 1600-1672)(^\text{24})</td>
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<td><em>XCXZ</em> (1813)</td>
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<td><em>HNZZG</em> (1922)</td>
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\(^\text{18}\) *HCSL, juan* 8, *Famous Sites*.

\(^\text{19}\) *ZJTZ, juan* 130. Zhu Yin was native of Haining and living through the years of 1450s.

\(^\text{20}\) A native of Wujiang, Zhejiang province, Minister of Punishment.

\(^\text{21}\) *ZJTZ, juan* 178.

\(^\text{22}\) He was native of Haining during the Qianlong’s period (1736-1795), a county official student.

\(^\text{23}\) In *XCXZ* and *XCSC*, Cao Zongzai attributed the poems to Zhou Zhaoyun, a local literatus living through the Song and Yuan dynastic transition, which I fully discuss in Chapter four and five.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Scenic Views</th>
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<td>Ten Scenic Views of Suxi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eight Scenic View of Xiuchuan</td>
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<td>Ten views of Xiuchuan</td>
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<td>Ten Scenic Views of Chunxi</td>
<td>Guan Tingfen (1797-1888)</td>
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<td>Ten Scenic Views of Luoxi</td>
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<td>Twelve Scenic Views of Huaxi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eight Scenic Views of Huaxi</td>
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<td>Zha Youxin, Zhong Dayuan</td>
<td>HXZ (1822), HNZZG (1922), HCSJZ (1923)</td>
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</tbody>
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25 Fang was a native of Rui’an and his style name is xuezhai. He was an 1808 juren degree holder and was an official instructor at Haining official school.

26 Literary name Xintang, style name liyuan, 1779 jinshi. Zhang was an official instructor of Chuzhou.

27 Ma’s literary name was Qianpu, style name guyun, shenggu. He was a county official student.
Compared with those prior to the eighteenth century, the poems of eight scenic views in the eighteenth century featured the following characteristics. First, the poems primarily focus on scenes in the neighborhood or market towns where local literati lived. For example, *Ten Scenic Views of Little Tongxi (Xiao tongxi shi jing)*, *Ten Scenic Views of Huaxi (huaxi shi jing 花溪十景)*, and some others were new scenes that Chen Zhan, Lu Shusheng, and Wu Dun celebrated in their neighborhoods. Chen Zhan and Wu Dun lived by Little Tongxi while Lu Shusheng was from Huaxi neighborhood. This stands in stark contrast with either Song Di’s Eight Scenic Views of Xiao Xiang and Su Ping’s Eight Scenic Views of Haining, both of which used the mountains, rivers, and the moon outside of the walled city and in the remote area to represent literati’s aesthetic taste and political morality of being far way from political authority.

Second, more scenic views were included than in collections made prior to the eighteenth century. While their predecessors retained eight poems, local literati of the eighteenth century prefer to use ten, twelve, sixteen, even eighteen poems to describe local scenery. In fact, the shifting number of the poems also reflects the shift of the genre in the eighteenth century. Ortiz argues that Su Ping’s Eight Scenic Views and many other visual representations of Chinese landscape were allusive representation reflecting literati’s political and aesthetic pursuits. His points are also insightful to understand Su Ping’s poetic representations of *Haichang Eight Scenic Views*, which implicitly represent his political pursuit in the name of mountains and rivers of Haining. Thus Su Ping followed Song Di not only in terms of poetic representations and political pursuit, but also the format in terms of eight poems.
In contrast, Haining literati in the eighteenth century based their poetic representations of local scenery more on what they saw in their neighborhood. Their poems feature a patch of arable land in the backyard, a fisherman fishing by a small pond, a woman who washed clothes by the riverside, a boat carrying the tribute grains, people who strolled by the bridge in the neighborhood in the summer night, and two boys playing crickets became common scenes celebrated in the poems of local scenic views. In doing so, local literati tended to include local scenes in the neighborhood as much as possible. Accordingly, the number of their poetic scenic views expanded to ten, twelve, sixteen, or eighteen.

Third, the poems were more or less written for local histories since most were included into local histories under local literati’s editorship. In fact, the poems of these scenic views were sooner or later included into local histories under individual editorship. For example, The Scenic Views of Huaxi were included in Huaxi Local Gazetteer, Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachua were included in Xiachuan Local Gazetteer, and Twelve Scenic Views of Xiuchuan were included into Xiuchuan Local Gazetteer. In a way, literary production of local scenic views in the eighteenth century was inspired by the production and reproduction of local histories in eighteenth-century Haining.

Does literary production of local scenery connect with the imperial promotion of the multi-ethnic empire we discuss in Chapter One? In the following sections, I will focus on these poems to examine the question. I explore ways in which local scenery was constructed and represented in these poems through the ways in which they produced, understood, and transmitted among literati community.
**Zhantang Eight Scenic Views: Realistic, Aesthetic, Rustic, and Productive**

**Realistic Scenery: Aesthetics of the Reality**

Aesthetics features an important aspect of many poetic representations of local scenic views. Using the image of rivers, mountains, the sunset, and the moon, which literati commonly used in their poetic representation of scenery, local literati constructed an aesthetically pleasing atmosphere of local scenery.

In addition to aesthetics, rusticity and productivity also feature the poems of scenic views in the eighteenth century. Using a patch of arable land, a man fishing by a small pond, flowers by the window, and plum orchards, local literati constructed a rustic and productive aspect of local scenery. These scenes were not prominent in earlier works, such as those of Su Ping’s *Eight Scenic views of Haichang* and Zhu Yin’s *Eight Scenic Views of An’guo Temple*.

Zhu Wenzhi’s *Eight Scenic Views of Zhan Tang* was one set of poems featuring aestheticity, rusticity, and productivity. The eight scenic views Zhu celebrated include 1) the lotus pond before the county school where he instructed (*Pan sui feng he* 湖水风荷); 2) the west wings with rosy vines where he met his friends, rhyming and matching the verses; (*Wu teng shi wu* 乌鲁书屋); 3) the reflection of the Zhan’ao Tower funded by the emperor in honor of the seawalls (*Cheng dong ta ying* 城东塔影); 4) the bamboo "screen" with the returning birds which helped to form a shade for his studio (*Zhu ping gui niao* 竹屏归鸟); 5) the *Tung* trees at the west window where he took a rest at the interval of instruction (*Xi chuang tong yu* 西窗桐雨); 6) the tidal bores which he enjoyed at the
Revering Classics Hall (*jing'ge guan chao 经阁观潮*); 7) the farmland of mulberry where his family plowed to making a living (*Song qi wan song*桑畦晚菘), 8) and the pond with the moon reflection by which he fished for the family and where he enjoyed moonlight (*yue tan diao xue*月潭钓雪).\(^{28}\)

Zhu Wenzhi was native of Yuyao, a neighboring county of Haining. He was appointed as Haining county school instructor and thus stayed in Haining for fifteen years (1803-1818). Zhangtang was where he instructed and lived in Haining. Zhu joined local literary community life once he set his foot in Haining. He toured local scenic spots and antique sites with his literati friends, matched rhymes at local literary gatherings, and devoted himself to producing local histories. Yet Zhantang was where he spent most time. Though it might be true that there is no scenery in a familiar place, Zhu constructed an aesthetically pleasing yet realistic eight views of Zhantang, the place where “he got used to and did not take it as special” for fifteen years, “[yet] he was stunned [by its views].”\(^{29}\)

What distinguished *Zhantang Eight Scenic Views (Zhantang ba jing)* from Su Ping and Zhu Yin’s *Haichang Eight Scenic Views* is that Zhu Wenzhi presented his scenic views in terms of rusticity and productivity of the patch of land to make a living for his family. Zhu constructed the rusticity in connection with his personal life style. In the seventh scenic view entitled *Mulberry Field and Evening Cabbage (Song qi wan song)*, Zhu wrote:

\(^{28}\) *RZSFSG, juan* 10, 13b-15a; *HCSJZ, juan* 8, Famous Sites.

\(^{29}\) Zhu wrote in the brief introduction of poems: “I have been to Haichang for fifteen years. After I finished teaching, I toured around Zhantang. I am getting used to the scenery and do not take it as special. Yet I devoted my mind to eight scenic views around [the Zhantang]” *RZSFSG, juan* 10, 13b.
衣被遍天下  Clothes [originating from mulberry leaves] cover [people] all over Heaven,

味宜知菜根  The taste of roots tells [whether] cabbages feed [people];

能求治生理  Working hard, one manages to make a living,

自觉冷官尊  Self-consciously, [I] sneer at [my] official title;

嫩日留条影  Newly rising sun leaves shadowy shades [of mulberry trees],

新霜甲破痕  Early frosts leave scars on the skin of the vegetables;

举家甘淡泊  The whole family is willing to tolerate simplicity,

岁晚掩柴门  In the evening of the year, the wood gate is covered.\(^{30}\)

The poem echoes the similar themes of being estranged from fame and wealth and being consciously self-cultivated to those in scenery poets beginning in the fifth century. It, however, forms one scène of Zhu’s daily life if read in the context of the whole set of \textit{Zhantang Eight Scenic Views}. First, the title \textit{Mulberry Field and Evening Vegetable} reminds readers that the scenery is close by Zhantang where Zhu Lived. It, like other scenes such as Zunjing Pavilion, West Wings Poetry House, Fishing Ponds of \textit{Zhantang Eight Scenic Views}, was realistic scenes in Zhu’s neighborhood where he saw, lived, and felt everyday.

In fact, local literati read \textit{Zhantang Eight Scenic Views} as a description of Zhu Wenzhi’s real life. In their matched verses, local literati poets further specify the scenic views Zhu presented with their even more detailed inscription. For example, Ma Jin one

\(^{30}\) \textit{RZSFSG, juan} 10, 13b;
of the students of Zhu Wenzhi, specified that the patch of the arable land was “[about] three gong in size” in the backyard” filled with purple alfalfa, green amaranth, and pod beans.  

Zhou Siqian, a local literatus who was a contemporary of Zhu, explicitly claimed in his matched verse that mulberry field and cabbage were from Zhu Weizhi’s arable land:

先生厌粱肉 The master hates fine grains and meat,
桑下种寒菜 [He] plants the simple vegetables under the mulberry trees;
苜蓿共一盘 With the alfalfa [from the field], he makes a dish,
此味谁能耐 Who can tolerate such taste?

It is common in the southern China to plant cabbage under the mulberry trees because of limited arable lands. In the poem, Zhou paralleled his term “cold vegetables” with Zhu’s “humble cabbage” Zhu Wenzhi used in his poem. Using the term “humble,” Zhou not only indicate lower price and simple taste of cabbages, but also praised Zhu Wenzhi in terms of echoing Zhu’s claim of “not willing to pursue wealth and fame,” which is one of

31 People used steps to measure the length and width in imperial China. Three gong is about three steps in length and in width, about the size of a table.

32 Ma Jin, In the backyard, I have three gong of free land, I planted vegetables which are about to ripen in the fall; purple alfalfa and green xian vegetable stand still, along with beans and cloisters. 后园隙地三弓

33 HCSJZ, juan 7.
primary virtues Confucian scholars self-presented and pursed in both their poems and daily life. What is more to the point here is the term “the master” explicitly pointed out that Zhu Wenzhi’s connection with the scene of *Mulberry Field and Evening Cabbage*.

**Productive Scenery: Morality of Self-sufficient Economy**

In addition to realistic scenery, productive scenery forms another crucial theme of aesthetically pleasing *Zhantang Eight Scenic Views*. In the poems of *Zhantang Eight Scenic Views*, Zhu Wenzhi also presented a self-sufficient agrarian society in terms of local scenery. In the poem entitled *Mulberry Field and Evening Cabbages*, Zhu realistically represented how a piece of arable land could produce food and how mulberry trees could be used for clothing. In doing so, Zhu explicitly connected the beauty of local scenery with the productivity embedded in an agrarian self-sufficient economy.

The classical gender division of labor in China was encapsulated in the saying: “Men till, women weave”. The growing of food-grain and the production of textiles were considered equally fundamental in providing for the welfare of the common people and the strength of the state. This belief remained central to Chinese statecraft for more than two millennia, ever since it was first formulated by the political philosophers of the fifth century B.C and institutionalized in the tax system. In the Qing dynasty, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong further promoted the belief by repeatedly commissioned *The Illustration of Farming and Weaving* to promote merits of self-sufficient economy.34 Praising plum orchards in terms of productive beauty, Qianlong not only reiterated his belief in agrarian society based on “Men till, women weave”, but also praised Haining as superior to other provincial cities in terms of its productive and rustic scenery that he

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rarely saw in other places, as we discuss in Chapter Two.

Like Qianlong, Zhu Wenzhi and his contemporaries also employed productivity of local scenery to demonstrate their advocates of agrarian morality in terms of self-sufficiency and self-dependency. Mulberry trees and Song cabbage were beautiful not only because they were one of eight scenic views but also because of they can support Zhu’s family. Shen Yanlie, another Confucian student in Haining county official school, explicitly points out the beauty of productive scenery in terms of making a living in his matched verse:

秋未添珍味  In the fall, [the master you] do not add delicious dishes,

前佐葦 عنها  With a dish of alfalfa served in front of you;

自餐还自种  [You] eat what you yourself plant,

耕破一畦寒  Plowing a plot of land to grow vegetables.35

Using the term “oneself (zi),” Shen indicates the essence of a self-sufficient agrarian economy, which emphasized “self-reliance.” Accordingly, by praising Zhu Wenzhi having “a dish of alfalfa” from “[his] small piece of arable land,” Shen also praised Zhu’s Confucian ethics and values, which emphasized on self-cultivation in shaping personal morality.

Like Zhu Wenzhi using the life style of self-reliance to construct Confucian morality, Qianlong also dwelt on the issues of political morality to promote Confucian

35 HCSJZ, juan 7, 12a.
ideology. The emperor highlighted the productivity of local scenery to assess his credibility as a sage-king, as discussed in Chapter two. Nevertheless, Qianlong and local literati’s preference to the productivity of local scenic views demonstrated their unfavorable attitudes to the commercialized world of the eighteenth century, particularly in the Jiangnan region. Qianlong in his poems explicitly contrasted rusticity and productivity of Haining scenery with commercialized atmosphere in other provincial or prefectual capitals.

Likewise, Zhu Wenzhi’s celebration of the productivity of local scenery represented his intention to maintain self-dependency and integrity in a highly commercialized era and region. Philip Huang, Christopher Isett, and Robert Brenner have demonstrated that living standard of peasant life had declined as a result of doubled population growth. Recently Susan Mann shows that even the living standard of a literati family in Jiangnan was not as promising as we imagined. In fact, the whole family, both men and women, had to work out in every ways to make a balance for the whole family. Thus “a dish of alfalfa” and “a piece of arable land” were not just a poetic representation but rather a realistic description of the living standard for a lower-status literati family. Zhu, compared with many other literati who got a position in other provinces and whose family had to travel months to unite, was very lucky to get a


37 Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family*. Susan Mann discusses talented women and their social role in the family and society in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. She demonstrates that, in addition to the rule of “Three Obedience and Four Virtues,” female virtues included women’s ability to manage a household in a relatively humble economic situation at the time, especially in a literati’s family.
position in Haining, a county not far from his hometown Renhe. He started a new house
by the Zhantang for his wife and three children. With the meager salary for the position,
Zhu had to depend on a “small piece of arable land” under mulberry trees to make a
living. He mentioned that the family had to plant vegetables in the backyard and to fish in
the pond by the house in order to make a living.\(^{38}\) Thus, his praise of self-efficiency
economy embedded in local scenery reflected the declining economic status of literati
and their anxiety to reinforce their social status by enhancing their moral integrity defined
by Confucianism and promoted by imperial rulers.

Zhu, nevertheless, was not limited to self-sufficient economy. The whole family
was engaged in the market economy to a great extent. Living at Zhantang in the walled
city of Haining, the family at least bought rice from the market. Zhu complained the price
of rice going up in West Zhejiang, where his family had to rely upon market for the
rice.\(^{39}\) Like many literati family at the time, Zhu’s family also sold women’s embroidery
products for cash to survive. The mulberry trees, the beautiful scenery Zhu celebrated,
were part of market economy of Jiangnan region. Yet commercial aspect of mulberry
trees were not represented both Qianlong and Zhu Wenzhi’s poems of local scenery.

On the contrary, Zhu and literati friends tended to remove the commercial aspect
of beautiful scenery under their poetic representations. One example is *Moon Pond Snow
Fishing*, one scenic view Zhu wrote in the *Zhantang Eight Scenic Views*:

潭小圆如月 The little pond is as round as the moon,

\(^{38}\) *HCSJZ*, juan 7, 12a.

\(^{39}\) *RZSFSG*, juan 8; *HCSL*, juan 7.
Fishing was an important part of income for Zhu’s family, as he said for “annual balance.” The family would keep some fish and sell some in the market, as Zhu recalled in one of his poems. Zhu, however, did not directly mention commercial aspect of fishing. He directly used the allusion of Yan Ziling (37BC-43AD) to express his literati taste and pursuit. Yan, an official-scholar native of Renhe in the Han dynasty, withdrew from the court after the usurper Wang Mang took power and he enjoyed himself by fishing on Qiantang River. Yan had been an ideal analogy for literati to demonstrate political integrity by enjoying a peaceful life far away from a secular world dominated by fame and wealth.

Shen Yanlie, Zhou Siqian, and Zhu Jin echoed Zhu Wenzhi in terms of maintaining the morality of a self-sufficient economy in their matched verses to the *Moon Pond and Snow Fishing*. They reinforced Zhu’s claim by hailing him as “a fisherman fishing in the snow” and “Master Jiang who fished with a straight hook” to indicate his talents and his morality.
The Daily Life in Neighborhoods as Local Scenic Views

While Zhu Wenzhi and his students tended to avoid commercial aspect of local scenery in *Zhatang Eight Scenic Views*, some other literati on the contrary chose that aspect in their poetic representations of local scenic views. Chen Zhan and Wu Qian’s *Little Tongxi Ten Scenic Views*, Ge Xiaoyou’s *Suxi Ten Scenic Views (Suxi shi jing)*, Lu Susheng’s *Ten Scenic Views*, and Zha Yonxin’s *Yuanhua Eighteen Scenic Views (Yuanhua shi ba jing 袁花十八景)* were a few on the list.40

The poems featured market town in the neighborhood. Local rice, salt, and fish markets, teahouses and wine shops, food stands and peddlers were presented in these poems on local scenic views. Some titles explicitly designated that markets as local scenic views. For example, the *Zhatang Night Market* in *Xiuchuan Eight Scenic Views* portrayed local rice markets.41 Some wrote about the prosperity of local fish, salt, and lantern markets without even mentioning “market” in the title. In the poem entitled *Chang River Evening Ferry* Chen Zhan paralleled local salt and fish markets with shady mulberry trees in the background as one of ten scenic views in his neighborhood Little Tongxi.42

In addition, daily life in the neighborhood constituted a crucial dimension of these poems on local scenic views. Take *Xiuchuan Ten Scenic Views* for example, Ge Maochun designated the scenes in the neighborhood such as local people taking a walking after dinner by Wangfen in the neighborhood, enjoying evening winds by the

40 *HCSJZ, juan 7*, Famous Sites Inscription; *HNZZG, juan 8*, Famous Sites Inscription, 990-1007.

41 *HCSJZ, juan 7*, 12b.

42 *HCSJZ, juan 7*, 26b.
Snow Lane in the summer, listening to story-telling in local teahouses, and fisherwomen washing clothes by the river as important parts of Xiuchuan Ten Scenic Views. 43

The daily-life theme in the genre of local scenic views was similar to that of bamboo-branch lyrics. Like the poems on local scenic views, the lyrics embarked upon local customs, market towns, and especially local people’s daily activities to record local histories. One hundred poems usually consist of a set of bamboo-branch lyrics. The contents of the lyrics range from people’s daily life, local legends, local histories, culture, to local customs, which official local histories tend to dismiss. The language of the genre features colloquial and simple words, in contrast with formal language used in administrative local gazetteers.

Local literati who wrote the poems of local scenic views also used bamboo-branch lyrics to write local histories (Table 3.2).

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43 HCSJZ, juan 7, 15b-16a.
Table 3.2 A List of Local Folks Songs and Bamboo-branch Lyrics (1760s-1840s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Local Scenic Views</th>
<th>Bamboo-branch Lyrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zha Qichang</td>
<td>Ancient Yanguan’s Folk Songs (Gu yan guan qu 古盐官曲) (1760s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Qian (1733-1814)</td>
<td>Little Tongxi Ten Scenic Views Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views</td>
<td>Nitang Fishermen’s Folk Songs (Nitang yu nai 蠡塘渔乃) (1778)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Qian</td>
<td>Wanhua Folk Songs (Wan hua yu chang 万花塘渔唱)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Zhan (1753-1817)</td>
<td>Little Tongxi Ten Scenic Views</td>
<td>Xinban Folk Songs (Xinban tu feng 新 坂土风) (1778)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cao Zongzai (??-1824)</td>
<td>Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views</td>
<td>Juanhu Hundred Songs (Juanhu bai yong 钮湖百咏) (1786)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong Hao (c.a.1800s)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Huaxi Bamboo-branch Lyrics (Huaxi zhu zhi ci 花溪竹枝词)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Dun (??–1851)</td>
<td>Little Tongxi Eight Scenic Views</td>
<td>Wan Huatang Bamboo-branch Lyrics (Wan hua tang zhu zhi ci 万花塘竹枝词)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sources: BJLSGXJ (1812), XBTF(1778), NTYN (1778), HNXZ (1765, 1775, 1848), HCSJZ)

The lyrics are written with a poetic tone that seems unremarkable. “Trivial activities,” in contrast with formal and remarkable administrative contents in local official gazetteers, are featured in the lyrics and folksongs produced in the late eighteenth century. Common people, whose faces were effaced from administrative local gazetteers, were presented as local talents related to a local scenic view in these poems. Everything, including bridges, boats, foods, markets, fishermen, farmers, merchants, silkworm raisers, peddler, and fisherwomen, were celebrated in a poetic tone. The authors constructed a picture of Haining with its own rhythms embedded in the daily life of local commoners such as peddlers, fishermen, housewives, who were absent in local gazetteers. The trivial activities revealed two-tiered implications for local literati’s identity. First, the literati
used the poetic representation of mundane activities to present literati aesthetic taste, which was associated with their poetic skills and their individualism. While mundane activities might be effaced in the administrative local histories, local literati, with their perspective, presented them as something special, beautiful, and eye-catching. In doing so, they differentiated themselves from writers of other local histories. In doing so, local literati commodified local mundane activities as local special beautiful scenes to the emperor, which formed the second tier of the poetic representation of local scenic spots.

A big theme featured in the lyrics was local highly commercialized market towns. Though the Qianlong emperor was impressed by local simple and rustic local scenery, Haining clearly was not a city dependent on local grains to feed its local people. It, like many other cities in Jiangnan, was deficient in grains and had to depend on grains imported from Changsu of the Jiangsu province to support its people, particularly in the late eighteenth century.

Chang’an is one of local market towns that played a crucial role in connecting Haining with other market towns. The Chang'an market town in the northwest was well-known as one of biggest grain markets in Zhejiang, connecting Haining with other market towns. Through the Yuntang Creek, the grains were imported from Hangzhou to the market town and then distributed to other market towns in the cities via densely connected watercourses. In return, the typical local products and manufactured products such as tea, fish, cloth, silk, salt, and lanterns were exported as an exchange with other regions.

The market towns served as a marketing nexus to adjust the surplus of manufacturing products and the deficit of grains between Haining and its neighboring
areas. The market towns not only served for the transaction between Haining and outside world, they primarily shaped and were shaped by the local daily life. First, for those who settled in the town markets and depended on the imported grains, no matter whether they were literati or not, they had also depended upon the market towns with other foods, clothes, houses, transportation, and entertainment. This stimulated the development of the city's other functions, which Chen Zhan and Wu Qian captured in their descriptive fragments of the *Xinban Folk Songs* and *Nitang Fishermen’s Folk Songs*.

The daily life of the market towns was presented as hustle and bustle. Grain markets in the Chang'an town attracted both faraway merchants and local peddlers. Merchants filled local goatskin markets, clothing markets, and water chestnut markets to pursue profits. Various shops were set up in the towns to accommodate both merchants and local residents. The streets of the market towns were full of people with various occupations. For instance, there were boatwomen washing up by the creeks, the peddlers selling river shrimps and yellow sea fish from the neighboring county Ningbo, the temples in which silkworm raisers (particularly women) prayed for a good harvest year, sea foods peddlers, the watermelon peddlers, the hurried merchants who came to Haining to purchase silk cocoons, fishermen who made their annual trips to the walled city to pay for their annual taxes, the daffodil stands, the stationary shops, the fortune tellers, and the peddlers who promoted their fighting crickets. In addition, Chen and Wu also presented local street entertainments such as story telling performances, street crowds in the summer enjoying the cool breeze in the lanes, and local drama performances in their folk songs.

The pleasure of having money provided an alternative for the re-perception and
re-presentation of the city. The hustling and bustling commercialized market towns, which were scarcely mentioned by literati and were rarely presented in poetic tones provided an alternative to the aesthetic taste for local literati in the eighteenth century. Unlike literati in late Ming who used their private gardens to present their isolation from “vulgar” flower markets secular flower market, Haining literati in the mid-Qing situated local scenic views in the hustle-and-bustle commercialized market towns. As he stated in the preface of the *Nitang Fishemen’s Folk Songs*, Wu Qian preferred to record local mediocrity, common daily life, and “vulgar” histories that were dismissed in official records. In these folk songs, local literati took on the scenes of local commoners’ to present local scenic views. Chen Zhan described how the fishermen households enjoyed the cool in the summer evenings by the seashore and how they paid visits to local temples on the way to pay their annual tribute in the walled city. He also recorded how grains, silk, and salt were traded in local markets and then distributed to other neighboring counties and how local peddlers traded fishes, snacks, wines, water chestnuts, and stationery in local markets. Meanwhile, Wu Qian also had a poem on how local

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44 Clunas, *Frutiful Sites*, 168.

45 *NTYN*, Preface, 1.

46 *XBTF*, Crab hallows and sishing ground are by the village, the whole family sing, enjoying cool evenings; Once a year, [the family] go to the walled city, on the hand for taxes and the other to pay respect to the Buddha. 村边蟹舍接鱼屋，载得全家唱晚凉， 一岁一回城里去，半缘礼佛半输粮。
registered salt household consulted fortunetellers about their harvest in the coming year.\textsuperscript{47} The details of fishermen, peddlers, and registered salt households, which one barely read in about local official gazetteers, were rich in the lyrics. As a result, local literati claimed these lyrics and folk songs as “village literature” (xiangbang wen xian 乡帮文献), crucial to supplement local official histories.\textsuperscript{48}

The inclusion of fishermen, peddlers, and registered salt households did not necessarily mean that these lyrics and folk songs were written for local low brows. The lyrics and folk songs remained literati-oriented as the poems of local scenic views. First, both authors and readers were local literati. For example, Wu Qian produced \textit{Nitang Fishermen’s Folk Songs} in 1778. The Folk Songs were first circulated among his literati friends in Hangzhou.\textsuperscript{49} They were later published with the commentaries of Lu Wenchao, a noted literati-scholar in Hangzhou two years later. Similarly, Chen Zhan produced his folk songs in 1778, after which they were circulated and copied among his literati friends.\textsuperscript{50} In the middle of nineteenth century, local literati anthologized these lyrics and folk songs into \textit{Haichang Literary Records} (Haichang cong zai 海昌丛载), a collection of local poetry and essays, as the preservation and supplements of local histories.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{NTYN}, The smoke whitens and the salt piles up at the Jiting Ground, registered salt households are busy by the sea; Why is it that [the sand] piles and collapse in the west, [we should] pray to the Protective Sand King about protection.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{NTYN}, Preface; \textit{XBTF}, Preface.

\textsuperscript{49} Wu Qian, \textit{Wu Tuchuang ri ji} (Wu Qian’s Diaries), 1a.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{XBTF}, Preface

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{HCSL}, Preface.
Second, local literati intended to use the lyrics and folk songs to reinforce their social status and cultural prestige in local society, which I will discuss in Chapters Five and Six. The daily life of local fishermen, peddlers, and registered salt households provided an alternative for them to demonstrate their literary talents and thus reinforced their social and cultural status though their economic status might decline in a commercialized era. Meanwhile, with detailed description of local daily life, local literati also demonstrated their authority in producing local histories and culture in terms of their knowledge about local society, people, and culture.

The daily life of local commoners constituted main subject matters of the lyrics and folk songs. For example, Chen Zhan presented local market towns as enjoyable entertainment complex, where local people pursued their leisure life with their money:

By four markets and six canals, the pace not hurried,
Cricket sounds fade, suffusing the autumn garden;
If [one] still has the money to spend,
Go again to the main street to gamble on yellow heads.52

六塘四镇尽夷犹　蟋蟀声残划閤秋　犹有金钱浑未了　前街再去斗黄头.

Yellow heads are either fighting crickets or birds for gambling in the south.53 It is hard

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52 *XBTF*, 19b. Yellow heads are either a cricket or a bird good at fighting. People usually gambled on them in the south.

53 According to *Zhongwen da ci dian* and Lu Xun, yellow heads are fierce fighting birds popular for gambling in the south. “Guandou” in *Wei zi you shu*, Xin yi chuban she, 1967, 13. Meng Lianzhao’s *Xi shuai wen hua da dian* (Canon of Crickets) shows that yellow head might also be a kind of fighting cricket. Meng Lianzhao, *Xi shuai wen hua da dian*, 90, 100.
for readers to determine whether yellow heads are crickets or birds on the first sight of the poem. Chen Zhan’s commentary below the poem helps to designate the term “yellow head” as crickets:

Crickets from the north of Dantang Creek are well-known. [Crickets called] Grass garden and yellow heads from the Luosu Bridge to the north of Luotang Creek are excellent. They like fighting. With gold stripe and yellow head they are especially energetic.  

One can imagine how hard it is to understand yellow head without the knowledge of local products. Zhou Chun later recorded yellow heads as one of local famous products in the Haichang sheng lan. For the first time, yellow heads became one entry in local histories. Chen Zhan and Zhou Chun, as insiders, not only knew this, but also illuminated that to the targeted audience. In doing so, Chen Zhan also established himself as an authority for local histories. That also partially explains why local literati preferred to use the genre to present local histories. Local literati experienced the decline in economic and social status since the quota for degree titles decreased dramatically in civil service exam as a result of population growth. In order to consolidate their social status, literati tend to use literary production to reinforce their cultural prestige, which I discuss fully in the next section. The genre of bamboo-branch lyrics and folk songs thus provided a chance for local literati to gain cultural reputation by using colloquial language for alternative local histories, in which specific local knowledge plays an important role.

Chen played out his local knowledge of Haining in another poem about local wine

54 XBTF, 7b.

55 HCSL, juan 8, Wuchan, 320.
shop serving delicious local dishes in his poems on Gu Kuang’s Reading Terrace:

One the ninth day, [we] climbed the Gu Kuang Reading Terrace,

In the market spread [the fragrance of] cassia syrup and newly fermented vinegar

Even more pervasive are [that of] delicious “parrot mouths,”

[Enjoying] the wine in the antique cup, [we] appreciate the delicate pattern of rhino.57

Gu Kuang (727—815?), a noted poet, was known for his association with another noted poet Bai Juyi and promotion of Bureau of Music Songs (Yue fu Songs), a genre which was considered to be one of origins of bamboo-branch lyrics. Beginning in the fifteenth century, Gu Kuang had been repeatedly recorded as a local literary figure in local histories as a result of the reading terrace where he was said to have studied in his early years.58 Beginning in the sixteenth century, the terrace became one of local twelve scenic views which local literati visited as a local tourist destination and celebrated in their poems.59 Gu was celebrated as either a local upright figure (zhong yi) or literary figure (yi wen) in both local histories and the poems of local twelve scenic views. Similarly Gu was

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56 Parrot mouth refers to [drunken] crabs. According to Zhou Chun, the crabs were pickled in wine, vinegar, peppers, and soy sauce.

57 XBTF, 7b.

58 HNXZ (1675, 1765, 1775).

59 XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites. The Reading Terrace is one of twelve scenic views of Xiachuan. According to the Famous Sites Section, at least twenty poets left behind their poetry on the terrace, most of which celebrated the scenic view in terms of literary legacy of Gu Kuang. XCXZ, juan 4, Mingsheng.
recorded in a similar way in Suzhou and Danyan local gazetteers of Jiangsu province, and Haiyan local gazetteers of Zhejiang province.

Chen Zhan, alternatively, approached his authority for local knowledge by situating the Reading Terrace in the context of local market. The parrot mouth, a kind of drunken crab, and cassia wines were listed as local delicious dishes in the Local Products Section of Haining local gazetteers.\(^6^0\) Chen Zhan, in addition to celebrating the terrace as a local literary legacy, positioned the terrace in a local market town where he and friends enjoyed fine wines and local delicious dishes of rice wine, drunken crabs, and wine. In doing so, he not only embedded local scenery in people’s daily life and narrated in a much lighter poetic tone than his predecessors, but also crystallized a taste of locality in terms of local dishes.

Rather than localizing the Reading Terrace in terms of situating it in the context of local dishes serving in the market, Zhou Chun demonstrated his authority for local knowledge by using, selecting, and preserving anecdotes for his local history project, Haichang Famous Sites. He, using the materials on poetry commentary (\textit{shi hua}), miscellaneous notes (\textit{bi ji}), and local oral histories, created a new image of Gu Kuang with more local features. Drawing on anecdotes from official history, local administrative local gazetteer, notes, talks on poetry, local poetry anthologies, and even Gu’s own poetry, Zhou delineates Gu Kuang’s connection with the Reading Terrace in Haining (Figure 3.3).

\(^6^0\) HCSL, \textit{juan 8, tuchan}, 320.
Table 3.3 The Entry of Gu Kuang in the “Zhongyi (Upright Figures)” section of Haichang sheng lan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Books in which Gu was included</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072)</td>
<td><em>Old Tang History (Jiu Tang shu)</em></td>
<td>Official history</td>
<td>A short biography with many anecdotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu Zhenheng (1569–1645)</td>
<td><em>Haiyan Illustrated History (Haiyan tu jing)</em></td>
<td>Local history</td>
<td>A short biography with many anecdotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangpu Shi (ca.777-830)</td>
<td><em>Preface to Guan Kuang’s Anthologies</em></td>
<td>Poetry anthology</td>
<td>A long biography with many anecdotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Zhuo</td>
<td><em>Facts and Stories (Shang shu gu shi)</em></td>
<td>Miscellaneous notes</td>
<td>An anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td><em>Miscellaneous Notes of Fu Studio (Fu zai man lu), c.a. 1127-1279</em></td>
<td>Miscellaneous notes</td>
<td>An anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td><em>Anthologies on Talks on Poetry (Shi hua hui bian), ca. 1127-1279</em></td>
<td>Talks on poetry</td>
<td>An anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Suo (c.a.1279-1368)</td>
<td><em>Jiahe Local Gazetteer (Jiahe zhi), 1264-1294</em></td>
<td>Local history</td>
<td>A sentence-long descriptive entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li You (c.a. 1279-1368)</td>
<td><em>Guhang za ji (Miscellaneous notes of Antique Hangzhou)</em></td>
<td>Miscellaneous notes</td>
<td>An anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu Zhenghen</td>
<td><em>Haiyan Illustrated History, (Haiyan tu jing)</em></td>
<td>Local history</td>
<td>An anecdote on Gu’s cousin and the reading terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Jiazheng</td>
<td><em>Travel to East Mountain (You dong shan)</em></td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>Locate the Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Rao (1127-1202)</td>
<td><em>Complete Talks on Tang Poetry (Quan tang shi hua)</em></td>
<td>Talks on Poetry</td>
<td>Gu Kuang’s poem as an anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gu Kuang</td>
<td><em>Living in Quiet Life (Xian ju)</em></td>
<td>Qi jue regulated poetry</td>
<td>A poetry with Zhou’s comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gu Kuang</td>
<td><em>My House in Hometown</em></td>
<td>Qi jue regulated poetry</td>
<td>A poetry with Zhou’s comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu Kui</td>
<td><em>The poem on the Reading</em></td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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61 It is unclear when the book was published. But according to its sequence on the list. It might be produced in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279).
Based on the above entries glistened from various literature and documents, Zhou composed his own poetic comments on Gu Kuang:

天心月船露奇才  The poetic line of “heavenly heart and moon boat” reveals his extraordinary talent,

小笔兼工点麝煤  With his fine brush, he was also skilled at dotting with mimet ink;

一自深山寻大药  By himself, he seeks the cinnabar in Mount Mao,

吟魂常索读书台  [His] poetic soul haunts the reading terrace.

The line “Heavenly heart and moon boat” comes from one of Ku Guang’s early poems, by which he gained his literary fame. His contemporary Huangpu Shi (3.3.3) wrote that anecdote in his biography, which was adopted by Haiyan Illustrated History (3.3.2) and Haining Local Gazetteer (3.3.16). The second line comes from an anecdote in the Shangshu gu shi (Fact and Story) (3.3.4), a miscellaneous note about literary figures in the past, in which the entry on Gu Kuang provides the allusion for the second line of Zhou Chun’s poetic comments:

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62 This is a special kind of ink for Chinese painting.
Gu was good at literature. In his spare time, Gu also studied fine stroke (xiaobi) and realistic painting. He once sought to be a magistrate of Yanchang at Mount Mao. Some one asked him [why]. Gu replied: “I want to draw the appearance of the moon in the mountain.” Later he invited a skilled painter Wang Mo as his aide to Yanchang.63

The third line is based on a poem which Gu’s reply to a prime minister who invited him to serve in the court:

四海如今已太平  The Four Seas are at peace now,
相公何事唤狂生  Why does the prime minister call for this arrogant man?
此身还似笼中鹤  My body is like a crane64 in a cage,
东望沧溟叫数声  The crane is crying to the vast east sea. 65

Zhou selected the above poem from Li Zhuo’s Complete Talks on Tang Poetry (3.3.11). The encyclopedias Extensive Records of the Taiping Era (Tai ping guang ji) in the Song dynasty also used the entry to present Gu Kuang as an immortal (fang wai), who approached Gu’s refusal to serve in the court as a pursuit of transcendence.66 Zhou,

63 Li Zhuo, “Shangshu gu shi (Fact and Story)” in HCSL, 491.
64 Crane refers to immortal in Chinese painting and poetry, usually a Daoist association. Here it refers to a wise woman who pursued the immortal life, yet he was restrained in the caged secular world.
65 HCSL, juan 10, Zhongyi,
66 TPYL, juan 202, Fangwai.
however, included Gu in the “Upright Literati (zhongyi)” section. Though Gu might fit in both fang wai and zhong yi categories, what attracted readers’ attention is the anecdotal dimension of the entry.

The fourth line was based on the Miscellaneous Notes of Antique Hangzhou (3.3.4), an anecdote collection produced in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644):

One day a young man asked to visit Tu Gou, the master of the Chunpu Garden at the foot of Mount Shen, saying he was native of Mount Heng. [The master] asked him and knew he could compose poetry. Thus he pointed to duckweed in the pond, asking the young man to improvise a poem to the rhyme of chang, xiang, and liang. The young man dictated the poem immediately:

With rains beating and winds blowing, duckweeds have no constant ground,

How many times do they touch the stalk of fragrant lotus?

One day, duckweeds encounter stalks of lotus on the sandy ground,

Swallows return, flying around the painted beam.

After that, the young man retreated. The master asked around and only found no such a figure in the neighborhood. Some people considered him as the spirit of Master Gu Kuang.67

The listed entries function perfectly to explain Zhou’s poetic comments on Gu and his connection with the Reading Terrace. Except for the entry from local histories and the official history in the first line, Zhou Chun drew on anecdotes from miscellaneous notes, talks on poetry for the illusions in other three lines. Using the anecdotes as allusions, he

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67 HCSL, juan 10, Zhongyi, 491.
constructed a poetic biography of Gu Kuang in a light tone which official histories and local administrative gazetteer often lost. In addition, the allusions Zhou selected were primarily related to Mount Mao at Haining, in which Gu served as a magistrate, visited, and eventually transcended. With the detailed anecdotes positioned in the Mount Mao, Zhou Chun not only familiarized audiences with Gu Kuang but also established a connection between Gu Kuang and Haining.

Additionally, Zhou Chun also selected anecdotes from miscellaneous notes, the talks on poetry, and poetry collection as sources to present humorous and witty aspects of Gu Kuang and his connection with the Reading Terrace. For example, in the Talks on Poetry Collection (3.3.12), Zhou selected the following anecdote:

A young man visited Mount Mao and decided to improvise a poem. After he composed the first line of “Stop the horse at the foot of the Mountain”, the young man was not able to continue. Gu Kuang happened to be there and thus continued for him with a line of “Coming with winds are the smells of bullshit.” The young man thought he was rude and thus asked who he was. When he knew the man was Gu Kuang, the young man withdrew in embarrassment. 68

Zhou did not include every anecdote as an allusion for his poetic comments. He, however, tended to collect and preserve them related to local history and culture as much as he can. For example, Zhou, like many Confucian scholars, was not convinced by the story of the spirit of Gu Kuang in Li Zhuo’s the Complete Talks on Tang Poetry (3.3.11), which I have just recounted, and regarded it as groundless. 69 He, nevertheless, kept it in the

68 HCSL, juan 10, Zhongyi, 491.

69 HCSL, juan 10, Zhongyi, 491.
*Haichang Famous Sites* as a source anyway. The anecdotes of Gu Kuang and the Reading Terrace might be not suitable for official histories and administrative local gazetteers, but they were perfect sources to demonstrate the dimension of locality in local literati’s authority embedded in their local knowledge.

Chen Zhan also included romance between local men and women to represent local customs. He recorded how men and women crowded in the front of the Changhuan temple, one of local scenic views, to pray for an annual good harvest:

> 远寺钟声唤梦残  Bells sound in the distance disrupting lingering dreams,  
> 阿郎渡口晓风寒  At A’lang Ferry, the morning winds are cold;  
> 愿郎且自长安住  [I] want [you] to stay at the Chang’an market,  
> 莫漫将依常缓看  Do not casually come to see me at the Changhuan Temple.

Chang’an Temple Bell was one of *Haichang Eight Scenic Views*. It had long been a common entry on local temples in local gazetteers since the late fifteenth century. In the local gazetteers, people were dismissed from physical setting of the temple and as a result the temple was recorded as nothing but a dry entry of where it was located. Chen, however, presented the temple bell quite different from what it was in poetry and lyrics

70 *HCSL, juan 10, Zhongyi*, 491.

71 Chang’an is one of four local market towns. It also means stay longer, which stands in contrast with Changhuan, which means “often delay.” Thus, Chang’an and Chang’hua are not only parallel in terms of rhymes, place names, but also meanings.

72 *NTYN*, 5b.
under Su Ping and his followers in the Ming and the early Qing. Instead, he celebrated
the temple as one of scenic view where local people met and interacted with each other.
Inserting local place names such as A’lang Ferry, Chang’an Market, and Chang’huian
Temple, Chen Zhan also localized the scenic view of spring water. Using footnotes to
explain where Chang’huian, Chang’an, and A’lang, Ferry was located, Chen also
substantiated his authority of the knowledge through his romantic metaphor of the
relationship between Chang’an market and Chang’huian temple. All the above examples
show the how the annotations for the poem function to substantiate and explain the
poems on local scenic views for intended readers. In doing so, local literati obtained their
literary authority in terms of providing local knowledge of local scenic views.

Clearly Chen Zhan approach the scenic view of spring water quite different from
Su Ping, who celebrated the view in the fifteenth century as follows:

万户千门署色深  Thousands of homes are half hidden in the dawn,
钟声隐隐出前林  The faint sounds of temple bells come from the forest;
云边断续连更鼓  From the clouds come the incessant ringing of the night watches,
郭外铿铿杂梵音  Beyond the city, the sound of bells mingle with the sound of
chanting;
候馆惊回羁旅梦  At the courier station, the sojourner woke from his dreams,
征途唤醒利名心  En route, he was startled from the dreams in pursuit of wealth and
fame;
不知有客忘尘事  He did not know whether or not he forgot the mundane world,
Lying on the pillow, the moon not yet set, he composed poetry... Clearly, Su used the bell sounds to remind readers of keeping far away from wealth and fame in a mundane world. Wu Qian, on the contrary, used the temple bell to remind people of their own life. Rather than awaking people from their dreams, Wu Qian seemed to encourage local people to enjoy their dreams.

Chen Zhan, similarly, employed a light tone of a woman to represent Guoxi Spring Water, another Haichang scenic view that Su Ping originally celebrated in the fifteenth century:

春水平于镜面描 In springtime, the water is flat as a polished mirror;
溪头荡桨尽渔娃 Children paddling boats on the creek, fishing;
自怜双足浑如雪 How lovely that my feet are white as snow,
不倩才郎咏乡鞋 There is no need to invite talented men to write praise of my village shoes. 

Su Ping and Chen Zhan employed the same scenic views for different agendas. While Su Ping used the image of a fishing boy to present his political integrity embedded in local scenery, Chen Zhan used the image of a fishing girl and a light tone of a young woman to present an ease life style in his hometown Haining. In doing so, Su Ping followed Song

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73 XBTIF, 6a.

74 HNXZ (1765), juan 8, Famous Sites.
Di’s *Eight Scenic Views of Xian and Xiang* to express literati’s pursuit of political integrity to represent local scenery. Chen Zhan, however, used a light tone of a woman’s voice subverting Su Ping’s pursuit. He, like Wu Qian, used the romantic story of local pretty women and local fishermen to demonstrate their knowledge of local society, people, and customs. In doing so, both Wu Qian and Chen Zhan not only impressed target readers with local customs, daily rhythm of local daily life, but also their legitimacy and authority in presenting local scenic views.

The popularity of folk songs and bamboo-branch lyrics had affected local literary production of local scenic views. As a result, local literati also used colloquial language for the literary production of local scenic views. Using local life in the neighborhood where they lived, local literati produced a large number of poems on local scenic views. For example, Ni Zuxi’s *Xiuchuan Ten Scenic Views*, Guan Tingfen’s *Chunxi Ten Scenic Views*, Zha Youxin and Zhong Dayuan’s *Eighteen Scenic Views of Xiuchuan* followed the colloquial language of folk songs and bamboo-branch lyrics to present local scenic views. As they did in the bamboo-branch lyrics and folks songs, local poets presented local commoners’ activities such as enjoying the cool in the neighborhood, listening to local dramas in teahouses, enjoying local dishes at a wine shop, and hiking in the spring as the representations of local attractive scenes.

Since most scenic spots were newly created and not so familiar to readers, the authors usually added prefaces to explain the location and the features of the scenic views. As a result, the prefaces, like footnotes to poems, also function to further substantiate the existence of local scenic views and the poets’ authority of local scenic views. “Locality” thus played out a crucial role in creating local scenic views. This partially accounted for
why daily life in the neighborhood and local markets constituted the main subject matter in these poems on local scenic spots. Using their careful observation of details in the neighborhood, local literati legitimized their authority through their knowledge of local dishes, markets, and products presented in eight, ten, twelve, sixteen, or eighteen scenic views. This also partially explains the number of local scenic views expanded from conventional eight to that of eighteen. With so many activities in the neighborhoods, local poets tended to include them as many as possible to substantiate their authority in terms of locality.

Using the genre of eight scenic views, local literati successfully transformed the aesthetically pleasing local scenic views originally only suitable for landscape poem and paintings into local history and culture. For example, the Reading Terrace, which local literati had long celebrated in their poems of Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views, had for the first time recorded as a local famous site in the 1789 Remnant Records of Haining Local Gazetteer (Ning zhi yu wen). Zhou Guangye completed the work in 1789 and intended to collect local figures, sites, and products that had not been included in local administrative gazetteers, especially the 1765 and the 1775 local gazetteers, to which he had contributed. Like Zhou Chun, Wu Qian, and Chen Zhan, Zhou Guangye employed the poems as historical sources to justify his inclusion of the Reading Terrace into the Famous Sites Section of the Remnants Records of Haining Local Gazetteer. The shift from poetic representation for personal poetry collection to that for local historical sources provided a new arena and also an alternative for local literati to write local

\[75\] NZYW, juan 3, 173.

\[76\] NZYW, Preface.
history. In fact, local literati’s poetic talents and their enthusiasm to write local history led to the pervasive poetic representation of local scenery in late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century Haining, which I discuss with the case of the production of Zhou Chun’s *Haichang Famous Sites* in the next section.

**Zhou Chun’s Haichang Famous Sites: Authentic and Antique Scenery?**

In spite of its popularity, not every Haining literatus accepted the genre of eight scenic views to write locality. On the contrary, some were in particular uncomfortable with the popularity of the genre among local literati. Zhou Chun was one of those who explicitly criticized the genre and its popularity at the time. Zhou was a good friend of both Chen Zhan and Wu Qian, and all three were noted for their poetic talents, contributions to the production of local histories, and enthusiasm for book collecting in the Jiangnan literati community.77 Being good friends, Wu, Chen, and Zhou also borrowed from and copied books for one another, composed and matched verses on local poetry gatherings, and even bought books for each other at local book markets.78

While Wu Qian and Chen Zhan contributed to poetic representation of local scenery in terms of *Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views* and *Little Tongxi Ten Scenic Views*, Zhou Chun criticized the genre as a bad habit. This does not mean that Zhou simply rejected the genre. On the contrary, he selectively accepted some scenic views for his local history project. For example, Zhou was impressed by Su Ping’s *Haichang Eight Scenic Views* and critiqued literati who decided to delete the poems in the 1775 local

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77 *HCBZ, juan* 48 (biography)

78 The anecdotes of the friendship among the three were included in local histories, gazetteers, miscellaneous notes, and talks on poetry in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century.
gazetteer. Calling the literati as “busyboy” (duo shi zhi) and “vulgar figures” (su zi), Zhou decided to incorporate Su’s eight poems in Haichang Famous Sites under his own production. How can we understand Zhou Chun’s paradoxical attitude toward the genre? The answer partially lies in the fact that Zhou had his own criteria to judge the poems of local scenic views. He based on his criteria on how long the scenic views had existed and whether they were authentic. Zhou was convinced that Su Ping’s Haichang Eight Scenic Views were authentic since it had been existed beginning in the fifteenth century, which thus can be considered as “antique” and “authentic.” On the contrary, he was irritated by the eight, ten, twelve, sixteen, eighteen scenic views written by his contemporaries since most of them were improvised for local history, which, according to Zhou, were nothing but to fabricate local scenic views.

However, Zhou Chun did not reject the genre of scenic views despite he criticized it. In fact, he used the genre for the Haichang Famous Sites under his production, as the title suggested. The work incorporated Zhou Chun’s two hundred fifty two poems, which were categorized in specific sections such as imperial brush, territory, mountains and rivers, markets, products, seawalls, sea frontier defense, famous sites, Confucian scholars, exemplary women, and anecdotes. Each poem functions as an entry leading readers to specific figures, sites, and products. Zhou Chun made an effort to provide four or five pages of footnotes for the four-line poetic entry, as we have seen in his poetic representation of the Reading Terrace in the above section. Rather than rejecting the genre, Zhou Chun used the criteria to judge authentic scenic views to revise local histories, particularly the 1775 local gazetteer he did not accept at all.

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79 HCSL, juan 8, Famous Sites, 236.
Though he used the genre for local scenic views in his local history project, Zhou Chun did not name the poems on local sites, figures, products as eight, twelve, or sixteen scenic views, as most of his contemporary literati friends did. Instead, Zhou considered all the entries in the work as the representation of local scenery. He arranged all the poems under the title of the Haichang Famous Sites. In doing so, his rich sources, which traced the literary history of local scenic views, in annotations, “bring preeminence to local famous sites,” as local literati commented. Zhou, along with other local literati he criticized, created local scenic views with their poetic celebration of local scenery.

Anecdotes and historical research are featured in the Haichang Famous Sites and also created the dynamics in the poetic representation of local scenic views, as the above discussion of the Reading Terrace shows. For each entry, Zhou Chun would list all literary sources that once include anecdotes in the past. For example, Zhou traced the history of Su Ping’s Eight Scenic Views in literature back to the early fifteenth century to indicate their existence in history. He listed the records of those literary collections to demonstrate the authenticity of the views. He might hope to rectify the side effects of popularity of the genre of eight scenic views with his literary archeology. While Chen Zhan and Wu Qian employed local daily life to conceptualize and localize scenery, Zhou Chun turned to substantiate antiquity and authenticity of the scenic sites to present locality.

However, the famous sites and literary sources Zhou Chun presented were not as authentic and antique as he presented. Examples are famous sites he presented in the Imperial Brush Section, in which the Jianshan seawalls, the Sea Immortal Temple, and

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80 HCSL, Preface, 1.
Suppressing Tidal Bores Garden Qianlong visited had a history not as long as those in Su Ping’s *Haichang Eight Scenic Views*. In fact, the Jianshan Seawalls started in the eighteenth century with the imperial funds. The Sea Immortal Temple was newly built for Qianlong’s inspection tour to the Jianshan in 1762. The Suppressing Tidal Bores Garden was newly expanded and renovated for Qianlong’s stay in Haining during his seawalls inspection tours.\(^81\) Since Qianlong had already represented them as Jiangnan famous sites in the imperially sponsored books, the Grand Canon of Southern Imperial Tours (1762-1794), the Seawalls Records (1762-1784), Zhejiang Provincial Gazetteer, and Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer (1779), Zhou Chun seems not to challenge the authenticity and antiquity of the scenic views. Instead, he followed the imperially sponsored works to validate the seawalls, the garden, and the temple as three local famous scenic views. He celebrated Mount Jianshan where the Qianlong emperor inspected seawalls as follows:

小尖山麓旧开亭  At the foot of the Lesser Mount Jianshan is the old pavilion,  
共识山因圣藻灵  Because of the luminous imperial texts, well-known is the mountain;  
恭遇巡游曾驻辇  The emperor here once stopped his imperial vehicles,  
银潮万载涌沧溟  Silver tidal bores have surged up in the vast sea for thousands of years.\(^82\)

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\(^{81}\) Chen Qiqing, “Chen shi an lan yuan ji (Records of Chen Family’s Suppressing Tidal Bores Garden)” *Qing ren shuo hui (The Qing Miscellaneous Notes)*, vol 2, 1-3.  
\(^{82}\) *HCSL*, juan 1, Cheng’han, 17.
The poem presented the Mount Jianshan as a local famous site and its connection with Qianlong’s presence and the scenic view of tidal bores. I discuss and analyze the emperor’s imperial enterprise to create a multi-ethnic empire with Jiangnan scenic views in Chapter Two. However, Zhou Chun, using rich references to literature, appropriated the imperial project and discourse of scenic views to construct locality in terms of local scenery. He first used the entry in local gazetteers (1675, 1775) to show readers: 1) the mountain was located ten li away from the seawalls; 2) the tidal bore immortal temple was set up at the foot of the mountain in 1711 upon the imperial request; 3) the plaque with the imperial text “harmonious and luminous tidal bores;” 4) Qianlong’s inspection tour to the mountain and his calligraphy inscribed to the Imperial Stele Pavilion in 1762, 1765, and 1780. The annotation provides a context for readers to understand the above poem in terms of what “imperial texts” are, what “the antique pavilion” refers to, and what “silver tidal bores in the vastness” refers to.83

Zhou Chun also used the footnotes to demonstrate the local dimension of the mountain by providing details how the Mount Jianshan was conceptualized in local proverbs and poetic representations. He provided the list of poets who wrote about it. He also recorded local sayings describing the mountain: the saying in terms of “capped Jianshan” refers to the mountains in the cloudy days and the saying in terms of “mes comes after ten days of capped mountain” forecast the coming rains. In doing so, Zhou on the one hand used the poem and footnote to show his recognition to the imperial project of constructing a multi-ethnic empire in terms of local scenery. On the other hand, he also used the arena of footnotes to create local ownership of the scenic views in terms

83 HCSL, juan 1, 17-18.
of his local knowledge.

Zhou also used his authority of local knowledge to challenge an authoritative work on the Mount Jianshan. In the footnote, he pointed out the distinction between Little Jianshan and the Big Jianshan in the newly compiled *General Records of Seawalls* was groundless.\(^84\) In 1748, Fang Guancheng, the Zhejinag circuit governor obtained one thousand taels of silver from the Qianlong for the compilation of the work. He invited Hang Shijun (1696-1773), a noted poet native of Hangzhou, for the project. Hang spent one year in Haining and completed the project in a year. The Qianlong emperor entitled the work *the Imperially Commissioned General Records of Seawalls* (*Che xiu hai tong zhi*) and published it in 1749. The work became authoritative on Zhejiang seawalls for the Qianlong emperor until another imperially commissioned work *Seawalls Records* came out two decades later. Zhou challenged the authority of the work in terms of his knowledge that no local sayings distinguish the mountain as Lesser and Major Jianshan. He further pointed out that *Xianchun Lin’an Gazetteer*, a local gazetteer on Zhejiang produced in Xianchun era (1265-1274), had no entry indicating the distinction between the Big Jianshan and the Little Jianshan. He concluded the whole entry by saying that “it is groundless to distinguish the mountain into the Major Jianshan and the Lesser Jianshan.”\(^85\) In doing so, Zhou intended to defend local literati’s authority in writing local histories.

The structure of each entry in the *Haichang Famous Sites* also reveals Zhou’s intention to defend local literati’s authority for local scenic views. Take the “Mountain”

\(^84\) *HCSL*, juan 1, 18-19.

\(^85\) *HCSL*, juan 1, 19.
section for example, the whole entry consists of four parts: 1) Zhou Chun’s poetry on the mountain; 2) Annotations on Qianlong’s presence and his connection to the mountain; 3) Annotations on local poets’ writing and local proverbs about the mountain; 4) Annotations about Hang Shijun’s comments on the mountain and Zhou Chun’s articulation of his arguments. With the structure, Zhou Chun created a hierarchy of authority on local scenic views: the emperor’s authority is on the top, and local literati, including Zhou Chun himself, had the authority on the next rung of the ladder; and Hang Shijun’s poem and essays were placed on the bottom, which indicated he had least authority to the scenic view. Zhou Chun employed a similar hierarchy to organize the footnotes for other entries in the Imperial Text Section, which I demonstrate later in my discussion and analysis in this chapter.

In doing so, Zhou Chun created local literati’s authority for local scenic views above that of non-native literati such as Hang Shijun yet below the Qianlong emperor. Zhou Chun, using his poetry and organizing footnotes, created a flexible arena for himself to articulate his authority over local scenic views through his local knowledge, his master of historical literature, and poetic talents.

Zhou Chun also used the poetry and the footnote to reinforce his authority in local literati community. I will examine the entry about the Suppress Sea Pagoda in the Imperial Text Section was an example to demonstrate how Zhou used footnotes to reinforce his authority on the entry in local literati community:
High up over the sea is *cu du po* (Sputa),\(^{86}\)

Majestic is its seven-storied pagoda,

The Tower of Standard Wisdom faces the opposite position;

The river cliffs embrace the spiral green [pagoda]\(^{87}\)

“The spiral green” refers to green vines creeping up the seven-storied pagoda and forming in a spiral shape. The Wise Standard Tower is the earliest pagoda built in Haining whose history can be traced back to the third-century Han Dynasty. Paralleling the earliest built pagoda with the newly set up Suppress Sea Palace, Zhou Chun gave preeminence to the latter. The term of “*cu du po*” originates from the Sanskrit “Sputa” referring to holy sites for Buddhists. It was also transliterated in “*fu tu*” (浮图) in Chinese, which poets commonly used in their poetry. This partially lies in the fact that it is always easier to deal with one character in match with the tone or the rhyme than three characters. Zhou Chun paralleled “*cu du po*” with “zui wei e,” which matched both in the tone and rhyme and thus demonstrated his poetic skills.

The employment of “*cu du po*” also reveals that Zhou Chun had knowledge about Sanskrit, which marked his reputation as a phonologist and philologist among the Jiangnan literati community. Benjamin Elman has argued that the rise of philology and phonology

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\(^{86}\) *Cu du po* originates from sanskrit Stupa. It refers to the holy site such as Towers and Pagodas for Buddhists. Here Zhou Chun used the phrase to indicate the holiness of a local Buddhism pagoda, the Suppressing Sea Pagoda.

\(^{87}\) *HCSL, juan1*, 12.
contributed to the rise of the Evidential School and critical thinking in late imperial China, which accordingly created a new arena for low-status literati, who were not able to be recruited in the bureaucracies, to maintain their cultural prestige, social status, and economic profits through employing themselves in textual collation, local history production, and book production. Zhou was noted as a scholar in literati community and was productive in the works of philology, phonology, history, poetry, and classics (figure 3.4). His book, the *Comments on the Dream of Red Chamber*, was the first extant commentary on the popular novel in the eighteenth century. Zhou was particularly devoted himself to the study of philology and phonology. Like many of his contemporaries, he used his knowledge of philology and phonology to approach history, classics, and Buddhism. *The Comments on the Pronunciation of Siddanta* (*Xi tan ao lun*) and the *Treasury of Fine Words in Buddhism* (*Fou er ya*) are two of Zhou’s works on the phonology about Buddhist texts. In the former works, he provided transliteration of Sanskrit in the *Siddanta Classics*, one of earliest Sanskrit scripture imported to China. In the latter works, Zhou listed the transliteration of Buddhist objects, texts, place names, and relationship from Sanskrit into Chinese. Skilled in philology and phonology, Zhou tended to use transliteration, particularly those terms are especially foreign and unfamiliar, to demonstrate his knowledge of Buddhism and Sanskrit. The term of “cu du po” in the above poem is one of example to show that Zhou was more likely to use transliteration of Buddhist term in his poetry production.

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88 Benjamin Elman has argued that Qing scholars approached history through the study of philology, which prompted the rise of Evidential Scholarship in the eighteenth century. Elman, *From Philosophy to philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*. 

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^89 MYSH, juan 3, 14.
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Sources: *HCBZ 1848.*

Zhou Chun used his knowledge of Buddhist texts and Sanskrit to indicate the Pagoda as a holy site for Haining and his gratitude to the Qianlong emperor’s presence at Haining. The pagoda was built to suppress the tidal bores during the Yongzheng emperor’s reign (1724-1735). The Qianlong emperor continued to provide annual funds for annual sacrificial ceremony to the immortal of tidal bores. Qianlong himself conducted the ceremony in the front of the pagoda each time he visited Haining. In 1776, the Pagoda was renovated by Haining magistrate Zhan Xiaozeng. In 1770s and 1780s,

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*BJLCS.*

*Xi tan* originates from Sanskrit siddanta, which means “holy sites.”

*HCBZ, juan 38, Treatises on Literature and Arts (yiwen), 1a-8a.*
Qianlong included the Pagoda as one of Zhejiang famous sites in the imperially sponsored works such as the *Seawalls Records* and the *Grand Canon of the Southern Imperial Tours*. The presence of Qianlong to a great extent marked the Pagoda as a holy place. Compared with the transliteration of “fu tu,” “cu du bo” with an implicit meaning of holy site not only designates the meaning of the tower itself, but also suggests the holiness of the Pagoda in connection with the Qianlong’s presence. In doing so, Zhou Chun used his knowledge of philology to present his appropriate political attitude toward the Pagoda and Qianlong’s Haining inspection tours, that is, the gratitude to the imperial favor to Haining. In doing so, Zhou Chun put local scenic views associated with the Qianlong emperor on the top of the hierarchy of local scenery.

Zhou put local literati on the next ladder of the hierarchy of local scenery. He listed the location and history of the Wise Standard Pagoda in local histories and gazetteers (1765 and 1775). He also included a local anecdote about a local old man obtaining a huge fleece flower root\(^ {\text{93}}\) on the site to substantiate the arrival of the Qianlong emperor in Haining. The anecdote might be popular among Haining literati at that time since Zhou Chun’s friend Wu Qian used the similar anecdote to present the auspicious fleece flower root as a prediction to the arrival of Qianlong as well.\(^ {\text{94}}\) The anecdote gave the poem and the scenic view of the Pagoda a local taste.

Zhou Chun also provided the footnotes about the poems celebrating the Pagodas. At the end of the footnotes, he appended Hang Shijun’s two poems about the Pagoda

\(^ {\text{93}}\) It, in Chinese, is “he shou wu,” which traditional Chinese medicine considered as a herb that has the function of rejuvenation.

\(^ {\text{94}}\) *NTYN, juan* 1, 2
when he stayed in Haining to compile the work:

Zhou Chun included Hang Shijun’s poem about the Pagoda at the back of the footnotes:

岩巗绀 塔倚空冥   High up, the red pagoda is against the vast sky,
千级梯桄四百铃   Thousand of stairs, four hundred bells;
身在碧霄飞鸟背   Only when [I] am in the blue sky and flying on the back of a bird,
眼中才见越山清   Can I clearly see the Yue mountains.

（自注镇海塔俗呼占魈塔）（Notes: The Tower of Suppressing Sea is also called as Zhan’ao Tower.）

In the next poem, Hang Shijun wrote about the scenery he saw from the top of the Pagoda, shady mulberry trees, fishing pod, windows by the water, peddling boats, white seagulls, and green grass. In neither poem did Hang express his gratitude to the Qianlong emperor, which Zhou Chun, Wu Qian, and Chen Zhan did explicitly in their poetry about local scenery. This partly lies in the fact that Hang wrote the poem in 1749 when he compiled the *Complete General Records of Seawalls* at Haining, more than ten years before the Qianlong’s 1762’s Haining inspection tour. Hang Shijun, quite different from Zhou Chun, Wu Qian, and Chen Zhan, did not present local scenic views in connection with the imperial presence. He did not present local scenic views through the details of local daily life in the neighborhood as well. Instead, Hang presented the scenic view of the Pagoda in terms of its location in the regional culture background. He presented the scenic view of the Pagoda as part of Zhejiang province and parallel with the “Yue” regional culture
on the opposite side of the Hangzhou Bay. Yue culture had long been considered as a competitive culture to the Wu culture, which centered on Jiaxing, Haining, and Hangzhou of the Zhejiang province and Suzhou, Changzhou, and Changsu of the Jiangsu province on the north side of the Hangzhou Bay. In the eighteenth century, the tension between the Yue and the Wu culture revealed in literati’s debates on the legitimacy of woman’s writing. Presenting the Pagoda in the context of the Yue culture on the opposite side of the Hangzhou Bay, Hang Shijun wrote the poem from his perspective of a native of Zhexi rather than that of a native to Haining. Zhou Chun, by appending Hang’s poem at the end of the footnotes, presented Hang Shijun as both an insider of Zhexi culture and an outsider of Haining culture. In doing so, Zhou Chun created a hierarchy among those literati who wrote poetry about local scenic views. He put local poets on the higher rung on the ladder than those non-native ones.

Zhou Chun not only employed locality to distinguish native and nonnative of

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95 Yue refers to the area south of the Qiantang River centered on Shaoxing, Yuyao, and Ningpo. The Qiantang flows at a straight south-north angle past the city of Hangzhou eastward into Hangzhou Bay. To the north and the west of the Qiantang lay the region know as Zhexi, which included not only Hangzhou but also a net work of lower Yangzi towns and cities that spilled across the provincial boundary into Jiangsu, the most important being Jiaxing, Suzhou, and Changzhou.

96 Susan Mann attributes the rise of the woman’s writing in Zhexi area to local literati’s support and argues the Zhedong neo-Confucianism tradition limited women’s writing in Zhedong area. Peter Bol has demonstrated the rise of Zhedong xue su (the Scholarship of eastern Zhejiang) had related to the rise of neo-Confucianism promoted in west Zhejiang. Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou” Harvard Journal Asiatic Studies 61.1, 2001, 37-76; Mann, Precious Records, 84-94, 201-228.
Haining literati in the footnotes but also used the footnotes to set apart his famous sites from many local literati of his contemporaries. For example, he repeatedly criticized the poems of local newly created eight scenic views as “a bad habit” since they were not authentic and antique. However, Zhou cannot follow his own words. In the footnotes, Zhou Chun used the un-supportive and irrelevant anecdotes to present local scenic views. In doing so, Zhou himself also accepted some “un-authenticity” of local scenic views. Zhou was not annoyed by “un-authenticity” of local newly created scenic views but rather the committee members who served in the 1775 local gazetteer bureau and whom he worked with. In the footnotes of the entry about Haichang Eight Scenic Views, Zhou Chun spelled out his complaints concerning those who participated in the production of the 1775 Haining local gazetteers deleted Su Ping’s Haichang Eight Scenic Views yet they tended to make up new scenic views for the gazetteer. Zhou Chun continued to spell out his complaints those who participated the production of the 1775 local gazetteer in the preface for the Remnant Records of Haining Gazetteer (Ning zhi yu wen) in 1789. Zhou Chun himself was also invited to the production of the gazetteer. Yet he had a tense relationship with some of participants. As a result, the magistrate Zhan Xiaozeng who sponsored the gazetteer was forced to cancel the publication of the project until his successor had the manuscript come out in 1848. According to Zhou, the newly created

97 HCSL, juan 6, 235

98 NZYW, Preface, 1-2

99 HNXZ (1775), Preface.

100 The entry about Zhou Chun in HCBZ (1848) listed the essay as one of works of Zhou Chun. A comprehensive search of libraries in China and North America revealed no evidence of the existence of the
literary celebration of eight scenic views cannot be considered as local scenery since they were not “authentic” and “antique”. In doing so, Zhou employed local anecdotes to retain the local literati’s authority over the non-native’s in creating local scenery and simultaneously he examined the authenticity and antiquity of local scenery to defend his own authority over his countrymen’s. His ambivalence also to a great extent demonstrated that local scenery had become a dominant narrative or tone to represent local history and culture. Local literati accordingly used local scenic views to construct their own identities through literary production of local scenic views.

**Conclusion**

By the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century at Haining, literary production of Haining scenery had become a dominant and conventional way for local literati to envision Haining on the cultural landscape of the empire. Local literati created productive and rustic local scenic views which not only followed the political morality embedded in the imperially constructed scenery but also helped to create a local scenery embedded in local daily life in the neighborhood. In addition, local literati like Zhou Chun, exploring local anecdotes and doing research on poetic representations of local scenic views historically, created genealogies of local scenic views. In doing so, they created the dimension of locality playing out in creating local literary scenery. Situating local scenic views in the contexts of the imperial inspection tours, the tension of regional cultures in Jiangnan, and conflicts among local literati, I substantiate that local scenery essay. Zhou in his later life recalled the process of the production of the gazetteer and wrote an essay entitled the *Treatise on Producing Haining Local Gazetteer (Xiu Haining zhi yi)*. Unfortunately the essay might have been destroyed in 1850s when Taiping rebels took over the city. *HCBZ, juan 38, yiwen*, 8a.
became a powerful and dominant discourse for local literati to envision Haining on the cultural landscape of a multi-ethnic empire. Using the poetic representation of local scenery, Haining literary also formulated and reinforced their own literary and cultural identities in an era when their social and economic status declined as a result of population growth and a decreasing opportunity to be recruited in the bureaucracies. Thus, local literati was enthusiastic to produce local scenery in response to the imperial presence at Haining and the imperial enterprise of creating scenery for a multi-ethnic empire, but also used local scenery to re-create their own literary and cultural identities.

In Chapter Four, Five, and Six, I examine the production, the circulation, and re-perception of *Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views* to further explore how local literati used the flexibility of the discourse of local scenery to not only respond to the imperial enterprise of creating a multi-ethnic empire but also used local scenery to articulate their own identities in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century.
Part Two: Political and Cultural Construction of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*

Famous sites of a given locale, such as mountains, creeks, pine trees, an ancient temple, or an estate of a noted scholar, were popular themes literati took on in their poems, prose, and paintings in late imperial China. While some famous sites might be physical places and remained on the same site over the time, some actually might have vanished and only be available in texts and images, only to be disseminated via poetry and prose collections and painting albums. In the late eighteenth century, a new section for famous sites was regularly set up in local gazetteers to employ poems and prose to trace the history of local scenic views. These sections list poems and prose by noted literati who frequented the site. To this end, famous sites are treated as cultural and historical subjects, emphasizing local history and culture that was imposed on the sites rather than the sites themselves.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six are studies of the creation of a “Famous Sites” section in an 1812 local gazetteer of Xiachuan, a town in the northeast of Haining. I focus on the case of Xu Ying, a woman poet in Ming-Qing dynastic transition, who used the texts of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* to express her nostalgia for, sadness with, and critique of the fallen Ming dynasty in the second half of seventeenth century and whose poems were reconfigured as a celebration of local scenic views in the late eighteenth century. While Chapter Two and Chapter Three discuss ways in which local literati employed nationally known landscape such as tidal bores created as a result of the Qianlong emperor’s southern tours to map out local cultural prestige on the imperial cultural landscape, these three chapters will focus on local literati’s manipulation and affirmation of a set of local scenic views to place local cultural prestige on the imperial
cultural and political landscape. Examining the process of how the “Famous Sites”
section was produced, conceptualized, and structured, the three chapters demonstrate that
local landscape was envisioned and manipulated by local literati in an effort to construct
a lineage of local loyalists to map out local cultural prestige on the imperial political-
cultural map. Chapter Four provides a descriptive introduction to the genres of *Twelve
Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. Chapter Five explores how changes in content and style may
reflect shifts in the purposes, audience, and manufacture of local landscape. Chapter Six
analyzes reading and utilization of the twelve scenic views in a larger political and
historical context, that is to say, to analyze how Qianlong used the rehabilitation of Ming-Qing to re-orient Han-Chinese cultural block into the newly expanded empire.

**The Origin of the Term**

The term “Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan” refers to a genre of illustrated texts
that celebrate twelve scenic views in the East Mountain and the West Mountain at
Xiachuan in the northeast of Haining County. The Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan
includes both natural sights (peaks, springs, streams, grottos, and caves) and man-made
structures (towers, arbors, pavilions, cloisters, and monasteries). Each has a specific title
suggesting the physical location and the characteristic features of the view. It is unclear
when these scenic views came into existence and came into usage as a way of referring to
a generic category. The earliest extant poems under the title of *Twelve Scenic Views of
Xiachuan* have been traced back to a local literatus, Zhou Jing, of the fifteenth century.\(^1\)

\[^1\] *XCXZ, Juan 2, Pavilions, 14b-15a; Juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 8a; HCBZ, Juan 28, 4a. Zhou Jing was
noted as lesser hermit (*xiaoyin* 小隐) in the middle of the Ming. His house was named “A Lesser Hermit
Hidden in the Lake and the Mountains.”*
In the next two centuries, *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* became a popular theme that local poets, both men and women, took on for their poetic inspiration.

By the early nineteenth century, three hundred and eighty four poems had been anthologized into the “Famous Sites” section in the *1812 Sequel Gazetteer of Xiachuan (Xiachuan xu zhì)* in praising the eternal scenic beauty of Haining. In addition, twenty-four woodblock illustrations and twenty-four paragraphs of prefatory texts about twelve scenic views were produced to correspond to poems about Xiachuan scenic views in the section.

This chapter provides a descriptive introduction to illustrated texts of the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the “Famous Sites” section, including questions of generic category in *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, content, motif and subjects, placement of text and illustrations, prefatory texts, and contributors; addresses the purposes of these poems as expressed in the structure; and traces the development of the genre across time, exploring how changes in content and style may reflect shifts in the purposes, audience, and manufacture of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*.

**The “Famous Sites” Section in Local Gazetteers**

The “Famous Sites” as a category became popular among Haining literati in the eighteenth century. It was set up as a new section in the local histories and imperially sponsored works on the Qianlong emperor’s southern imperial tours to Southeast China. As we have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the “Famous Sites” section had come into existence in Haining local gazetteer after the Qianlong emperor’s first two inspection tours to Haining in 1762 and 1765. The section records and documents the origins of

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2 *XCXZ, Juan 4, Famous sites, 1a.*
local landscape features such as mountains and rivers, temples, bridges, fords, and tombs. Before 1765, local scenic views were documented and recorded in the “Mountains and Rivers,” “Temples and Shrines”, and “Ancient Sites” section in local gazetteers rather than being brought together in a single section. In Hangzhou local gazetteers, the “Famous Sites” sections arose at the same time.

The creation of new “Famous Sites” section brought about a problem for local literati who compiled local gazetteers. Since many subject matters such as mountains and rivers, temples and monasteries, gardens included in the “Famous Sites” section overlapped with those in the section of “Mountains and Rivers,” “Temples and Shrines,” and “Schools” in the previous gazetteers, it was hard for literati compilers to decide which should be included in the “Famous Sites” section and which should be in the older sections. Zha Qichang, the chief editor of the 1765 Haining Local Gazetteer, mentioned such problem about setting up the “Famous Sites” section in the 1765 gazetteer. The way he solved the problem was to incorporate the poems about local scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section while arranging the textual reference about local scenic views in the other sections. In his distinguishing between the “Famous Sites” section and the “Ancient Sites” section, Zha Qichang wrote:

Where should I attach the Famous Sites? The beauty should not be hung up between Heaven and Earth in vain. Thus creeks, streams, wells, and rocks are incorporated in the subsection of “Mountains and Rivers”; dikes and seawalls in the subsection of “Stele”; studies, temples, towers in the subsection of “School,” “Temples and Shrines.” They are formal entries.

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3 HNXZ, Juan 12, Famous Sites.
Many are incorporated and valued in the previous gazetteers. Since they have been incorporated as formal entries, I suspect it is repetition to move them into “Appendix” section. [The “Famous Sites” section] in the General Zhejiang Gazetteer follows the rule of Chen Shan’s Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer. It starts with [the subsection of] “Ancient Cities” and is followed by [that of] “Old Administrative Sites and Ancient Residences,” “Pavilions,” “Halls,” “Gardens,” and “Estates” in sequence. Those who have already been included [in gazetteers] as formal entries are not incorporated again. It is best in this format. Thus I follow it. As for the ten scenic views or eight scenic views, it is common to see them even in the gazetteers of remote areas. This is really a bad habit. However, it is not good to distinguish the documentation and records of the origin with the spread of poems. Therefore I removed the “fabricated” and admired “refined poems.”

名胜何所附？丽不能虚悬天壤也。如溪池，井石之入山川，堤塘之入水利，金石之入碑碣；书室，祠塔之入学校，祠寺，皆正条也。往志务多为贵，既入正条，又移为余牍，疑于赘矣。通志取陈善《杭州府志》之例，以古城为首，次旧治，故宅；次亭轩，楼宇；终以园馆别业。其已入正条者，仍不复登，体例最善，今一遵之。至于十景，八

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4 Chen Shan’s Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer was completed in 1579. The 1706 Zhejiang Provincial Gazetteer follows the format of the Hangzhou Gazetteer.
The above text indicates Zha Qichang’s confusion of setting up the “Famous Sites” section since most entries in the section likely overlap with those in other sections such as Mountains and Rivers. He was particularly dissatisfied with the entries of eight scenic views or ten scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section. One of his literati friends Zhou Chun (1729-1815), who worked with Zha in the local Gazetteer Bureau, expressed a similar concern by criticizing the practice of various eight-view poems for the “Famous Sites” section as “fabricating history.”

In the “Famous Sites” section of the Records of Haichang Famous Landscape (Haichang shenglan c.a. 1780) under his editorship, Zhou Chun wrote:

Su Ping has *Eight Scenic Views of Haining*. Since Song Di’s Restoration of Antiquity [Movement], there were paintings about *Eight Scenic Views of Xiao and Xiang*. The West Lake follows it and features ten scenic views. Therefore none of those who compiled local gazetteers did not create eight or ten scenic views for local famous sites. All these are bad habits. Yet it is difficult to eliminate them completely. The eight scenic views of our county were included in the *Suxi Folk Songs*. [The title] reveals that the poems are extraordinary antique. It is not simply how skilled those poems

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5 *HNXZ, juan* 3, 422.

6 *HCSL, juan* 8; *HCBZ, juan* 39, 8b.

7 Su Ping was a local literatus in the middle of the fifteenth century. He was known as one of “Ten Talents of Jingtai Period (1428-1457) (*Jingtai shi cai zi*).”
are. When the gazetteer was produced in the year of Yenwu (1762), Zhao Qichang attached the poem to the “Antique Sites” section. [Unfortunately, busybodies deleted those poems when a sequel of the gazetteer was compiled later. It is a pity that the refined texts disappeared. Therefore I preserve them here.]

Zha Qichang and Zhou Chun’s confusion about the “Famous Sites” section and their critique of the “Famous Sites” section in local Haining gazetteers suggests that the “Famous Sites” became such a crucial category in the late eighteenth century that compilers of local gazetteers could not neglect it. However, their scorn about this type of category in local history also indicates the widespread construction of local famous sites among literati in Jiangnan.

The popularity of the creation and the practice of the “Famous Sites” section was related to the Qianlong emperor’s southern imperial tours to Jiangnan.

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8 Suxi is the literary name of Su Ping.

9 There are two missing characters in the manuscript of Haichang sheng lan (HCSL).

10 HCSL, juan 8, 235-236.
The emperor left behind a large number of poems on local famous sites on his tours to Jiangnan. These poems were later anthologized into imperially sponsored works about his southern imperial tours such as the *Great Canon of Southern Imperial Tours* (*Nan xun sheng dian* 1762-1784), *Hangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer* (*Hangzhou fuzhi* 1784), and *Illustration of Famous Sites During Qianlong Emperor’s Southern Imperial Tours* (*Qianlong nan xun ming sheng tu*). In these works, the emperor’s poems were matched with illustrations to present a cycle of vistas of famous sites in Hangzhou, Suzhou, and Yangzhou. Local literati were inspired by the emperor’s illustrated poems about local famous sites. They started to follow the style of the above works and produce their own illustrated poems about local famous sites. One example was the production and dissemination of *The Complete Illustration of Famous Sites in Guangling* (*Guangling ming sheng quan tu* 1765), in which the author Zhang Wang listed the famous sites of Yangzhou accompanied with poems about them. In the 1760s, the “Famous Sites” section was so popular that many compilers of local gazetteers started to incorporate the section in local histories under their editorship. Haining local literati followed such trend and the “Famous sites” section became a new section set up for local gazetteers.

In early 1760s a Haining Magistrate Jin Ao initiated a new edition of Haining local gazetteer after the Qianlong emperor’s inspection tour to Haining in 1762. Local literati such as Zha Qichang, Zhou Chun, and Zhou Guangye were invited to set up a gazetteer bureau (*zhi ju* 志局), headed by Zha Qichang, for the
compilation of the gazetteer. The gazetteer was completed in 1765 right before the Qianlong emperor’s second inspection tour to Haining that year.

Though he criticized the genre of eight scenic views and ten scenic views of local famous sites as a “bad habit,” Zha Qichang included the *Eight Scenic Views of Haining* of the fifteenth century into the “Famous Sites” section. However, he only incorporated one set of poems about local scenic views of the fifteenth century, claiming “to disseminate the poems of the past.” 11

Haining local literati’s attitude to the “Famous Sites” section changed dramatically in the next decade. In the 1775 another Haining magistrate Zhan Xiaozheng started another Haining local gazetteer right after the Qianlong emperor’s second inspection tour in 1765. 12 As happened in the editing of the 1765 edition, local literati were invited to set up a bureau for the gazetteer under the magistrate Zhan Xiaozeng’s editorship. In contrast to Zha Qichang’s confusion in 1765, the compilers of the 1775 local gazetteer had a clear sense of what should be included into the “Famous Sites” section. The preface of the “Famous Sites” suggests the emergence of the section had its link with the Qianlong emperor’s presence at Haining and his attention given to Haining:

The son of heaven visited the famous sites in our sub-prefecture. He himself did the writing for [our local famous sites] and bestowed the name of [local famous sites]. They are to be preserved forever. Those natural

11 *HNXZ, juan* 3, 422.

12 The emperor promoted Haining from a county administrative unit to a sub-prefecture after his inspection tour to Haining. This edition of local gazetteer is a local response to the promotion.
famous sites and estates of previous local worthies, which were included in the previous local gazetteers, were recorded after as before.

州中揽胜之区，经临天子登临，亲洒宸翰，爱锡嘉名，固足垂诸不朽；至于名迹天成，前贤别业所素者，并纪于后。13

Such conceptualization of famous sites accords with the “Famous Sites” section in the imperially sponsored works such as the *Records of Seawalls* and *Grand Canon of Southern Imperial Tours*, in which the famous sites are defined as the places where the Qianlong emperor visited during his southern imperial tours.

**Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan**

As a literary genre, the poetry of scenic views had a long history in imperial China. Chinese literati since the Song dynasty (960-1279) dwelt on scenic views of a given locale to express their personal emotions. Real—or imagined—scenic beauty was constructed in words to express eremitism, altruism, or personal aesthetic tastes.14 Though the texts about the scenic views were preserved in the poems, essays, or paintings, the physical location of the scenic views might change over time or simply disappeared.

The original poems about *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, which dated back to a local poet Zhou Jing of the fifteenth century, functioned in a similar way.15 Since the fifteenth century, Xiachuan, featuring mountains, creeks, pine trees, temples, shrines, and sites where local immortals or divinities transcended, had already become a sightseeing destination for local literati. In the twelve poems about *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*,

13 *HNFZ, juan 6, 6a.*


15 *XCXZ, juan 2, Pavilions, 14b-15a.*
Zhou Jing employed those sites that were frequented by local immortals, recluses, and divinities to express his preference for an ideal of reclusion, which was a conventional literary and cultural motif with which literati identified in late imperial China.¹⁶

¹⁶ XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites.
Map 4.1 The Map of Xiachuan in the 1765 Local Haining Gazetteer

17 HNXZ (1765), juanshou, Maps.
For many years, Zhou Jing’s poems of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* had been preserved and disseminated in Haining as representative of a literary genre. His poems were brought together in a collection of his own poetry, and were included in the family genealogies. Occasionally some local literati would dwell on the genre to compose twelve poems of their own. Yet the inclusion of the poems in the collection of their own poetry suggested the nature of an individual emotion rather than a public celebration of local scenic views. Because Zhou Jing had been out of the public view of Xiachuan for so long, Zhou Zhaoyin, a thirteenth-century poet from the same family, rather than Zhou Jing himself was taken to be the author of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. His poems were incorporated into the “Famous Sites” section for the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer*.  

Local literati dwelt extensively on the subject of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the wake of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition, when the Manchus conquered China proper and established a new ruling court in 1644. The fall of the Ming and its replacement by the Qing dynasty was an agonizing social and cultural trauma for Chinese literati and significantly affected subsequent Chinese views of their own culture, society, and politics. The Qing army conquered Haining in 1645. While some local literati chose to muster local militia to resist the Qing conquest and sacrifice themselves out of loyalty to the former Ming, a large number of local literati chose to stop active resistance, yet declined to serve the new non-Chinese rulers by secluding themselves in the Xiachuan

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18 *XCSZ*, *juan* 4, Famous Sites.  
19 *XCXZJKJ*, *juan* 1, 1. Guan Yuanyao employed Zhou family’s genealogies to show that Zhou Jing, rather than Zhou Zhaoyin, should be the author of the original *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*.  

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East and West Mountains. They took on the genre of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* to express their grief, sadness, and nostalgia in relation to the demise of the fallen Ming dynasty.

Xu Ying (c.a. 1600-1660s), a woman poet who secluded herself in the mountains of Xiachuan during the dynastic transition, was one of many local poets who took on *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* to express her personal emotions. While local

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20 *XCXZ, juan 6-10, Worthies.*

21 *XCSC, juan 17-20, Treatises on Literature and Arts. XCSC and XCXSC also incorporate many poems about *Twelve Views of Xiachuan.* Xiachuan became a refuge for native and non-native literati from the upheaval of the world in the wake of dynastic transition because of its convenient location on the border between Haining, Haiyan, and Jiaxing. Some literati preferred to stay in the mountains of Xiachuan in order to avoid high taxes and the increased crime after the transition. Some settled down there because they feared their families’ involvement in anti-Qing movement would create danger for them if they went back to their hometowns. While some considered Xiachuan as a place for retirement, some only regarded it as a transitional refuge before they headed for their next destination. Although people came from different places and had different family backgrounds and different plans for the future, nostalgia for the Ming dynasty and literati anxiety in a dramatically changing society had a great impact. The literati formed poetry societies for gathering, foods, and poetry. *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* was a popular theme that literati took on at the time for several reasons. First, it had been noted as a literary genre since the late fifteenth century. Second, with so many literati gathered at the Xiachuan, it provided a good opportunity for literati to compete each other through taking on the same title, which was a conventional practice at the time. According to local poetry collection compiled in late eighteenth century, it was not rare to see local literati’s poems under the title of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan.*

22 *XCSC, juan 20, 2a; XCXZ, juan 10, 23b; HCBZ, juan 43, 14b. Her poetry collection is entitled *Green Studio Manuscript (Yi cui xuan gao).*
poets who were her contemporaries followed the same titles Zhou Jing used for *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, Xu Ying created new titles to construct her *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. The scenic view she depicted, according to local histories, could still be seen along the route of the original twelve views in the Qianlong’s era. (Map 4.2).  

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23 *XCXZ* (1812), Maps.
Map 4.2 *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* (Both the Original and the Sequel)

(Source: *XCXZ* (1812), *yutu.*)

*Xiaochuan shi’er jing* (Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views)

*Xiaochuan xu shi’er jing* (A Sequel to Xianchuan Twelve Scenic Views)

- a. Biyun xi zhao
- b. Guta cha tian
- c. Jianshi han tan
- d. Dongyue ji xue
- e. Danjing liu xia
- f. Shutai die cui
- g. Baiya qing luan
- h. Heting xian dong
- i. Xishi yan zhong
- j. Ziwei chun xiao
- k. Nanhu ye yue
- l. Taoyuan zhaoyu

1. Guangfu tan mei
2. Dongshan xiang shi
3. Shangfang chao shuang
4. Shanting niao yu
5. Gaoling cui hong
6. Juanhu ta ying
7. Juezhuang qiu se
8. Shijing guan yu
9. Yuqiao feng ye
10. Shiwo xiao ying
11. Fang’an wan qian
12. Penghu yan yu
Xu Ying was not native of Haining and only moved to Haining after the fall of the Ming dynasty 1644. She might have known of these scenic views from sightseeing with her friends or simply have heard of them from local people. She might have composed these poems on a poetry gathering, after hiking with friends in the mountains of Xiachuan, or simply at home all by herself. It was also likely that she composed the poems at different occasions and put them together under the title of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* later. Either way, her *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* seems as if all composed at once, conveyed the experiences of sightseeing as well as her personal sentiment on the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

**The Sequel to *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan***

Xu Ying’s poems on *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* were out of the public’s attention after the late seventeenth century in Haining, probably because of their political sentiments of nostalgia to the former Ming dynasty. The poems had been preserved in her poetry collection named *Green Studio Manuscript* (*Yi cui xuan gao*) and went unnoticed until 1793 when a local poet Cao Zongzai (1754-1824) chanced upon them. Cao had been extensively collecting poems for his local history projects. The *Xiachuan Poetry Collection* and the *Sequel to Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* were among his list. With so many years of involvement with collecting and compiling poems, it was rare for a set of poems poem to excite him as did Xu’s works.

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24 *HCBZ, juan* 41, 11a-12b.
Cao Zongzai was so impressed by Xu Ying’s *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* that he and nineteen literati friends composed poems to match hers.\(^\text{25}\) Later, in 1803, Cao anthologized all those poems in a collection entitled *The Sequel to Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views*, intending to distinguish it from the original set of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* popular among local literati before the late eighteenth century.\(^\text{26}\) Subsequently, he incorporated these poems in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* that was compiled under his editorship,\(^\text{27}\) even though the sites Xu Ying celebrated in the poems no longer existed by Cao’s time and they had never before been identified by local literati in their poems.\(^\text{28}\) In order to distinguish Xu Ying’s poems from previous ones, Cao Zongzai re-named her poems as *A Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*.

\(^{25}\) It is a common practice of men of letters to match rhymes in late imperial China. Poems are often used as a message to greet friends, express personal feelings, and even comment on politics. Poems are usually short. Poets are supposed to write poems back in response to original rhymes, styles, or just titles. What Cao Zongzai did here is composing his poems only in response to the original titles of Xu Ying’s *Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views*. Cao also took it upon himself to compose a biography of Xu, and selected five of her poems for the “Talented Women” section (*gui xiu*) of the *Xiachuan Poetry Collection*.

\(^{26}\) *DSLSJ, juan* 6. 11a-b.

\(^{27}\) *XCXZ, juan* 4, Famous Sites.

\(^{28}\) *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* had long been known as a literary motif among local literati since the fifteenth century. Before the nineteenth century, twelve scenic views local literati dwelt on were those originally celebrated by Zhou Jing. Occasionally some local literati would dwell on some other scenic views for *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. Since Xu Ying’s poems did not follow the scenic views that Zhou Jing celebrated in the poems, Cao Zongzai re-named her poems as *A Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. 
Xiachuan. In the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 *Local Xiachuan Gazetteer*, Cao Zongzai divided the poems in the two subsections, *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* [hereafter the *Scenic Views*] and *A Sequel to Twelve Scenic of Xiachuan* [hereafter *Sequel*]. Those who followed the title of Zhou Jing’s poems were included in the *Original Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views* subsection while those following the title of Xu Ying’s in the *Sequel* Section.

**Physical Characteristics of the “Famous Sites” Section**

The *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* were not for the first time incorporated into local histories in 1812. While they were primarily preserved in personal poetry collection, the poems of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* were occasionally cited in local histories in early Qing as textual reference documenting, recording, and commemorating the existence of local mountains, rivers, temples, bridges, former locations of a county seat, a residence, and graves. The editors of local histories would employ the poems noting how the mountains got their names, which famous figures frequented there, what had happened to the bridges and a residence, and what historical personages, including religious figures, associated with temples. In doing so, they treated the poems as historical documents recording and constructing local history and culture.²⁹

Yet the ways in which *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* were employed and represented in the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* were different from those in the previous local histories. Three hundred eighty four poems were for the first time arranged

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²⁹ *HNXZ* (1689), *HNZL* (1680s). In both Fang Xiang (1680s) and Xu Sanli’s (1683) gazetteers of early Qing, poems of twelve scenic views were employed as historical documents to trace the history of mountains, rivers, bridges, and temples.
together in one section named “Famous Sites” as a genre of representations of local sceneries rather simply as textual references. The section was the first of its kind to appear in Haining local gazetteers to present local history and culture.

The section has two parts: *Scenic Views* and *the Sequel*, as I have demonstrated above. The *Scenic Views* subsection starts with twelve poems of Zhou Jing followed with one hundred ninety two poems selected from the late Ming through the early Qing dynasty of the seventeenth century while the *Sequel* one sets out with Xu Ying’s followed with the one hundred and eighty-four poems by Cao Zongzai and his literati friends of the late eighteenth century through early nineteenth century.30

The genre of the “Famous Sites” section is defined both by its subject matter and by its form – woodblock illustrations, prefatory texts, and poems that describe each view. Each scenic view receives one entry, taking the form of one illustration of one page followed by a short paragraph of prefatory texts, and tens of poems (Figure 4.1). In total there are twenty-four illustrations and paragraphs of prefatory texts.

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30 *XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites.*
Figure 4.1 One Scenic View in the Sequel: Visiting Plum Blossoms at Guangfu Temple

$^{31}$ XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites, 3b-5a.
The following section lists the contents and contributors to *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the “Famous Sites” section.

1) Prefatory Texts

The prefatory texts list the location and the feature of these scenic views. The sections of “Mountains and Rivers,” “Temples and Monasteries,” “Ancient Sites,” “Borders,” “Walls of Administrative Seats,” and “Bridges” in the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* also have entries recording and documenting the origins and historical changes of these sites. The prefatory texts in the “Famous Sites” section, however, emphasize the physical setting of each scenic view and its social and cultural implication in the late eighteenth century.

A full list of the representations of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, with the description of its location and the feature, appears below.  

---

32 KCXZ, *juan* 4, Famous Sites. The information in the table derives from prefatory texts in the Famous Sites Section.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan</th>
<th>Sites</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.a</td>
<td>Sunset at <em>Biyun xi zhaoo</em>碧云夕照 (BYXZ)</td>
<td>Biyun Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.b</td>
<td>Zhibao Tower Penetrating Clouds; <em>Zhita chuan xiao</em>智塔穿霄 (ZTCX)</td>
<td>Zhibao Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>Cold Ponds at <em>Sword Stone Pond</em>; <em>Jianshi han tan</em>剑石寒潭 (JSHT)</td>
<td>Stone Pond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.d</td>
<td>Clear Snow at <em>Dongyue Temple</em>; <em>Dongyue ji xue</em>东岳霁雪 (DYJX)</td>
<td>Dongyue Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.e</td>
<td>Clouds at <em>Sunrise at Cinnabar Well</em>; <em>Danjing liu xia</em>丹井流霞 (DJLX)</td>
<td>Cinnabar Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.f</td>
<td>Myriad Green at <em>Reading Terrace</em>; <em>Shutai die cui</em>书台叠翠 (STDC)</td>
<td>Reading Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.g</td>
<td>Clear Mists at <em>North Ya Mountain</em>; <em>Beiya qing luan</em>北亚晴峦 (BYQL)</td>
<td>Beiya Mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.h</td>
<td>Immortal Cave at <em>Divine Crane Pavilion</em>; <em>Hetong xian dong</em>鹤亭仙洞 (HTXD)</td>
<td>Divine Crane Pavilion.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.i</td>
<td>“Misty Bell” at <em>West Temple</em>; <em>Xisi yan zhong</em>西寺烟钟 (XXYZ)</td>
<td>West Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.j</td>
<td>Spring Break at <em>Ziwei Mountain</em>; <em>Ziwei chun xiao</em>紫微春晓 (ZWCX)</td>
<td>Ziwei Mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.k</td>
<td>Night Moon at <em>South Lake</em>; <em>Nanhu ye yue</em>南湖夜月 (NHYY)</td>
<td>South Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.l</td>
<td>Flowing Rains at <em>Taoyuan</em>; <em>Taoyuan liu yu</em>桃源流雨 (TYLY)</td>
<td>Taoyuan Valley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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33 *XCXZ, juan 2, Temples and Monasteries (simiao), 20a. I don’t understand this footnote.*
Table 4.2 The Prefatory Text for the *Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*[^34]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>A Sequel of Twelve Scenic View of Xiachuan</strong></th>
<th>Sites and Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.1 Visiting Plum Blossom at Guangfu Temple; Guangfu tan mei 广福探梅 (GFTM)</strong></td>
<td>East Guangfu Temple; where a Ming loyalist Zhou Ting planted plum trees; Zhou committed suicide after the Qing conquest. The backyard where he planted the plum trees was used for planting vegetables after that. The local Wang family, one of the editors of the Xiachuan Local Gazetteer, bought the land later and changed that into the study for the family.[^35] In the poems of the eighteenth century, it was represented as a place where a Ming loyalist lived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.2 Incense Market at East Mountain; Dongshan xiang shi 东山香市 (DSXS)</strong></td>
<td>The Incense Market was located at the Marvelous Wisdom Temple at the foot of East Mountain. The temple was noted for the annual Incense market during the Wanli period (1563-1620). The temple was named as Great Compassionate Pavilion after a Guanyin shrine was set up in 1602. According to Pan Tingzhang of early Qing, the site was at the time filled with “ladies and the gentlemen coming to pray to the silkworm goddess. They jammed on the path in the mountains at the turn of springtime and summertime.” Because of this, the temple had a nickname of “Little India.” It was destroyed during the Ming-Qing dynastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Location/Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Watching the Sunrise at Promontory; Shangfang chao shuang (SFCS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Birds’ Songs at Half-Mountain Pavilion; (Shanting niao yu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Rainbow at Gao Mountain (Gaoning chui hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Tower Reflection on Cuckoo Lake; Juanhu ta ying (JHTY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Autumn Color at the Chrysanthemum Estate; Juezhang qiu se (JZQS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Watching the Fish at the Stone Creek; Shijing guan yu (SJGY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>The Maple Leaves at the Yu Bridge; Yuqiao feng ye (YCFY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>Little Hermit at Stone Grotto; Shiwo xiao yin (SWXY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>Evening Chimes at Fang Shrine; Fang’an wan qing (FAWQ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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37 *HCBZ, juan 30, 15a-18b; XCXZ, juan 7, 22b-23a; YRCD, 21-22.*
| 2.12 | Misty Rains at Penghu Pavilion; *Penghu yan yu* (PHYY). | The pavilion was set up by a Taoist follower and was also noted for a gathering place for local Ming loyalists. The compilers of the section included Cao Yuanfang, Pan Tingzhang, and Shen Caideng of the seventeenth century. The Pavilion collapsed in the late seventeenth century.\(^{38}\) |

It was not clear when the prefatory texts of the original *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* were produced and by whose hands. But the prefatory texts of *the Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* were likely products of the late eighteenth century. The texts focus on the beauty of each scenic view, the origin of the site, and its connection with local history and culture, which reveal different political and cultural agenda from poems of Xu Ying of the late seventeenth century.

2) Poems

The number of the poems contained from entry to entry varies, ranging from thirteen to sixteen in the Scenic views subsection and from eleven to eighteen in the Sequel subsection (Table 4.3, 4.4). The number of poets who contributed to the section to the section is twenty-one in the *Original* subsection and twenty in the *Sequel* subsection. While most poets have twelve poems included, some poets have only one or two poems. The inconsistency in number of the poems may be due to several reasons. First, not all of poets composed a complete set of scenic views. Second, even for those who had composed a complete set, their poems might have destroyed and destroyed in the past, simply not completely available to the later generation. In some cases, it is not clear

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\(^{38}\) *XCXZ, juan 3*, Temples and Monasteries, 6b.
whether the poems were composed for the style, or just anthologized together by the editor because of their similar motifs and subjects to the twelve scenic views.
Table 4.3 Contributors to Poems in the Subsections of *The Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*  

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<th>1.c</th>
<th>1.d</th>
<th>1.e</th>
<th>1.f</th>
<th>1.g</th>
<th>1.h</th>
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A: 5-character-4-line; B: 5-character-8-line; C: 7-character-4-line; D: 7-character-8-line; E: lyrics (*ci*)

39 *XCXZ, juan 4*, Famous Sites.

40 The entry of “Biyun xi zhao” was half missing in the reprint of the original manuscript. All the information on the view of the sunset at the Green Cloud Temple is based on the half paged entry.
Table 4.4: Contributors to the Poems in *The Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*\(^41\)

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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Mao Huading</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu Xunxi</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>N</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Song Zhu</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A: 5-character-4-line; B: 5-character-8-line; C: 7-character-4-line; D: 7-character-8-line; F: 5-character-6-line

\(^41\) *XCXZ, Juan 4, Famous Sites*
The form of poems contained in the section varies dramatically, even for the same subsection. While seven-character-four line poems are the most frequently recurring genre for the section, other genres of five-character-four-line, five-character-eight-line, and seven-character-eight-line also exist. A poet even employed the genre of lyrics to compose a set of twelve poems in the subsection of the Scenic Views while three poets composed twelve scenic views in the genre of five-character-six-line poetry, a style less regulated but highly revered in the Chinese literary tradition.

3) Illustrations

In spite of the inconsistency in the number and the genre of the poems, the placement of illustrations and text in relation to each other is standardized. One entry consists of two pages. Typically the texts were printed on one page and the illustration appears on the facing page. If the illustration on the first page is on the right and the text on the left, then the arrangement on the second page is inverted. While the illustration and text appear on opposite sides of the same leaf on the woodblock, they form a complete page of the illustration and the texts when they are bound together, which makes it convenient for readers to flip through.

In the middle of the page a margin named “block heart” (mei xin) was preserved for the information of the section, page number, and patrons. This also makes it easier for readers to retrieve the information when the section is available in a book-like format (Figure 4.1)

Additional characteristics of the section such as the style of illustrations, structure of the section, and contributors to the albums; inclusion of poetry; and incorporation of
prefatory material are discussed below in relation to specific scenic views in Chapter five and six.

In late imperial China, many of the woodblock illustrations bear no indication of an artist’s identity because the artists were unwilling to sign their names to this kind of work, particularly to illustrations for vernacular fiction. The artists who made the album did it for the money, not because they considered such work as art. Those who have had a certain stature as artists could have lost face by taking on this kind of work. Yet the work for illustrations in the “Famous Sites” section suggests the complexity of illustrations in early modern China. Since the production of local histories had always with connected with fame in local society, any work related to that indicated an honor to the participation of a local literatus, particularly to those low-ranking degree holders who aspired to be recognized in local society. Two painters were invited to contribute to the “Famous Sites” section. Their names were listed on the front page of the “Famous Sites” section, which indicates the work for local history project was to glorify participants’ fame rather than humiliating them.

Two painters who were invited to paint for the section were Pan Yong and Yao Shijie, the friends of Cao Zongzai. Pan was responsible for the Scenic Views while Yao for the Sequel. Pan was native to Haining. He ended up his civil service exam with a low-ranking degree and eventually supported himself as a village teacher in Xiachuan. He was skilled in painting and poetry. Yao came from a noted painting family of

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42 XCXSC, juan 2, 10a. Later Cao Zongzai’s son included Pan into the Literary Records of Zixia (Zixia wen xian xu lu), another local literary collection that was compiled under his editorship in c.a. 1840s.
It was likely that the family’s reputation in painting that made Cao decide to invite Yao to be one of contributors to the Gazetteer.\textsuperscript{44}

Yao Shijie and Pan Yong were only responsible for paintings of scenic views. Their paintings were sent to carvers to be made into printing blocks. Though the paintings are not available to us, we can still obtain their quality and style through the illustrations in the “Famous Sites” section. Some illustrations are quite lively, others more static; some paintings can be characterized as landscape painting with various kinds of sceneries in the background, some are featured with physical setting of local famous sites, and some depict detailed activity of local figures at local festivals. All these reveal fine brushwork requiring delicate strokes and skills in various subjects and style of two painters. Pan did all of the illustrations to the \textit{Original} Twelve Scenic Views and Yao to the \textit{Sequel}.

\textsuperscript{43} Yao Shijun was another noted painter from the family, which earned their reputation in paintings in Hangzhou and Jiaxing area.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{HNYYRW}.
**Table 4.5 Contributors to Prefatory Texts and Illustrations to *The Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Prefatory texts</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Patrons for Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.a</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Renleng Hall(^{13})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.b</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Zhibiao Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Cuifun Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.d</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Wanshu Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.e</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Jingxiao Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.f</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Wubun Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.g</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Zuisheng Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.h</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Jute Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.i</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Yishuang Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.j</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Yuhe Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.k</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Zizi Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.l</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Pan Yong</td>
<td>Wangushi Hall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hall** is a term used for a lineage temple to distinguish itself from others or a family business to indicate its origin. Here it refers to local families or business shops who donated money for the publication of the gazetteer.

**Table 4.6 Contributors to Prefatory Texts and Illustrations to *The Sequel of Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Prefatory texts</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Patrons for Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Danlu Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Yuhui Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Sanfeng Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Diecui Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Qingyuan Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Lunxi Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Jimei Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Laifu Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Yizheng Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Cuiyun Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Sanfeng Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>Yao Shijie</td>
<td>Diecui Hall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These are just a few examples of the most obvious themes about *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the “Famous Sites” section. The recurring trope of landscape, eremitism, and reclusion also matches with titles of and the poems to each scenic view, indicating that paintings and illustrations were based on the texts, per se, which will be fully discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

4) Contributors and Patrons to the “Famous Sites” section

The Xiachuan local gazetteer was a local history that was compiled under a group of individuals’ editorship. Wang Dehao started the *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* in the late eighteenth century. Unfortunately he did not complete the gazetteer. His son Wang Jianke and his brother-in-law Cao Zongzai continued the project and completed it in the early nineteenth century. In addition, Cao Zaizai invited his literati friends and his disciples to participate the project. Most of them were also contributors to the poems of the Sequel of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. Their poems constituted the half of the whole “Famous Sites” section. In other words, the Sequel of the Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan in “Famous Sites” poems was more a cultural product of the compilers of the late eighteenth century than it was of Xu Ying.

Lacking funds, Cao and his nephew Wang were not able to publish the *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* until 1812. For years, they raised funds from local prominent families, merchants, and even temples. The donor’s name was listed on each page to denote who funded that particular section of the local gazetteer. For example, the Zhibao temple donated money for the “Famous Sites” section. Thus, its name was listed in the “board

46 *XCXZ*, Preface.
heart” (banxin) on the page of the scenic view of the Zhibiao Temple in the “Famous Sites” section (Figure 4.1).

**Constructing Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan in the “Famous Sites” section**

*Xiaochuan Poetry Collection* was the first local history project that incorporated Xu Ying and her poems. But she was not given more preeminence than other women poets. This mainly related to flourishing women’s writing culture in the Jiangnan area, which enjoyed its reputation in producing talented women since the late Ming. It was a common fashion for local elites to anthologize women’s poems within family’s collections or regional poetry collection in the late 18th century. Haining, known as one of the core areas in producing talented daughters, had its preeminence in anthologizing local women’s poems as well.47 Two local biographies compiled in 1980s followed local gazetteers and described Xu Ying as a local woman poet.

Yet what brought about the real fame for Xu Ying is her *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*.48 Cao Zongzai was so impressed by these poems that he invited eighteen of his literati friends to compose their singing-and-responding poems and anthologized them into a collection entitled *A Sequel to Xiachuan Twelve Views*. Cao noted in the preface to the Anthology:

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47 Susan Mann, *Precious Records*, Appendix, 229-232. Susan Mann has compiled statistics on the regional distribution of women poets in late eighteenth century according to the number of women incorporated in Hu Wenkai’s *Fu nu zuo zu kao*. She notes that Haining numbered the sixth in Jiangnan area, only next to Qiantang, Changzhou, Wu, Jiaxing, Changshu.

48 *DSLSJ, juan* 6, 10b.
Local celebrities had celebrated Xiachuan twelve scenic views for a very long time. Recently when [I] compiled *Xiachuan Poetry Collection*, I obtained Lady Xu’s *Yi cui xuan gao*. She had the poems of twelve views, none of which had been previously celebrated. Thus I recorded them in terms of being a “sequel” in order to distinguish [them] from the previous ones. I matched verses to them. I also invited my companions to match verses to them too. Therefore the famous views would not disappear.

峡川十二景见名流题咏，由来旧矣。近辑《诗钞》，得女史徐翚《浥翠轩稿》中有十二景诗，皆前人所未逮，爱系以续，别乎前也，且和如干首，俾诸同人和之，庶名胜亦不致淹泯尔。49

Why was Cao Zongzai so attracted to Xu Ying’s twelve poems that he requested the singing-and-responding poems from his friends? Literary luminaries (*ming liu*) and famous fites (*ming sheng*) are two key words to the above questions. Cao pointed out that twelve views had long been celebrated by literary luminaries and thus became “old” (*jiu*). Thus he added the character “sequel” to distinguish the newly discovered poems by Xu Ying. This did not simply indicate her poems in relation to the previous twelve poems on Xiachuan views, but also implied the continuity between the past and the present. For Cao and his literati friends, responding to Xu’s poems continued not only the famous landscape but also the practice of the literary luminaries of the past. The practice of poetry composition thus functioned as not only as a nexus between Xu and those literary luminaries, but also a link between the literary luminaries and Cao and his friends. The

49 *DSL SJ, juan 6, 10b.*
character that I have translated as Sequel also means “continuous.” Cao added to the title of Xu Ying’s poems indicated the continuity of local history and that of literati community via the practice of poetry composition.

Cao Zongzai also indicated Xu’s and their own responding poems as another kind of continuity, that of local famous landscape. Realizing the uncertainty of physical existence of landscape, Cao noticed the preservation of physical existence of famous landscape partly lies in the transmission of texts and the reputation of literary luminaries. The long existence of Xiachuan twelve views was indispensable to local literary luminaries and their poems. Though the physical existence of the location might be crucial to the continuity of the famous views, it, for Cao and his friends, was the poems by Xu Ying and themselves that continued twelve views and made them “not disappear” and continued to be available. The practice of Cao and his friends’ responding to Xu’s poems can be read as both their desires to be one member of literary luminaries world embedded in the continuity of the physical existence of local landscape.

Yet Cao did realize the discontinuity between the previous and the continuous twelve views. He noted that Xu Ying’s new twelve Xiachuan views had never before been written about by other people. We can see two sets of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* differ in terms of location, themes, and styles, which I will discuss these differences in the next section. This is why Cao changed the original title of *Xiachuan Twelve Views* to that of *Xiachuan Sequel Views*. In spite of their different sites and their association with different literary luminaries, the fact that they, according to Cao and his friends, were both located in Xiachuan Mountains conceal various differences between
two sets of twelve scenic views. That they all belonged to Xiachuan filled the gap between and legitimized the continuity of the views.

In fact, it was such combination of the continuity and discontinuity of two sets of views that fascinated Cao Zongzai and his literati friends. Continuity on the one hand indicated the continuous of luminaries’ literary world via the practice of poetry composition, which Cao and his friends desired to continue. The discontinuity of two sets of views on the other hand confirmed new values created by Xu Ying, Cao, and his friends in their poems celebrating views in terms of “preserve and continue local famous views.” The responding poems of Cao and his friends indicated their inheritance and their creation of local landscape. They on the one hand preserved local cultural prestige via collecting and transmitting the poems. On the other hand they created a new space for themselves to validate the existence of new views and their own roles in contribution to that. They became a new chain of the whole process of preservation local views.

Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan as a Cultural Product of the Late Eighteenth Century

The prefaces to the “Famous Sites” sections in Haining local gazetteers reveal a great deal about the identity and attitude of their authors and about the purposes of the section. The “Famous Sites” section was originally created to record the imperial presence at Jiangnan in imperially sponsored works about the Qianlong emperor’s southern imperial tours to Jiangnan. However, the “Famous Sites” section in local histories was created to show local pride of the imperial presence at and his attention given to a locale. In other words, the “Famous Sites” section carved out a space for local
literati to construct local cultural prestige through local famous sites visited by the Qianlong emperor.

*The Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer* followed the 1765 Haining local gazetteer to present local cultural prestige through its connection to imperial presence and its own cultural prestige in the past. Constructing Xu Ying’s poems as a Sequel to the original *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, local literati not only constructed a linear history of local famous sites but also a genealogy of local literary luminaries. In doing so, they inscribed themselves as part of the genealogy with their poems in response to that of Xu Ying’s. Following the section of 1775 local gazetteer, the prefatory texts and illustrations in the “Famous Sites” section present local cultural prestige through its connection with imperial presence and presence and its own cultural prestige in the past. In doing so, the “Famous Sites” section functions to show local pride of imperial attention given to Haining.

The ways in which compilers contributed to the “Famous sites” section also shows that the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* was more a product of the late eighteenth century and the late nineteenth century than ever before. In fact, there were three layers of the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* at least: the original set of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, the set of Xu Ying’s, and the set of Cao Zongzai and his literati friends’ of the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. Constructing their own poems as the Sequel to the original *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, Cao Zongzai not only constructed the continuity of local famous sites, but also intended to manipulate cultural meanings
of local famous sites to affirm their cultural identities in their own era. These will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.
Chapter Five
Celebrating *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* and Constructing Great Peace in a
Prosperous Age

Early in the 1790s, a Haining scholar named Cao Zongzai (1754-1824) obtained an unpublished poetry collection entitled *Green Studio Manuscript.*\(^1\) Reading the preface, Cao soon knew that the author was named Xu Ying (c.a. 1600-1670),\(^2\) a woman who had migrated to Haining from a neighboring province, Jiangsu, and whose work was popular among local literati in the late eighteenth century. Cao had been extensively collecting poems for his local history projects, the *Xiachuan Poetry Collection* and the *Sequel to Xiachuan Local Gazetteer.*

Cao Zongzai, according to his friends, was a person who “strictly followed the Confucian way of acting appropriately.” His friends described him as a reserved yet diligent scholar who “never appreciated mediocrity.”\(^3\) So his attitude toward the poetry of Xu Ying was telling. Cao was so impressed by Xu’s poems that he claimed that the quality of her poems “had never been reached by anyone previous generations.”\(^4\) He had

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1. *XCSC, juan* 20, 2a.

2. There is no extant source telling the birth and death date of Xu Ying. According to her poems, she had a son who was in his mature and serving in the Ming court at Nanjing in 1644. Thus she might be already in her fortieths by then. In her *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan,* Xu Ying mentioned Zha Jizuo (1601-1676) and Lu Jiashu (1629-1689), two literary figures she associated with when she moved to Xiachuan. She might still be alive in 1670s.

3. *HCBZ, juan* 41, 11a-12b, Biography.

4. *XCXZ, juan* 4, 12a; *DSLSJ, juan* 6, 10b.
nineteen literati friends compose one hundred and eighty-four poems to match her twelve.\(^5\) Later, in 1803, Cao anthologized all of these poems in a collection he titled *A Sequel to Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views (Xiachuan xu shi er jing)*, intending to distinguish this from the original set popular among local literati before the late eighteenth century.\(^6\) Subsequently, he incorporated one hundred and eighty-four poems along with Xu Ying’s poems in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 *Sequel to Xiachuan Local Gazetteer*.\(^7\) By the early nineteenth century the scenic views celebrated by Xu Ying had no longer existed, nor had any other local literati written about them.\(^8\)

In the “Famous Sites” section, Xu Ying’s poems were divided into twelve entries providing twelve scenic views of Xiachuan. Each entry consists of one brief prefatory text; a poem by Xu Ying followed by responding poems by Cao and his literati friends; and one illustration, portraying each scenic view in detail, and under Xu’s name the two characters “talented woman,” indicating she was a woman with both womanly virtues

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\(^5\) It is a common practice of men of letters to match rhymes in late imperial China. Poems were often used as a message to greet friends, express personal feelings, and even comment on politics. Poems were usually in four lines and poets were supposed to write poems back in response to original rhymes, styles, or just titles. What Cao Zongzai did here is composing his poems only in response to the original titles of Xu Ying’s *Xiachuan’s Twelve Scenic Views*. Cao also took it upon himself to compose a biography of Xu, and selected five of her poems for the “Talented Women” section (*gui xiu*) of the *Xiachuan Poetry Collection*. Among twenty poets, fourteen composed twelve poems of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* for the “Famous Sites” section. The number of poems the rest of the poets contributed ranged from one, two, three, four, seven, to eleven.

\(^6\) *DSLZI, juan* 6. 11a-b, Preface.

\(^7\) *HCBZ, juan* 42, 11a-12b; *XCXZ, juan* 4, Famous sites.

\(^8\) *HCBZ, juan* 27, 17a; *XCXZ, juan* 6, 4a. *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* had been known as a literary motif among local literati since the fifteenth century.
and poetic talents from an elite family. In addition, Cao also incorporated another
nineteen poems by Xu Ying entitled Bamboo-branch Lyrics of Xiachuan (Xiachuan zhu
zhi ci) in the “Treatise on Literature and Arts” (yi wen 艺文) section of the 1812
Xiachuan Local Gazetteer. Thereafter, the name of Xu Ying is included in the “Talented
Women” section of every subsequent edition of the Haining local gazetteer in 1848, 1898,
and 1922.⁹ All these entries in local history established Xu Ying’s reputation as a talented
woman of Haining.

Despite her reputation as a talented woman from Haining, Xu Ying was in fact a
native of the neighboring province Jiangsu. She moved to Haining shortly after the fall of
the Ming. Thus there was no mention of her or her family in early Qing editions of the
Haining local gazetteers. The surfacing of Xu Ying in early nineteenth-century Haining
contrasted sharply with her absence and silence in local public scene for a century.

Considering her non-native status, her inclusion among Haining’s talented women
suggests certain questions. Haining was one of the core areas in Jiangnan producing
women poets in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. It was the
practice of local histories to celebrate the merits and talents of their own daughters and
daughters-in-laws. So, how could Xu Ying, a woman not native of and not married to
someone from Haining, be able to be included in local histories as a Haining talented
daughter? What was so special about her poems? What motivated Haining elites’
enthusiasm about her and her poems? Why did local elites forsake their own daughters
and select her to celebrate their cultural preeminence? Furthermore, Xu Ying’s poems
about Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan were not brand new. Many poems about Twelve

⁹ LZYXLB (1803), juan 10, 24b; HCBZ (1848), juan 42, 4b; GCHJXSJ (1848), juan 43; XZLJSJ (1848), juan 40,
Scenic Views of Xiachuan had been handed down by local poets since the fifteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapters. These scenic views were still frequented and celebrated by both local elites by the time Cao and his literati friends responded to Xu Ying’s poems. In Cao Zongzai’s Xiachuan Poetry Collection and Xiachuan Local Gazetteer, it was not uncommon to run into poems with the titles such as Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan by local male poets. But these were the voices of local sons and daughters.

This chapter analyzes the reproduction of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 Xiachuan Gazetteer and its link to local literati’s political and cultural agendas of using them in local histories in the early nineteenth century. I begin with an examination of the work of Xu Ying, whose Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan expresses her nostalgia for, sadness with, loyalty to the fallen Ming and her critique of those who abandoned the Ming. I then examine how Cao responded to Xu’s poems. He acknowledged Xu’s loyalty to the Ming in his biography of her, an act that was possible because of the Qianlong emperor’s rehabilitation of Ming notables in the late eighteenth century. But Cao also responded to Xu by writing her poems anew as paeans to Qing “imperial benevolence” and a celebration of the “great peace” that Qing rule had brought. Examining the process of how the illustrated texts were conceptualized, structured, and produced, I demonstrate that local literati fit Haining in the Qianlong emperor’s vision of “great union” (da yi tong 大一統) by manipulating the meanings of

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10 Many poems bearing the title of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan were included in Poetry Collection of Xiachuan and A Sequel to Poetry Collection of Xiachuan, two local poetry collections compiled in the nineteenth and twentieth century.
Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan. In doing so, they sought to counter their declining literary identities and authority in the late eighteenth century.

Xu Ying and Her Poems: Ming-Qing Transition, Loyalty, Nostalgia, and Anxiety
In the spring of 1644, organized and determined Manchus, frontiersmen from the northeast, ousted from power the peasant rebels after they overthrew the Ming ruling family that had ruled China since 1368. The transition from the Ming to the Manchu Qing was bloody and painful, accompanied by agonizing choices for those who experienced it.11 Facing “the most dramatic dynastic succession in all of Chinese history,” some Han Chinese literati chose to collaborate with the new regime; some chose to stick to their guns and were either massacred or left to wander in nostalgic futility. Many more made their peace with the new regime when Manchus stabilized their rule in China proper from the 1650s through the 1680s.12

Xu Ying lived through the traumatic Ming-Qing dynastic transition. Her personal life and poems were closely and inevitably associated with the transition. Xu Ying frequently mentioned that she “[was] not originally not native to Haining.”13 She was a woman “who married into a prominent family in the Wu area” of the modern Jiangsu province,14 one of most economically wealthy and culturally advanced areas in late

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11 Please see details about the agonizing process of Ming-Qing transition in Lynn Struve, * Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tiges’ Jaws.


13 *XCXZ, juan 17, 20a*. Preface to *Bamboo-branch Lyrics of Xiachuan*.

14 *XCXZ, juan 17, 20a*. Preface to *Bamboo-branch Lyrics of Xiachuan*. 
imperial China. Her poems suggest that she lived an extremely comfortable life before 1644. She was an elite woman who “played with dill flowers occasionally” in the family garden and “leisurely enjoyed the real beauty of the gardens.”\textsuperscript{15} She was also the “soul mate” (zhī jì 知己) of her husband, whom she accompanied to “ancient temples,” “listened to chirping crickets during autumn nights,” “paid visits to their friends,” and “matched rhymes with each other.”\textsuperscript{16} Such was comfortable domestic life of elite women. They had a son who had by 1644 was old enough to follow his father to serve the Ming court after the fall of Beijing to the invading Qing. Xu’s pleasant life was rudely and permanently interrupted by these events and the subsequent Manchu invasion and occupation of the Jiangnan region. Several Ming survivors from the former ruling house tried to establish resistance groups, and Xu Ying’s husband and son served with those who were based in Nanjing. Because of the ensuing warfare in their hometown, Xu’s husband and son sent her to the mountains at Haining, hoping that she could avoid the bloody and brutal chaos. Unfortunately, her husband and son martyred themselves as loyalists to the Ming dynasty. Xu Ying remained in Haining but was reduced to a life of loneliness and suffering.\textsuperscript{17} In her biography, Cao Zongzai highlighted her family background of Ming loyalists, saying her husband was an “upright figure” (yì shì 义士) who “sacrificed himself to his country” (xùn guō 殉国)

\textsuperscript{15} XCSC, juan 20, 2b, Palace Lyrics.

\textsuperscript{16} XCSC, juan 20, 2b, Remembrances of the Past (Huaiju).

\textsuperscript{17} XCSC, juan 20, 2a-3b. XCXZ, juan 17, 20a. XCXZ, juan 10, 23b.
The mountains of Xiachuan were a refuge for both Haining natives and non-natives who remained loyal to the Ming. Active local elites such as Zha Jizuo (1601-1676), Tian Che (?-?), Cao Yuanfang, Qian Guangxiu (1614-1678), Lu Qi (1614-1688), Fan Xiang (1608-1675), Lu Jiashu (1629-1689), Zhu Yishi (1610-1671), Zhu Jiazheng (1602-1684), and Chen Que (1604-1677) were a few among them. Most of these figures were affiliated in one way or another with the anti-Qing movements in 1644 and 1645. Some participated in the resistance by serving the Ming rump courts. Some participated in local militia resistance. Zha Jizuo, who was later noted for his involvement in the sensational Ming History Case in 1663, briefly served in the rump courts.

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18 HCBZ, juan 30, 15a-18b; XCXZ, juan 7, 22b-23a; YRCD, 21-22.
19 HCBZ, juan 31, 7b-8a; XCSC, juan 2, 21a; XCXZ, juan 6, 17b; HNYRW, 17.
20 HCBZ, juan 30, 17a. Cao, 1642 jinshi; appointed as magistrate of Changshu county. His father participated in anti-Qing movement and committed suicide after the defeat. Cao Yuanfang secluded himself in the Xiachuan mountains after that.
21 HCBZ, juan 46, 2a; ZJRWZZ, 231.
22 XCSC, juan 17, 17a.
23 HCBZ, juan 31, 7a-b; HNYRW, 103.
24 HCBZ, juan 31, 8a-9b; HNYRW, 58
25 HNYRW, 24.
26 HCBZ, juan 31, 5a-6b.
27 Chen Que, Chen Que ji, 639; HCBZ, juan 31, 5b-6b.
28 HCBZ, juan 30, 11b. XCXZ, juan 6, 18b-19a.
29 The Ming History case was the first and most notorious literary inquisition of the Qing period. It took place less than twenty years after the fall of the Ming dynasty, at the outset of the reign of the second Qing emperor,
Ming dynasty at Nanjing in 1645. He chose to seclude himself in Xiachuan after the fall of the Ming. Other local literati chose to commit suicide to show their loyalty to the former Ming. Lu Jue, Zha’s poetic friend Lu Jiashu’s father, chose to starve himself to death after the Qing army conquered Xiachuan. Lu Jiashu and his brother Lu Hongding chose seclusion after the dynastic transition by refusing to serve the new dynasty. Zha Jizuo settled down at Xiachuan because he feared that his engagement in the anti-Qing movement would embroil his family in dangers if he went back home. When his former neighbors occupied part of his house in the wake of dynastic transition, Zha was unable to return to recover it. Like Zha Jizuo, other illustrious figures suffered irreversible decline due to high taxation and increased robbery in the wake of dynastic transition.

Another poetic friend of Zha Jizuo, Chen Que, was robbed several times in his house in Kangxi (1654-1722, reigned 1661-1772), when he was only nine years old and power lay in the hands of four hard-line Manchu regents in Beijing. To them, the Ming history published in 1660 under the title *Ming shi ji lue* (A Sketch of Ming History 明史纪略), with its disparaging references to the Manchus and its stubborn use of Southern Ming reigning titles for the years after 1644, constituted an intolerable challenge to the authority of the new regime. The ensuing investigation targeted not only the Zhuang family of Huzhou. They had sponsored the publication of the history, but all the scholars whose names were associated with the enterprise, and also local officials, engravers, printers, binders, booksellers, and book purchasers. Several dozen extended families, numbering over two thousand people, were taken into custody, and after months of interrogation, the inquiry culminated in the execution in July 1663 of at least seventy individuals and the banishment of many of their family members. Idema, Li, and Widmer et al, *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*, 302.

30 *HCBZ*, juan 6, 14b-15a.

31 Poetic friends refer to those friends who wrote poems together.

32 Zha Jizuo moved to the mountains in the wake of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition since his neighbors appropriated part of his houses while he was outside participating in anti-Qing resistance movement in Nanjing. *YRCD*, 21-22.
the wake of the dynastic transition. The family was “interrogated for the whole night” by the bandits and Chen Que was almost “beaten to death by robbers with an iron stick” in a robbery in 1647. One of Chen’s neighbors was so scared of the robbery that he drowned in a river when he ran away from robbers. Chen later moved his family in the mountains to avoid the chaos in the wake of the dynastic transition.

With the settlement of Ming loyalists in Xiachuan, the area became a noted place for various poetry societies after the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. These Ming loyalists created a dynamic society. They formed poetry societies such as the Society of Duckweed (ping she 萍社), the Society of Escaping Fame (dan ming she 淡名社), and the Society of Constant Principle (yi she 义社). Active local members included Zha Jizuo, Chen Que, Lu Jiashu, Tian Che, Cao Yuanfang, Fan Xiang, Zhu Yishi, and Zhu Jiazheng. They had been actively engaged in various poetry societies before 1644. Non-native settlers such as Qian Guangxiu, Lu Qi, Hu Shan, and Zhou Yun had closely associated with these local poets and obtained help from local poets when they first settled down in Xiachuan. Members of the societies hiked in the mountains and wrote a

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33 Chen Que, Chen Que ji, 635, Poem on Being Robbed.

34 These literary figures organized many poetic societies during the transition. The Society of Twelve Masters, and the Society of Observation were several among them. HCBZ, Juan 46, 2b-3a; ZJRWJZ, 231-232.

35 HCBZ, juan 46, 1b-2a.

36 XCXZ, juan 6,

37 XCXZ, juan 6,

38 One example is Hu Shan from a Shanyin prominent family, who lost his houses and property in his hometown Shanyin during the transition. With his friends Lu Jiashu and Zhu Jiazheng’s help, Hu managed to support his
large number of poems concerning local scenic views. They regularly met in the poetry societies for poetic inspiration, food and wine, and these poetry gatherings were sometimes turned into rites of commemoration for the fallen Ming. These networks may also have facilitated communication or provided refuge for those involved in anti-Qing resistance. As such, Ming loyalists poetry societies continued the tradition of late Ming organizations such as the Restoration Society (fu she 复社).  

The Qing certainly regarded such societies as treasonous. In 1652, the Qing court issued an edict banning “the formation of covenants and societies” (li meng jie she 立盟结舍), but literary gatherings continued to have political implications in more amorphous ways.

Through her association with local Ming loyalists community, Xu Ying likely obtained a sense of “being home” at Xiachuan. In her poems she describes Xiachuan as an ideal place where local “luminary worthies gather to avoid the chaos,” and where the “people are happy to till and grow.” Xu Ying was closely and actively associated with local Ming loyalist societies since she moved to the mountains of Xiachuan. We know that she dedicated one poem to a local noted Ming loyalist Lu jiashu, son of Lu jue. She

family by selling herbs at Xiachuan. He practiced medicine in local market, hiking with his local friends to the mountains, and composing poetry with them at the gathering party. In his poetry collection prefaced by Zhu Jiazheng and Lu Jiashu, there left behind many poems dealing with gatherings and hiking in the Mountains among themselves. Source?

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39 He Zongmei, Ming mo Qing chu wen ren jie she yan jiu, 2003.

40 XCXZ, juan 10, 23b.

41 XCXZ, juan 21a. The ninth poem of Bamboo-branch Lyrics of Xiachuan.

42 XCXZ, Juan 10, 23b.
praised his “pure and loyal nature.” Here, loyalty was a clear reference to his Confucian virtue wherein the hermit-scholar returned to service when he realized that the ruler was good and withdrew himself to the mountains when he realized the world is declining or in chaos. Lu Jiashu had obtained his literary reputation in the Ming. Yet he declined not to serve the Qing dynasty after the transition. Tian Che, a local Ming loyalist secluding himself in Xiachuan, prefaced Xu Ying’s poetry collection *Green Studio Manuscript*.

Tian sequestered himself in the mountains of Xiachuan after the collapse of the Qing. He called his reclusive life in the mountains as a way of “returning to agriculture,” a lifestyle scholar-hermits enjoyed after they withdrew themselves from the chaotic world. Meanwhile his preface for a widow of a Ming martyr also proved his loyalty to the former Ming considering.

Xu Ying actively associated with local Ming loyalists, participated in local Ming loyalists’ gathering to appreciate chrysanthemums, poetry, and hiking. She called these Ming loyalists gathering at poetry societies as “the army of imbibing wine at Xiachuan.” Loyalism is important to these Confucian scholars because their loyalty to the former Ming represented their accomplishment of political loyalty promoted by Confucian political ideology: the subjects should show their loyalty to the ruling house in which they were ruled and the imperial rulers should treated their subjects benevolently. Xu Ying participated in local Ming loyalists group by commemorating the legacy of loyalism in her poems. Using her poems, she praised local Ming loyalists who initiated

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43 *XCSC, juan 20, 2a.*

44 *XCXZ, juan 9.*

45 *XCXZ, juan 17, 20a-22b, Bamboo-branch Lyrics.*
local militia resistance and battled to death as “real heroes though they died.”Employing local famous sites associated with those local Ming loyalists, Xu Ying praised that their loyalty like “vermilion hearts and jade blood filling the cosmos” and they would never be forgotten by later generations. In the poems Xu Ying described the Ming-Qing dynastic transition in the apocalyptic terms of an unspeakable rupture, violence, and devastation, a time of violence and devastation. She expressed her anger with the brutality of the Qing conquest. The Qing conquest was experienced as a crisis of culture and tradition in her poems.

The existence of local Ming loyalist community partially alleviated Xu Ying’s suffering as a result of the Qing conquest: loss of family, being alone all by herself in a strange place, and being homeless. Her identity as a widow of a martyr legitimized her association with local male Ming loyalists. Her poems commemorating the legacy of loyalism helped her to transcend her traditional gender role as a virtuous woman living in the inner chamber.

However, in the 1650s and the 1660s local Ming loyalists gradually left Xiachuan to make a living elsewhere under the new regime. Zha Jizuo, for example, left Xiachuan when he obtained a teaching position in Hangzhou. His friend Fan Xiang obtained a

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46 XCXZ, juan 17, 21b. Bamboo-branch Lyrics of Xiachuan.

47 The allusions come from Zhuangzhi, which refers to sincerity and loyalty of Chinese politicians in Chinese history.

48 XCXZ, juan 17, Treatises on Art and Literature, 20a-22a.

49 As for women and their social roles, please see Waltner, “Writing Her Way Out”; Mann, Precious Records; Ko, The Teachers of Inner Chambers.
position to compile a local history sponsored and funded by a local Qing magistrate in Haining. Subsequently, local poetry societies fell apart when active members left. Xu Ying felt despondent. She was particularly disheartened when former Ming loyalists and their sons sought official positions in Beijing. Yang Yongjian (1627-1704), whom Xu Ying praised as an excellent calligrapher who enjoyed the reclusive lifestyle by “playing the flute in the moonlight,” obtained a position in the new regime in 1657.\(^{50}\) A few years later in 1660 he even memorialized the emperor to ban the poetry societies of Jiangnan.\(^{51}\) Lu Jiashu decided to seek his opportunities in 1679 after the Kangxi emperor initiated the Erudite Scholar Examination to specifically recruit Chinese literati to his court. Xu Ying was so upset by Lu’s decision that she wrote a poem to persuade Lu not to serve the Qing court in order to avoid “destroying his fame” as a Ming loyalist.\(^{52}\)

Despite her efforts, the memory of the former Ming receded. She reacted by using her poetry to express her anxiety of being a Ming loyalist in the Qing dynasty. In one poem entitled *Remembrances of the Past* (*huai jiu* 怀旧), Xu Ying explicitly expressed her lament for the Ming-Qing dynastic transition and her personal grief suffering:\(^{53}\)

孤枕断简最萧条  A lonely bed, a tattered manuscript, [and I am] feeble,

苦雨滂沱更寂寥  The bitter rains pour and pour, and [I am] more lonely;

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\(^{50}\) *HCBZ, juan* 33, 12a-13a.

\(^{51}\) *DHL, juan* 8.

\(^{52}\) *XCSC, juan* 20, 2a, *The Poem to Lu Jiashu*.

\(^{53}\) *XCSC, juan* 20, 2b.
Matching verses and responding poems, those days are gone,
Flipping through the manuscript, savoring its flavors, it will be always like tonight;
Once, coming to ancient temples, we listened to autumn crickets,
Now, I can only go to the pagoda and watch angry tidal bores;
Who knows the faces of the vulgar people of the world?
Beating my breast, crying aloud, my soul disintegrates.

When she wrote the above poem, Xu Ying was in the mood of desperation, grief, and sadness. She contrasts her happiness before the fall of the Ming with her suffering afterward. She recalls the happy times she spent with her husband on outings and matching verses with each other. She laments that the days for “matching verses and responding rhymes” are gone. She is left with nothing but a lonely bed and tattered manuscript. Even worse, she must face those vulgar people, which makes her even more desperate. She could do nothing but turn to the memory of the past to spend the rest of her life.

XCSC, juan 20, 2b.

These vulgar people might refer to those who mocked at Ming loyalism sentiment and in an era when the Qing consolidated their rule. Ming loyalists were usually criticized for their posture of being a Ming loyalist to pursue their fame for the future social status and cultural prestige. In another poem, Xu Ying makes a clear statement that her husband and son sacrificed their lives to the former Ming was to pursue their political loyalty, rather than to seek fame. See, XCSC, juan 20, 2a-b
Xu Ying was in a dreary and desperate mood when she wrote the above poem. Through her poems, we can imagine that a feeble woman, with her husband and son died in a chaotic era, had to confront suffering in reality all by herself. Loneliness, “faces of vulgar people”, and the manuscript of the past cause her grief. The cause of all this was the dynastic transition. Yet, as a woman whose husband and son have died and who has to making a living alone, Xu Ying did not have money to have her poetry collection published. Xu Ying’s bold and explicit nostalgia for the former Ming and commemoration of the legacy of Ming loyalism also made it unlikely to be published considering strict literary inquisition, the Qing censorship on the Jiangnan literati in the Qing.\textsuperscript{56}

Xu Ying’s poems, the \textit{Green Studio Manuscript}, were preserved in manuscript. It had never published, making it hard for the work to be disseminated. Xu Ying and her poems thus disappeared from the local public scene for about a century and there is no record of her in local gazetteers before the nineteenth century. Since it was not published, it was unlikely that it was disseminated among the literati community.\textsuperscript{57} As a woman

\textsuperscript{56} Literary inquisition refers to an unjust charge that rulers in the past used to persecute intellectuals. The emperor and his entourage deliberately excerpted words and sentences from poems and articles to make up crimes to charge against the writers. The serious offender and even his family members and relatives would be killed for the crime. The Qing rulers who were highly sensitive against any kind of anti-Manchu feelings on the side of Han Chinese scholar officials also carried out many literary inquisitions. They tried to ensure the correct legitimacy of their rulership by ruthless "literary inquisitions". They had earlier works censored and writers imprisoned for suspected critical references to the Qing Dynasty. From Emperor Kangxi to Qianlong, there were more than ten cases of literary inquisition, and a large number of people were killed.

\textsuperscript{57} In their study of the dissemination of women’s poetry collection in late imperial China, Kang-I Sun Chang and Clara Ho have persuasively demonstrated that most Chinese women’s writing were published by their husband or
whose husband and son had died and who had to make a living all by herself, Xu Ying had neither the financial and spiritual support from her family to have her poetry collection published. Xu Ying’s praise of Ming loyalists, explicit nostalgia for the former Ming, and commemoration of the Ming loyalist legacy also made the manuscript unlikely to be published considering strict literary inquisition in the early Qing. In addition, as a woman who was not native of Haining, her poetry collection did not attract enough attention. Local literati usually did not focus too much on local talented women for their local history projects. Xu Ying, not native to Haining, therefore had disappeared in local public attention until the late eighteenth century.

**Rediscovering Xu Ying**

**and Constructing A Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan**

The rediscovery of Xu Ying’s poem caused a big stir in local literati community in the eighteenth century. Her poems became rich resources for local literati’s local history projects. Cao Zongzai includes Xu Ying’s poems in *Xiachuan Poetry Collection* and *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer*, two local histories that were compiled under his editorship. Through re-anthologizing Xu Ying’s poems, Cao Zongzai successfully transformed Xu Ying from a non-native and forgotten poet into a talented native woman of Haining.

Cao Zongzai included five poems by Xu Ying into the “Talented Women” section in *Xiachuan Poetry Collection*. One is five-character-eight-line poem which Xu wrote to family. The case of Xu Ying is another example to show such pattern. See details in Chang, “Ming and Qing Anthologies of Women’s Poetry and Their Selection Strategies,” 147-170.
respond to a local literary figure Lu Jiashu; 58 two are seven-character-eight-line poems, which recount Xu Ying’s loneliness and sufferings after her husband and son died; the rest are two palace-style poems that portray Xu’s married life before the family and state disaster occurred in 1644. 59 Five poems by Xu Ying Cao selected represent three styles of Chinese poetry. These poems do not simply give a portrayal of her harmonious marriage before the Ming-Qing dynastic transition, but also indicate her talents in dealing with these criteria for poetry with the required form. By showing Xu Ying’s mastery in a variety of complex rhyme schemes and verse forms, Cao implicitly validated Xu Ying’s poetic style and the legitimacy of incorporating her as a “talented woman” into a local poetry collection. But Cao went further than recognizing Xu’s talents. He also implied her non-nativeness. Strictly speaking, because she was not born in Haining and neither her parents nor her husband were from the county, Xu was not a native daughter. But Cao sought to render her such. He emphasized that following the fall of the Ming she lived the rest of her life in Haining and suggests that this justified her inclusion in local histories and anthologies.

The ways that Cao Zongzai constructed Xu Ying in the “Talented Women” section suggests local imagination of Xu Ying in two ways: her legacy as a Ming loyalist and her identity as a talented woman. Local imagination of Xu Ying as a Ming loyalist is

58 Five-character-eight-line style and seven-character-eight-line style are called regulated verse (lu shi 律诗) that requires both tone and rhyme matched in every couplet. The palace verse (gong ti shi 宫体诗) is usually used to express the subtle feelings between men and women. It typically indicates poets’ talents in terms of their tastes of word choice and their indirect ways in express their emotional subtlety.

59 XCSC, juan 20,3a.
related to the Qianlong emperor’s re-evaluation of Ming loyalists in the late eighteenth century, which I discuss in full in chapter six. I argue that Xu Ying’s poetic praise of local Ming loyalists in her poems accords with the imperial rehabilitation of Ming loyalism and thus brought about local fame in that perspective. Cao’s construction of Xu Ying as a talented woman was connected with the rise of women’s writing culture in the late eighteenth century in Jiangnan area. Susan Mann has demonstrated that women’s writing culture had reached its peak in the late eighteenth century as a result of development of commercialization, printing culture, and state policy of promoting women’s position in the society.\(^{60}\) It is also clear from the Haining experience that women poets in the late eighteenth century were encouraged to write in terms to bring about fame of local cultural prestige on the imperial cultural landscape.\(^{61}\) The incorporation of Xu Ying in the “Talented Women” section was another case showing local literati’s perception of using women poets and their poems to construct local cultural prestige on the imperial cultural landscape in the late eighteenth century.

Though she was not native to Haining and not married to a family of Haining, her political loyalty, her poems, and her womanly virtue to “stay alone her late life in Xiachuan” legitimized her as a virtuous and talented woman in Xiachuan.\(^{62}\) Through re-anthologizing Xu Ying’s poems in the “Talented Women” section and the “Treatises on Art and Literature” section in local histories, Cao Zongzai successfully transformed Xu


\(^{61}\) Qin Fang, “Nüxing wenji: sheng qing shi qi Haining wen ren de sheng fen reng tong yu de fang ren tong (Women's Anthologies: Literary Identities and Local Identities in High Qing),” 124-144.

\(^{62}\) *XCSC,* juan20, 1b.
Ying from a non-native talented woman of Haining to a native of Haining in local histories.

Meanwhile, twelve poems of Xu Ying on twelve local scenic views stimulated local literati’s poetic inspiration. Cao Zongzai was so impressed by these twelve poems that he invited nineteen local literati composing one hundred and eighty four poems to respond to twelve poems of Xu Ying’s during a poetry gathering. Later, in 1803, Cao anthologized all those poems in a collection entitled *A Sequel to Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views*, intending to distinguish from the original set of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* popular among local literati before the late eighteenth century. In the preface to the collection, Cao wrote:

*Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* had long been celebrated by local luminaries. Recently when [I] compiled *Xiachuan Poetry Collection*, I happened to obtain Lady-scholar Xu’s *Green Studio Manuscript* which contained the poems of twelve scenic views, which the previous generation had never reached its quality. Thus I recorded them down as a “sequel” in order to distinguish [them] from the previous ones. I matched verses to them. I also invited my companies to match the verse to them too. Therefore the famous views would never disappear.

峡川十二景名流题咏，由来旧矣。近辑《诗钞》，得女史徐莹《浥翠轩稿》，中有十二景诗，皆前人所未逮，爰系以续，别乎前也，且和如于首，俾诸同人和之，庶名胜亦不致淹泯尔。64

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63 *DSLSJ, juan* 6. 11a-b.

64 *DSLSJ, juan* 6. 10b.
The above text is ambiguous as to whether Xu Ying named her poems as *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* or there were nothing but just twelve poems of Xu Ying about local scenic views in her poetry collection. Indeed, Cao mentioned that twelve scenic views of Xu Ying “had never been reached,” which indicates the differences between her twelve scenic views and others local literati’s. In fact, a local literatus Guan Yuanyao later expressed his suspicion of the authenticity of the title. In the preface to the 1923 *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiacuan*, Guan Yuanyao says:

> [The Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan] were composed by Xu Ying, a talented woman of the Ming dynasty. However, it is not clear who wrote the title and prefatory texts. It is a pity that her manuscript is not extant.  

No matter whether Xu Ying named her poems as *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* or not, twelve poems of Xu Ying were not treated as the *Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* until 1803 when Cao Zongzai and his literati friends enthusiastically responded to her poems. As I stated in the Chapter Four, Cao incorporated these poems in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer*, even though the scenic views that Xu Ying celebrated in her poems no longer existed by Cao’s time and they had never before been identified by local literati.

By responding Xu Ying’s poems in terms of responding to *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, and particularly through incorporating those poems into the “Famous Sites”

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65 *HCSJZ*, juan 8, 16a-b. Preface to A Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan.

66 *HCBZ*, juan 42, 11a-12b; *XCXZ*, juan 4, Famous Sites.

67 *HCBZ*, juan 27, 17a; *XCXZ*, Juan 6, 4a.
section as the sequel to the original *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, local literati created a new set of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. In doing so, Cao Zongzai not only promoted local cultural prestige in terms of a local talented woman, he also carved out a space in local histories to accommodate local literati and himself in terms of poetic talent, one of crucial element to indicate their cultural prestige and social status in local society.

Through responding to Xu Ying’s poems and including the poems in the “Famous Sites” section, local literati successfully transformed twelve poems of Xu Ying into the *Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. In other words, the *Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views* were more the products of Cao Zongzai and his literati friends in the eighteenth century than those of Xu Ying’s when they were anthologized in the “Famous Sites” section.

**Poems, Books, Literati, and Imperial Presence in Eighteenth Century Jiangnan**

The middle of the eighteenth century, roughly around 1725 to 1780s, played a pivotal role in the consolidation of Qing rule during a period of great historical flux widely known as the “prosperous age” (*sheng shi* 盛世) in many works on Chinese history.68 It was a time of relative peace and prosperity but also of vigorous growth and change. Domestic unrest was largely absent. The population grew dramatically. The geographic scale of the empire grew enormously. Agricultural output expanded greatly, and productivity intensified. The mid-eighteenth century also saw a continuing rise in literacy and popular education, a further expansion of publishing and print culture.

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The prosperity in the eighteenth century also created instability in social status because of population growth and economic changes that led to increasing occupational diversification as well as yearning for heightened status among members of Chinese elite.⁶⁹ Vast accumulation of merchants’ wealth together with mounting demographic pressures made the social and cultural landscape of Jiangnan increasingly fluid and competitive. Witness to the largest population and highest commercialization in the empire, status anxiety gripped literati on the increasingly permeable social boundary that was supposed to separate merchants from literati. In spite of population growth, the quota for the civil service exam certificated by the state remained as it was in the seventeenth century. Many literati, who were educated in their very early childhood, failed to obtain degrees through the examination and lost their political and social status which they might otherwise have had through being recruited into the bureaucracy. Their economic status was also challenged by newly rising merchants’ purchasing power. Seeing their declining status in the society, literati argued for the need to demarcate social distinction between “men of culture and learning” (*shi da fu* 士大夫) and mere social climbers with money.⁷⁰

Cao Zongzai and his literati friends experienced this flux in the social status of the eighteenth century. As a son brought up in the humble and genteel background of the literati families, Cao received a good education in a very early childhood yet ended up

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with a low-ranking title as a result of fierce competition in the civil service exam. Status anxiety gripped individuals such as Cao Zongzai and his literati friends as a result of fierce competition in the examination and the rise of merchant class in a commercialized era.

However, imperially sponsored literary projects and special recruitment examinations in the late eighteenth century created an additional means for acquiring social and cultural prestige, which in the past could only be acquired through the civil service examinations. *Four Treasuries*, an imperially sponsored project claiming to anthologize all Chinese classics, history, literature, and philosophy, offered these texts preservation from extinction and accommodated many low-ranking literati into bureaucracy. With knowledge that they acquired from their preparation for the civil service exam, low-ranking literati reinforced their identity as “men of learning and culture” through their collation and compilation of these works. The Qianlong emperor’s attention to these literati scholars further stimulated low-ranking literati’s devotion to the study of classics and history.\(^{71}\) Those who sent their rare collections for the *Four Treasuries* project could also obtain imperial rewards to build up their cultural prestige in local society. Bao Tingbao (1728-1814),\(^{72}\) an avid bibliophile in Hangzhou, obtained ten bolts of imperial brocade as a result of sending his rare editions of his private collection for the *Four Treasuries*. His son Bao Sigong was bestowed with a degree title of *juren* （举人） after the family sent their rare collection for the *Four Treasuries* project. Bao Tingbao himself enjoyed cultural prestige of a noted bibliophile in Jiangnan after that. He

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\(^{71}\) Guy, *The Emperor’s Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch’ien-lung Era.*

\(^{72}\) *CSJSS*, 529.
traveled extensively in Jiangnan and was invited to various local history and literary projects in Jiangnan. His private library enjoyed the fame as one of private libraries with richest collections in Jiangnan and later became a gathering place for officials, scholars, and poets. The imperially sponsored project *Four Treasuries* also stimulated professionalization of academies and existence of a community of scholars in the eighteenth century Jiangnan. Inspired by the imperially sponsored literary project and using the books they collected, literati in Jiangnan devoted themselves in preservation of history and classics. Some devoted themselves to production of local histories. In doing so, they accumulated their cultural prestige among literati community. With accumulated cultural prestige, they made connection with officials and other literati. In fact, some local officials in Jiangnan were noted patrons of various regional and local history and literary projects. These imperial and local projects on local histories and literatures created a community of scholars who made a living from collating, compiling, and producing books. In doing so, literati in Jiangnan sought an alternative to reinforce their social and cultural prestige and their identity as “men of culture and learning” other than the civil service exam.

The special recruitment examination, which the Qianlong emperor sponsored on his southern tours to Jiangnan, created another way for local literati to obtain social status and cultural prestige other than civil service examination. Those literati who were skilled in poetry yet unfortunately failed in civil service exams, could still obtain degree titles once their poems were selected as qualified works in the special recruitment examination. The Qianlong emperor’s valorization of poetic composition contributed directly to the

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73 Elman, *From Philosophy To Philology: Social and Intellectual Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China.*
reintroduction of poetry into the curriculum of the regular civil service examination in the 1750s. Composing poems thus affirmed literati’s cultural identity and social status.

It might be true that the Qianlong emperor used imperial patronage of poetry and literary projects as an effective means of co-opting the Jiangnan elite to his multi-ethnic empire. His valorization of poetic composition and his patronization of the Four Treasuries, however, reaffirmed the cultural ideals and social identities of specific group of Han Chinese in local society. For example, after the Qianlong emperor inscribed his calligraphy for two books of Bao Tingbao, the Bao family built a hall to display the two books to show their gratitude to the imperial favor. Shen Deqian, an influential poet of Jiangnan as a result of his close connection with the Qianlong emperor, had his students memorize his poems included in The Imperial Quill, the Qianlong emperor’s poetry collection. The imperial favor that literati gained from the practice of book collecting and poetry composition carved out new space for literati to establish and reinforce their cultural prestige and social status. In fact, the late eighteenth century Jiangnan area witnessed a large scale of new initiative in poetry, book collecting, and local history production, which provided alternative for local low-ranking literati (han shi 寒士) to bolster their declining social status in a commercialized era.

As a result, poetry functioned as hallmarks of literati culture in eighteenth-century Haining. Local literati organized singing-and-responding poetry gatherings to reinforce

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76 Please see biography in Shen Deqian ziding nianpu; *ECCP*, 645-46; For Shen’s influence in Jiangnan, see *MYSH*, juan 1, 3b-4b.
their social networks and extend their public life. Composing quickly in public, mastering
a variety of complex rhyme schemes and verse forms, and writing elegantly in fine
calligraphy not only served to build up poets’ cultural prestige but also to carve out a new
space for their engagement in local social affairs. For example, Cao Zongzai and his
friends organized a poetry gathering to persuade local “poor and uneducated” people to
practice the proper burial ceremony rather than leaving their families’ bodies exposed in
the wild. At another poetry gathering, they composed poems to call upon local people to
donate for a charity organization for local orphans. At an 1819 singing-and-responding
poetry gathering organized by the local magistrate Yi Fenting, Cao and his friends wrote
poems to call upon donations for famine relief. With their association at the poetry
gathering, Yi later invited Cao to manage local irrigation systems. In 1824 Yi
recommended Cao Zongzai for an honor of Filial and Upright (xiao llian fang zheng yi 孝
谦方正义) for his public service. Poems he composed were not simply a literary genre
to express personal feelings but also extended Cao Zongzai’s world and created
opportunities for him to engage in local public affairs. Cao, with his poetic talents,
enhanced his social status and cultural prestige locally through participating in such
affairs.

77 HCBZ, juan 45, 18a-b, Haining zhou quan zheng chang he shi (Matched Verses on Famine Relief at
Haining 海宁州全征和诗).

78 HCBZ, juan 41, 11a. A poem in Xiachuan shi xu chao tells Cao and his students Gu Lan requested to
open the dam to solve the drought in Haining in 1785. XCSX, juan 4, the poem on opening the dam for
drought, 16-17b.
Because of crucial role of poems in the individual’s social life, literati were motivated to enhance their cultural prestige and social status through the publication and the dissemination of their poems. In a letter to celebrate his friend Wu Qian’s publication of his poetry collection, Cao Zongzai’s friend Zhou Chun wrote:

“I recalled that Master Chubai [Zha Shenxing] once said: ‘in the future each of us will have our own collection. They will be intertwined with each other and attached with others. Thus there must be transmitted.’ My humble poetry manuscript has not been carved yet. Therefore I look forward to your collection being published.

记初白先生有云，将来我辈人人有集，牵连附书，必有传者。拙作诗稿，未能付梓，所以亟望大集之刊行也。”79

Zhou Chun explicitly spelled out his and his elite friends’ desire to have poems published and transmitted. Most of Zhou Chun’s poems published in Wu Qian’s Collection were his matched verses from “singing-and-responding” gatherings. With the publication of these poetry collections, those whose poetry collections had not yet been published had opportunities to have their writings disseminated. Zhou Chun had never published his personal poetry collection standing alone, yet his poems were included in the poetry collection of his friends whose works were published. These poems were eventually anthologized into local and regional poetry collections partly because they had been disseminated among literati community through their friends’ poetry collection.80

79 *BJLSJ*, Preface.

80 *XCSXC, GCHJSXJ, LZYXLX.*
In fact, local literati considered the imperial presence in Jiangnan as a sign of a prosperous age. The Qianlong emperor’s southern imperial tours in Jiangnan, his *Four Treasuries* project, and Special Recruitment Examination under his sponsorship were conceptualized by local literati as a sign and a result of a prosperous age. Following the Qianlong emperor, Haining local literati also employed poetry to promote local cultural prestige giving special attention to the emperor’s focus on Haining. Incorporating local beautiful scenery that the emperor visited, local literati composed their own poems to express their response to the imperial presence in Haining. In a poem of 1778, two years before the emperor’s third trip to Haining, a noted local poet Wu Qian wrote:

万花深处柳如烟 Thickly along the dike of ten thousand flowers, the willows are like smoke;

巩固还资铁石坚 Solid, it can match the strength of iron and stone.

阅历沧桑知几度 How many times has [the Dike] known the [dramatic] change of the vast sea?

而今真个太平年 Now it is truly a year of great peace.¹²

“Ten thousand flowers” is a reference to the Ten-Thousand Flower Seawall, which was a preventive earthen dike along the seashore of Haining. In the 1760s, there was a heated debate on whether the earthen seawall should be replaced with one constructed from slate.

¹¹ Michael Chang mentions that the Qianlong emperor conceptualized his southern tours as a manifestation of a prosperous age.

¹² *NTYL*, 1.
which would resist tidal bores more effectively. While some officials proposed to build solid slate seawalls, others argued that the new slate seawalls project would require relocation of local people and thus destroyed their peaceful life. Eventually the Qianlong emperor decided to maintain earthen dikes to show his “imperial benevolence” to his subjects because he did not want to “disturb local residents before settling down people.”\(^8\) The emperor used the construction project to present himself as a benevolent sage king, a political ideal of Confucianism. Local literati took on the incident as a way to express their gratitude for imperial benevolence to and his presence in Haining. Wu Qian began his poem with a description of local scenery at the seawalls. He then smoothly moved on the topic of the debate on the construction by praising the solidness of the Seawalls. Then he concluded the poem with his celebration of great peace in Haining. Wu Qian’s last poetic line extolle\(^{84}\)d the imperial decision and his presence to Haining, as his friend Lu Wencao commented that the poem was marvelous because it “extols the imperial benevolence with simple words about scenery.”\(^8\) “Great Peace,” along with “Prosperous Age,” became a popular and common term that local literati used to respond to imperial presence at Haining and their pride of Haining’s prosperity on the imperial cultural map. Chen Zhan, who prefaced Cao Zongzai’s Xiachuan Local Gazetteer in 1812, employed terms of “great peace” and “prosperous age” to present Haining in Folk song of Xinban (Xinban tu feng), a local history that used poems to record the past and culture of the area. In the poems, Chen Zhan compared the Qianlong emperor to Yu, an ideal sage king in Chinese legendary and political history. He

\(^8\) HTL, shoujuan.

\(^{84}\) NTYL, 1.
celebrated that “the emperor in the prosperous age cared about people’s life” and “invested tremendously on the long seawall.”85 Because of the imperial concern to Haining, Chen Zhan wrote, “local people carried wines, back and forth; singing the songs about great peace.”86

Haining local literati linked the age of “Great Peace” to the Qianlong emperor’s presence at Haining, particularly his decision to build the seawalls. In the eyes of local literati, it was that decision which brought about the local beautiful scenery and happy life. To extol “great peace” reflected in local scenery and life is to extol the imperial’s attention given to Haining and its people. These poems can thus be understood as local response to the imperial tours to Haining. Yet, the late years of the Qianlong’s reign were not in “great peace,” as local literati presented in the above poems. On the contrary, the late eighteenth century sees a general decline and erosion of a multi-ethnic empire.87

By the end of the Qianlong reign, the Qing state faced many serious problems. The fiscal soundness of the later Qianlong reign period was undermined by military expenses (inflated by corrupt practice of military leaders), and by the inroads of insatiable civil officials led by the examples of Heshen, an infamous Chinese courtier who abused his influence with the Qianlong emperor to assume high ministerial positions and control revenue disbursements and personnel recruiting. The government began to run short of funds. A stodgy complacency affected the conduct of regional and local administration.

85 XBTTF, juan 1, 1a-b.
86 XBTTF, juan 1, 1a-b; HCSL, juan 1, 1a-3b.
87 Michael Chang mentioned the primacy and the erosion of the Qing occurred in 1770s and 1780s. Chang, A Court on Horseback, Introduction.
The aging ruler lost the discernment or the will to make the governing decisions that would have kept the machinery working better.⁸⁸

In fact, the existence of a large number of low-ranking literati partially reflects the social problems in the late eighteenth century. Yet in their poems about imperial attention, Haining local literati chose to celebrate a world of “great peace” in a prosperous age rather than pointing out social problems they experienced and suffered. One of the reasons accounting for this was that local literati depended upon the imperial attention to affirm their cultural identity, which was instrumental to reinforce their cultural prestige and social status in local society. The emperor gave the imperial attention to local literati and local literati depended upon such attention to enhance their social status and cultural prestige. Such intertwined relationship between the emperor and local literati manifested the complex relationship between the state and local society. The same might be said of the creation the “Famous Sites’ section. The Sequel of the Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan in the section was one of cultural products that local literati embarked upon to affirm their cultural identity. Through creating the link between the “great peace” and local scenery, local literati constructed local cultural prestige through imperial attention given to local landscape.

**Famous Sites Section: Creating Great Peace in a Prosperous Age**

The Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 Xiachuan Gazetteer is featured with three parts: illustrations, prefatory texts, and the seventeenth-century poems of Xu Ying of and the late eighteenth-century and the early nineteenth-century poems of Cao Zongzai and his friends. A close look at the section

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reveals what may be a move from Xu Ying’s loyalist sentiment to an increasing degree of complexity in celebration of a “prosperous age” in the illustrations, poems, and particularly prefatory texts. In the following section, I compare and contrast the representations of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the “Famous Sites” section with those of the poems of Xu Ying to show the shifts in the purposes, audience, and manufacture of the “Famous Sites” section in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Responding to the poems of Xu Ying and incorporating the poems in the “Famous Sites” section, Cao Zongzai reconfigured Xu Ying’s *Twelve Scenic Views* of Xiachuan as a public celebration of great peace in a prosperous age reflected in local landscape from a vehicle of personal expression for grief and lament.

1) **Chrysanthemum Estate: from Personal Sentiments to a Public Celebration**

The changes in representations of the Chrysanthemum Estate in the seventeenth century and the late eighteenth century reflect the shift away from Xu Ying’s attention to personal disappointment to a public celebration of local landscape. Xu Ying expressed personal disappointment in describing of the lack of spiritual support from local people that reflects her nostalgia for the former Ming, disappointment and distress that people no longer remembered the conquest and there was no longer any loyalism. Cao Zongzai and other literati in the eighteenth century diverted the attention away from Xu Ying’s nostalgia, lament, and disappointment to celebrate the physical beauty of the Chrysanthemum Estate, both as a reflection of support for the Qing regime and as a reflection of local cultural pride in the landscape.

The Chrysanthemum Estate was located in the foothills of the East Mountain at Xiachuan. The Estate was in fact a rustic thatched hut where the local literatus Hu
Yanghao and his family stayed in the wake of the Ming-Qing transition. According to local histories, in the late seventeenth century the Estate was noted for annual gatherings for Chrysanthemum appreciation on the Double Ninth Festival. Xu Ying and other Ming loyalists were frequent guests at the gathering. The Hu family moved out of the Estate in the late seventeenth century when the Qing stabilized their rule over local society. A local literatus of the early eighteenth century Wu Siguang visited the Estate only to find that “nut-trees and rush grass obscure the front path.”

In her poem about the Chrysanthemum Estate, Xu Ying had emphasized her praise of local Ming loyalists. She used the fifth century hermit Tao Yuanming and chrysanthemums, two images alluding to the ideal of reclusion in the literary history of imperial China, to construct physical setting of local famous sites as well as the political integrity they embodied. In addition to praising of local Ming loyalists, the poem about the Chrysanthemum Estate also embraced Xu Ying’s disappointment with distress that people no long remembered the conflict. In the poem on the Chrysanthemum Estate, one of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan, Xu Ying wrote:

松影岚光盖四邻  Pine shadows and the mists cover the four directions,
黄花晚节一番新  The yellow flowers in late season are fresh;
错教认作柴桑里  I mistake it for Cai sang li,

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89 HCSJZ, juan 3, 32a.
All that is lacking is a person in white delivering wine.

“Cai sang li” is an allusion to the place where Tao Yuanming (365-427), known as a “Chrysanthemum hermit,” sequestered himself after he withdrew from officialdom. “A person in white delivering the wine” refers to the spiritual support from his friends for his withdrawal from officialdom; they sent a man in white to him with wine on the Double Ninth Festival. In alluding to Tao Yuanming, Xu Ying explicitly praised those Ming loyalists who gathered at the Estate annually. But “mistake” (cuo jiao) and “all that is lacking” (zhi shao) in the last two line shifting away from her praise of local Ming loyalists to her disappointment with those local Ming loyalists - that local recluses did not receive spiritual support (“without a man in white to send the wine”) in spite of the similar physical setting of the Estate to that of Cai sang li.91

Xu Ying expressed in the poem the disappointment she felt with her fellow recluses. These loyalists held their loyalty in the wake of the dynastic transition. They stayed in the mountains of Xiachuan from the upheaval of the world. They organized various poetry societies, gathering for foods, wines, and poetry. To sequester oneself in the mountains, however, is to turn one’s back on becoming a scholar-official finding new ways of making a living. Those recluses who stayed in the mountains of Xiachuan used their skills in medicine, divination, and geomancy. As examples, Hu You and Lu Qi collected herbs in the mountains and sold them in local market while they practiced

90 XCXZ, juan 4, 14a.

91 XCXZ, juan 4, 14a-b.
Some such as Tian Che and Chen Que turned to agriculture and justified it as “return to fundamentals” (gui ben 归本). 93

The situation, however, changed when the Qing ruler stabilized social order in 1650s. While some Ming loyalists considered Xiachuan a place for retirement, some only regarded it as a transitional refuge before they headed for their next destination. Some of the local Ming loyalists Xu Ying praised in the Lyrics gradually left the mountains to make a living outside. For examples, Zha Jizuo left the Stone Grotto and went to Hangzhou to make a living by teaching. Fan Xiang helped to compile a local history of Haining at the request of a local magistrate. Some of the recluses Xu Ying praised in the Lyrics started to find positions in the new Qing government. Still others frequented Beijing intending to find a position there. 94 Actions such as these stirred controversy in the loyalist community. In his writing, Chen Que sought to persuade local Ming loyalists not to associate with those who served in the Qing court. He satirized the “fake literati and disingenuous Confucian scholars” lacking in the moral resolution needed to be “remnant subjects” (yi min 遺民). 95

In fact, Xu Ying expressed a similar anxiety in her poem responding to Lu Jiashu (1620-1689). 96 Lu was a key local poet who actively participated a variety of poetry societies, locally and regionally, before and after the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. His

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92 XCXZ, juan 7, 23a;
93 XCSC, juan 6, 17a;
94 Chen Que, Chen Que ji, 63-64.
95 Chen Que, Chen Que ji, 63-64.
96 HNYYRW, 52.
father Lu Jue (? -1644; 1618 juren), according to local accounts, fasted to death immediately after the Qing conquest of Jiangnan. Lu himself moved into a temple in Xiachuan. After several years of reclusion in the mountains of Xiachuan, Lu decided to travel to Beijing for a position in 1658. Xu Ying’s responding poem was perhaps written around the time Lu was planning to go to Beijing, in which Xu highly praised Lu’s loyalty to the Ming and expressed her scorn for Wang Shizhen, a noted literary figure who was recruited to the new regime in 1661. The poem on the one hand scorned Wang Shizhen’s serving in the court and encouraged Lu Jiashu to hold his political integrity; on the other hand it reflected Xu Ying’s anxiety with the trend that local Ming loyalists were beginning to seek out positions in the new social order.

Xu Ying’s poem on the Chrysanthemum Estate reflects her complex emotion about the changing society. Using the image of chrysanthemums, she showed her respects to local Ming loyalists such as the owner of the Chrysanthemum Estate, who kept their political loyalty in their later life as the chrysanthemum kept their fresh color in late season. On the other hand she lamented the fallen Ming and those who had sacrificed their lives to it. The poem thus reflects her disappointment with those who made a living in the new social order and dismissed their spiritual supports to local Ming loyalists. The point is that she remained a devout Ming loyalist and that it was a problem for any future Qing era literati who wished to include her work in compilation of local poets.

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97 XCSC, juan 2, 6a.

98 HCBZ, juan 47, 4a.

99 XCSC, juan 20, 2a.
2) From the Celebration of Ming Loyalists to Eremitism

Cao Zongzai and local literati, including the poems about the *Chrysanthemum* in the “Famous Sites” section, diverted the readers’ attention from Xu Ying’s lament and disappointment. Rather than viewing the reclusion of Ming loyalists in the vein of Xu Ying’s poetry as a political act, they portrayed their reclusion as an act of eremitism. The values of eremitism in China could be either political or personal, involving either the renunciation of public office or the affirmative choice for self-cultivation. The poems of the late eighteenth century emphasize self-cultivation of local recluses and their harmonious relationship with the nature. In doing so, they effaced political sentiment of Xu Yin’s *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. Local literati celebrated eremitism, which promoted local cultural prestige and showed off the imperial attention given to a particular location. Xu Ying employed the view of the *Chrysanthemum Estate* to express her lament. Against her expectations, local Ming loyalists did not obtain spiritual support in spite of the physical setting of the Estate resembling that of *Cai song li*. In the “Famous Sites” section, the poems on the Estate in the eighteenth century shift away from being a lament for the fallen Ming to a celebration of a local hermit-literatus. As an example, Wu Qian (1733-1813) responded to Xu Ying’s poem on the Estate as follows:

黄花若散金  The yellow flowers look like scattered gold

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100 *HCBZ, juan* 39, 13a-17b. Wu Qian was an avid book collector, poet, and scholar in Haining. Like many of his contemporaries, Wu Qian was devoted to collecting, collating, and producing local histories in the late eighteenth century.
They decorate sparse fences.
When [you] look at them, they are like sunset
When [you] grasp them, they are nothing but a bunch of [flowers]
Why cannot I be Ma Ziran,
Drunkenly lying by the Quanming Hall?\(^{101}\)

With the employment of “yellow flower” (huang hua), “sparse fence” (shu li), and “drunkenly lying” (zui wo) alluding to the poems of Tao Yuanming and Xu Ying, Wu Qian implicitly affirmed the tone of an ideal of reclusion Xu Ying set up for the Chrysanthemum Estate. He, however, added a new dimension to the poems by using an allusion to Ma Ziran. Ma was a local Taoist of the ninth century. According to local histories, Ma had ascended to the world of immortals at East Mountain in Xiachuan. The place where he ascended later became the estate property of the local literatus Wang Dehao,\(^{102}\) who was the brother-in-law of Cao Zongzai and initiator of The Xiachuan Local Gazetteer.\(^{103}\) Ma Ziran had nothing to do with the Chrysanthemum Estate except that he shared a similar identity with the owner of the Estate Hu Yanghao, a hermit-literatus. Like the hermit-literati illustrated in the illustration below, Ma Ziran was noted as an “immortal of wine,” which was a common image of the Chinese hermit-literati.

While Xu Ying used the Estate to express her lament on the receding memory of the

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\(^{101}\) *XCXZ, juan 4*, Famous Sites, 13b.

\(^{102}\) *XCXZ, juan 3, juan 2*, 6a.

\(^{103}\) *HCBZ, juan 42*, 11a; *XCXZ*, Preface. Wang Dehao started the compilation of the Gazetteer in the eighteenth century. He, however, did not complete the project and left all the manuscripts to his son Wang Jianke. Later Cao Zongzai, the uncle of Wang Jianke, helped to complete the project in 1803 and had it published in 1812.
former Ming and the Ming-Qing dynastic transition, Wu Qian consciously selected the allusion of Ma Zirang as an “immortal of wine” to divert her sentiment on Ming loyalists to a celebration of a local hermit-literatus of the ninth century.

Wu Qian’s literati friends also re-interpreted the lament in Xu Ying’s poems, with her praise for local hermit-literati, to show their pride in local virtuous men reflected in the scenic beauty of Chrysanthemums in the Estate. Though they praised Hu Yanghao for creating an estate for the annual chrysanthemum gathering among local Ming loyalists, the poets of the eighteenth century considered him a hermit-literatus rather than a Ming loyalist. In other words, they celebrated the local culture of eremitism more simply, in a less politicized way, than those who sequestered themselves in the Ming-Qing transition. In doing so, they reframed Xu Ying’s lament on the fall of the former Ming dynasty and critique of receding memory of the fallen Ming into a celebration of local hermit-literati.

In a similar act of reframing of the earlier poems, the woodblock illustration of the Estate constructs a compositional compartment providing a physical setting for local hermit-literati. Instead of emphasizing Ming loyalists, the illustration reframed them as one part of local hermit-literati. The illustration carefully arranges the mountains, rivers, rocks, and trees to construct background scenery. A thatched hut forms the centerpiece of the illustration. The illustration is featured with a recluse, with a gourd of wine, drinking. Several servants are working in the front or back of the hut. Behind this are groves of pine trees and bamboo stretching off into the distant mountains without interruption. In the foreground are fences that enclose a small garden plot of chrysanthemums, and a stream with a bridge over the rushing water completes the picture (Figure 5.1).
Figure 5.1: Autumn Color at Chrysanthemum Estate, “Famous Sites” section, 1812

Xiachuan Gazetteer\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{104} XCXZ, Juan 4, Famous Sites.
The composition follows the convention of hermit-landscape painting popular among Chinese literati in late imperial China, which arranges hermit-literati in natural scenery to show their association with nature. The bamboos and chrysanthemum in the illustration represent both the scenic beauty of the Estate as well as integrity and uprightness of hermit-literati. The fences form an enclosed compartment in the illustration, which implies literati’s seclusion from the chaotic world. Pine trees in the background also echo the first line of Xu Ying’s poem that “pine shadows and mists fill the four directions.” The image of chrysanthemums in the yard reflects Xu Ying’s second line that “Yellow flowers in late season are as fresh as before.” However, the composition diverts the readers’ attention from Xu Ying’s praises to local Ming loyalists, who chose to sequester themselves to the mountains of Xiachuan to show their loyalty to the fallen Ming. Composing a bridge leading to the outside world, the illustration dismisses Xu Ying’s critique of the receding memory and lament on the fallen Ming, which is a key point of the poem in the last two poetic lines. The small-sized figure at the gate also suggested the withdrawal from and the advancement to the society, that is, the way to go outside. While chrysanthemums could be understood as representation of


106 The hermit-literati are dominant representation and representation in the history of Chinese literature and arts. They were a group of people who knew whether to withdraw from the officialdom to hold their political integrity and who to advance to fulfill their social responsibilities. Hermit-literati are honored for their uprightness and men of great writing ability. The life-style of hermits is widely admired. Their uprightness is usually presented in the guise of their association with natural scenery.

107 “yellow flowers” can specifically refer to chrysanthemums
political loyalty of Ming loyalists, the bridge implies the flexibility of local hermit-literate to withdraw from and to return to the actual world, as opposed to political loyalty Xu Ying insisted local Ming loyalists to hold after the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. Constructing the flexibility of withdrawing from and returning to the actual world in the illustration, illustration shifts the attention to local Ming loyalism to a public celebration of local eremitism.

The prefatory texts followed the narrative of the illustration by focusing on the description of the physical beauty of the Estate. The text reads:

The Chrysanthemum Estate borders on the eastern foothills of the East Mountain. Its peak is extraordinarily lush. Bamboo fences and the thatched hut are clearly separated from the “dusty world.” Red maple leaves and yellow chrysanthemums are dappled with autumn light, this is can truly be called mysterious scenery.

The text gives the specific location of the Chrysanthemum Estate, which serves as both a historical document and a reference for intended audience. While Xu Ying lamented the growing lack of spiritual support for Ming loyalists, the text in the late eighteenth century dismissed such lament. The prefatory text focuses on the location and physical existence of the Estate rather than critiques of receding memory of the Ming-Qing transition. Like the poems and illustration of the late eighteenth century in the “Famous Sites” section, the prefatory text has shifted the readers’ attention from Ming loyalism formerly

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108 XCXZ, _juan_ 4, Famous Sites, 9a.
represented in the Estate to its scenic beauty. The chrysanthemums, bamboos, and maples
trees “dapple” the Estate rather than evoking the sentiment about “only lacking a person
in white sending over the wine.” In doing so, the text, the poems, and the illustration in
the “Famous Sites” section divert the attention away from Xu Ying’s memory of the
Ming-Qing dynastic transition to a public celebration for local landscape. This is what
editors of the “Famous Sites” section intended to pursue. In a way, the attempt at pure
aestheticism as an ideological move that masks the political meaning. Thus, the aesthetic
praise is itself a political move that tries to hide that fact.

3) Incense Market: from Critiques on Commercialization to a Celebration of Great
Peace

In their poems about the Incense Market from Twelve Scenic views of Xiachuan in the
“Famous Sites” section, the poets of the eighteenth century distorted Xu Ying’s critiques
of local commercialization in the wake of the dynastic transition to a public celebration of
local custom as a reflection of the Great Peace in the late eighteenth century.

The Incense Market was located at the Marvelous Wisdom Temple at the foot of
the East Mountain. The temple was noted for the Incense Market during the Wanli period
(1573-1620). The Temple was named Great Compassionate Pavilion after a Guanyin
shrine was set up in 1602. According to Pan Tingzhang of the early Qing, the site was
filled with “the ladies and the gentlemen coming to pray to the silkworm goddess”; “they
are jammed on mountain paths at the turn of springtime and summertime.” The temple

\[109\] HCBZ, juan 31, 7a-b; XCXZ, Juan 7, 20a-b.

\[110\] XCXZ, juan 3, 7b-8a.
was destroyed during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition and was not reconstructed until 1662.

Xu Ying, in the original poem of the late seventeenth century, offered her judgment on the scene, scorning the commercialism represented in the Incense Market in the local society after the dynastic transition. She wrote:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>竞礼慈云结善缘</th>
<th>People compete to worship at Compassionate Clouds in order to secure karma,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>画桃泊遍沈山前</td>
<td>Painted boats are moored all over in the front of Shen Mountain;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>佛香宝烛迎船卖</td>
<td>[Peddlers] summon boats, hoping to sell Buddha Incense and Precious Candles,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>为祝蚕花不论钱</td>
<td>People who cone to pray to the silkworm goddess don’t care about money.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Xu Ying likely wrote the original poem at the moment when the temple was rebuilt in 1662, when the Incense Market was restored. The poem explicitly describes the “hustle and bustle” at the Incense Market. Boats, peddlers, and praying people from near and far form a lively view of Xiachuan. The terms “compete,” “painted boats,” “inviting,” and “not care about money” in the poem, however, expressed Xu Ying’s ironic attitude towards the “hustle and bustle” scene at the Incense Market in the front of a temple. The temple, which was supposed to be a sacred and quiet place, was filled with people who competed against each other to worship Guanyin, the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. The Guanyin shrine was frequented by those who came over on “painted boats,” a specific
term for pleasure quarters in late Ming. Ritual objects such as Buddhist incense and precious candles, which were supposed to be treated ritually and respectfully, were nothing but commodities peddlers promoted to those who came to temples. People who came to pray at the temple “competed” against each other to “buy” blessings from Silkworm Flower Goddess rather than to “beg” blessings thereby profaning a sacred space. Rather than celebrating it as a local custom, Xu Ying satirized the scene. Such satirizing was a general motif in the writings of the late Ming, when commercialization penetrated every aspect of social life. Literati in the late Ming, confused about their positions in a commercialized society, and terrified by the increasingly ambiguous boundaries between literati and merchants, employed their power of writing to express their anxiety. They, in their poems, prose, and dramas, satirized such social transformation and commercialization.¹¹¹

After the dynastic transition, the satirical voice did not disappear from literati writing. Instead, it was employed by some literati who blamed society’s moral decadence for the fall of the Ming. In his recent article on Zha Dai (1597-1679), a literatus who lived through the dynastic transition, Jonathan Spence observes that Zhang Dai preferred to use a satirical attitude to write his family history and to employ the metaphor of “disease” to indicate the decline of the Ming dynasty. Behind such expressions was nostalgia for the fallen Ming.¹¹² That insight could be applied to understand Xu Ying.

¹¹¹ Brook, Confusion of Pleasure, Commerce and Culture in Ming China, 238-262.

Behind her satirical attitude to “hustle and bustle” scene at the Incense Market was her nostalgia to the former Ming as well. Xu Ying indeed was not the only poet in the late seventeenth century employing the voice of sarcasm and critique to express her disappointment with the receding memory of the Ming-Qing transition. Her voice was echoed in the writings of her contemporaries at Xiachuan. Cao Yuanfang (1643 jinshi), a literatus who sequestered himself in Xiachuan after several anti-Qing movements were aborted, wrote a poem satirizing and criticizing those who were “ja med on the road” to the Incense Market competing against each other for fame and profits:

士女追随杂素缁

Gentlemen and ladies, one following another, intermingled with those in black,114

虔心搏颡叩香祠

Piously they fought to bow to fragrant shrines;

泥镂人物群思载

They competed to bow to clay figures,

蔗吮儿童喜欲痴

Eating sugar cane, children are going crazy of the happiness;

妆出穷村多幻怪

Those [girls] from the poor countryside put on make-up, [but the effect] is weird and strange,

年逢饥腹更珍奇

For those with hungry bellies, food is precious;

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113 *HCBZ*, Juan 30, 17a. Cao, 1642 jinshi; appointed as magistrate of Changshu county. His father participated in anti-Qing movement and committed suicide after the defeat. Cao Yuanfang secluded himself in the Xiachuan mountains after that.

114 “Those who were in black” refer to monks.
They visited empty gates,\textsuperscript{115} celebrating an extraordinary affair in a year,

Toil is endless from this day on.\textsuperscript{116}

Like Xu Ying, Cao Yuanfang satirized several inappropriate scenes at the Incense Market: gentlemen and ladies “intermingled with monks;” they “fought” (bo) against each other to “bow to fragrant shrines” (kou xian ci); girls from poor villages put on make-up, the actual effect was “weird and strange” (huang qi); and those who frequented the Incense Market only for food. Using the image of children tasting sugar canes, women with make-up, and men coming for foods, Cao Zongzai created a similar scene of “hustle and bustle”. However, their presence at the Incense Market in one way or another was not appropriate. First, the presence of women in the public space like the Incense Market was against the gender rule of Confucian ideology.\textsuperscript{117} Second, “Ladies and Gentlemen” who competed to bow to idols “carved out of clay” were profaned the act of “begging for blessing” (qi fu). As for those who put on make-up and those who came to the Incense Market to satiate their “hungry bellies” (ji fu), according to Cao Zongzai, they came to the Incense Market for nothing but entertainment and foods. With these images, Cao explicitly satirized and criticized the “extraordinary affairs” with the term “empty gate”

\textsuperscript{115} This refers to local temples and shrines.

\textsuperscript{116} \textit{XCXZ, juan} 3, temples and shrines, 7b-8a.

\textsuperscript{117} According to Confucianism, women were not supposed to be out of their inner chamber. Their presences in public space like temple fairs were usually considered as imposing danger to the society. Birge, “Chu Hsi and Women's Education,” 325-67.
in his concluding couplet. “Empty gate” (kong men) is a term referring to both the Buddhist world and a meaningless world. For the part of Cao, all what happened in the front of the temple was meaningless since from that day on people had to go back to their endless toil. Like Xu Ying, Cao was not happy with the “extraordinary affairs” at the Incense Market, which was a sign of the consolidation of the Qing regime yet fading memory of the former Ming. Indicating extraordinary affairs as meaningless, Cao implicitly criticized ignorant people who trusted idols, “gentlemen and ladies” who forgot the proper gender boundaries, and those who frequented the temple fair for self-gratification.

Cao Yuanfang and Xu Ying’s satire and critique had its own social and historical background. As noted earlier, both families had been actively involved in the anti-Qing movement. Cao’s father and Xu’s husband and son died in battle. Their reaction to the fallen Ming dynasty might be even fiercer, sadder, and angrier than those who did not experience such personal and familial issues. When the memory of the former Ming was receding in 1660s, Cao and Xu perhaps felt more confused and worried, as reflected in their poems, than some of their peers. Their poems reflect their disappointment with and anxiety over the recovery of the local Incense Market, a sign indicating local society’s identification with the Qing regime. This would lead to the dismissal of those who martyred themselves to the former Ming as nothing and those who secluded themselves to the mountains as posturing, as some of their contemporaries commented on Ming loyalists. Their poems at the face value had satirized commercialization penetrating to every walk of local social life; at the core, they represent Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang’s anxiety about receding memory of the former Ming and local identification of the Qing
regime. Extending the satirizing of decadency of social moral decadency of late Ming, they criticized those who had forgotten the dynastic transition and identified with the new order without problems as long as they could “taste sugar cane.”

4) Celebrating “Great Peace” in a Prosperous Age

The representations of the Incense Market at East Mountain in the “Famous Sites” section are not consistent with Xu Ying’s poems of the seventeenth century. In fact, they are consistent with the late eighteenth-century views. They consist of three parts: one wood-block illustration, one paragraph of descriptive text, and eighteen poems (one by Xu Ying and the rest by seventeen local poets of eighteenth century). Both the poem of Xu Ying in the seventeenth century and those of local literati in the eighteenth century took on the theme of “praying to the silkworm flower goddess” to represent the Incense Market. The poems of the late eighteenth century show that local “gentlemen and women” still “jammed the roads to the temple” and “competed to bow to the shrines,” as Xu Ying described in her poem of the seventeenth century. Cao Zongzai and his literati friends even employed the same terms such as “respect Buddha,” “praying to the Goddess Flowers,” “walking through nature,” and “compete to bow” that Xu Ying used in her poem to indicate the continuity of local custom of praying “Silkworm Goddess” at the Incense Market.

Like the poems in the “Famous Sites” section, the illustration echoes the representations of the Incense Market of the seventeenth century by inscribing the images of “gentlemen and ladies,” “boats,” “mountains,” and “rivers” in the picture. These were

118 *XCXZ, juan* 4, 2b-3a.

119 *XCXZ, juan* 4, 2b-3a.
images that Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang employed to describe the Incense Market in their poems. The illustration also echoes the accounts of local figures and their activities in the poems of Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang and the physical setting of the Incense Market. Although the figures are small in size in the illustration, the viewers can still recognize peddlers, tourists, and children, which Xu Ying and local literati both presented in their poems and in the illustration.

The illustration, however, is augmented with additional buildings and background scenery. The additional buildings include a tower on the top of mountain and several temples around the Temple. The composition suggests a more specific location of the Incense Market than the poems. It serves to convince the viewers of the true existence of the Incense Market. In addition to buildings, the background scenery includes a dog, a bridge, a dock, and natural scenery, which were not mentioned in the poems yet were represented in a lively fashion in the illustration. The purpose of the illustrations is to portray the peace, stability, and prosperity of eighteenth-century Haining. Illustrations give more details than the texts. Yet they overlapped with the poems in terms of celebrating a prosperous age. Rather than emphasizing local people’s activity, the illustration follows the convention of traditional Chinese landscape painting to physical setting of the Incense Market, as opposed to activities detailed in the poems on the Incense Market. The use of the style of landscape painting accords with local literati’s agenda of the “Famous Sites” section in the late eighteenth century, that is, to promote Haining’s cultural prestige reflected in local scenery (Figure 5.2).
Figure 5.2: Incense Market at East Mountain, Famous Sites section, 1812 local gazetteer
december¹²⁰

¹²⁰ XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites.
An examination of the paragraph of prefatory text about the Incense Market also serves to exemplify the shift in purposes and audiences of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the late seventeenth century and that in the late eighteenth century. The prefatory text for the Incense Market in the “Famous Sites” section goes as follows:

Marvelous Wisdom Pavilion (*miào zhī 妙智*) leans against the mountainside and is adjacent to the water. Each springtime, ladies and gentlemen from near and far, one after another, came to pray for silkworms. They take the opportunity to “walk through nature.” Though those who were insightful perceived [men and women] might have affairs, the scenery of abundant happiness and the image of great peace are like a painting.

妙智阁倚山傍水，每岁春时，远近士女相率祈蚕，藉以踏青，虽有识者不无兰药之嫌，然丰乐之景太平之象，于此如绘已。^{121}\[108x681\]

The first part of the prefatory text accords with what Xu Ying depicts in her poems: “local gentlemen and women praying for silkworms” at the Incense Market. Then the prefatory text goes on to describe what “ladies and gentlemen” did at the Incense Market, which implies local literati’s concern of gender boundary in a public space like the Incense Market. While Xu Ying’s contemporary Cao Yuanfang perceived women’s presence at the Incense Market as a transgression of gender boundary, the prefatory text of the eighteenth century distorts Cao’s criticism by re-defining it as sign of a “abundant happiness and the situation of a great peace.” In doing so, the prefatory text shift from Xu

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121 *XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites, 3a.*
and Cao’s critiques of the commercialization of local society to a public celebration of “great peace” in a prosperous age of the eighteenth century under the Qianlong’s reign.

The prefatory text determines what is in the illustration about the Incense Market. One specific example is the number of figures in the illustration is limited, as opposed to poems’ description of “people jammed on the road” to the Incense Market. Limiting the number of figures in the illustration creates a peaceful utopia of local society, as opposed to “hustle and bustle” scene both Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang presented in their poems. Several tourists are illustrated as taking their time and enjoying a leisurely field trip in the illustration, as opposed to people who “compete to bow,” a scene that Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang presented in their poems of the seventeenth century. The representation of one boat mooring in the front of the temple in the illustration also contradicts with the scene that “painted boats are moored all over in the front of the Shen Mountain” that Xu Ying described in the poem. One or two boats and several tourists in the illustration, however, form a peaceful image of local social order in the eighteenth century.

The prefatory text affects the way in which the illustrations are read. While Xu Ying used the image of tourists to critique local “ignorant people” in terms of their lost memory of the former Ming, the prefatory text distort that kind of narrative and suggested the tourists at local Incense Market in the eighteenth century represents local prosperity in terms of “the situation of great peace.” While Xu Ying mocked those who came over to the Incense Market by the “painted boat,” the boat mooring in the front of the temple in the illustration represents local peaceful life, all of which are just “like a painting,” as the prefatory text describes.
What is at stake here is that “great peace” is a key word that local literati intended to present local social life reflected in the Incense Market. Poems, illustration, and the prefatory texts develop a coherent representation of “great peace” in the “Famous Sites” section. For example, the composition of the illustration forms a utopian image of local life, in contrast to a chaotic scene influenced by the commercialization that Xu Ying criticized and satirized in her poem of the seventeenth century. Though Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang criticized the commercialization should be blamed for the receding memory of the Ming-Qing conflict, the prefatory text of the eighteenth century claim that local life as a sign of “great peace” in a prosperous age. The prefatory text does not even mention commercialization. Rather it talks about the gentlemen and ladies praying to the Silk Worm Goddess and taking walks in nature. Nothing could be more idyllic and less commercialized than this in the illustration. In fact, what are represented in the prefatory texts and the illustrations seem to be local society, as Xu Ying would have liked it. In doing so, the illustration and the prefatory shift away from Xu Ying’s critique of commercialization to a public celebration of “great peace” of the eighteenth century reflected in the representations of the Incense Market in the “Famous Sites” section.

5) From an Imaginary World to a Represented Aesthetic World

Local literati in fact in the eighteenth century considered the presence of the Qianlong emperor as the manifestation of local prosperity and great peace. In their poems, these literati celebrated the arrival of the emperor and great peace local people enjoyed under his rule. They responded to the emperor’s visit and his celebration of Haining as a way of talking about a new politics. Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan thus represents local prosperity under Qianlong’s rule and local fame on the imperial cultural landscape. The
poems, illustrations, and prefatory texts privately collected express local spontaneous celebration of the imperial presence and the great peace local literati imagined under his rule.

What the “Famous Sites” section represents in the eighteenth century is completely different from what Xu Ying wrote in the seventeenth century. The aesthetics of local scenic views turn to a representation of physical beauty with political meaning. To celebrate local scenery is to celebrate the imperial presence in Haining in the eighteenth century. In fact, it is the represented beauty of local scenic views that constitute the purposes and the agenda of the “Famous Sites” section. The poems, prefatory texts, and illustration work together to achieve such an agenda: the represented beauty of local scenic views.

The scenic views in the seventeenth century functions quite differently. Unable to prevent the dissipation of her community of Ming loyalists, Xu Ying sought to transcend a new world with which she could not identify. She constructed an imaginary world as an alternative to relieve her worries and anxieties about social transition. One important example was her poem on the view of Misty Rains at Penghu Pavilion. In the poem, Xu Ying wrote:

迷失烟雾混天衢
漫说米家泼墨图
恍惚身凌尘海外
苍茫云水绕蓬壶

Misty hazes and rains mix heavenly streets
One cannot help saying this is Mi Fou’s “splashing ink” painting
In a daze my body had ascended out of “dusty sea”
Clouds and water, appearing and disappearing, encircle the Penghu Pavilion
The Penghu is also known as Penglai islands, a fabled abode of immortals. The Penglai Pavilion was built up in the early Qing by a Taoist follower and was noted for a gathering place for local Ming loyalists in the first decade of Qing dynasty. Though it was called as “pavilion,” it was nothing but a thatched hut. Local Ming loyalists in Xiachuan such as Cao Yuanfang, Lu Jiashu, Zhou Yun, Zha Jizuo and Monk Xingwen were frequent guests to the “Pavilion.” In late 1650s and early 1660s, poetry gatherings at the pavilion gradually declined as Zha Jizuo, Fan Xiang, and Lu Jiashu left the mountains of Xiachuan to make a living elsewhere. According to local histories, the Pavilion was deserted in the early 1660s, the moment when Xu Ying composed the poems about *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. Whereas it might have been deserted in the real world, the Penglai Pavilion was not in the poem of Xu Ying. In the above poem, Xu Ying constructed two Penglai Pavilion metaphorically and literally – one in the “splashing ink” painting and one in the “dusty sea” in which her body was rooted. Constructing the Penglai Pavilion in another world, the poem reflects Xu Ying’s desire to transcend her “body” rooted in “dusty sea” to the world in “splashing ink” painting.

Xu Ying’s poem about the Fang Shrine, another of the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, is another example reflecting her desire to transcend the “dusty sea” in which she lived to an imaginary world. The Fang Shrine was a thatched hut built by a monk named Practice Literature (*Xingwen* 行文). He was native of a neighboring county Yuanjian in modern Jiangsu province, and was skilled in poetry, painting, and calligraphy.

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122 *XCXZ, juan* 2, Pavilion, 14a.

123 *XCXZ, juan* 2, Pavilions, 14a.
After the dynastic transition, he was forced to leave his hometown and later wandered to Xiachuan. His thatched hut was located at the foothill of the West Mountain at Xiachuan. In spite of its shabby look and inconvenient location in a rugged valley, it became a place that accommodated literati who fled to the mountains. In the years from 1646 to 1653, some of her contemporaries such as Cao Yuanfang, Zha Jizu, Zhou Yun, and Lu Jiashu, those whom she praised as Ming loyalists in the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, gathered for poetry, wine, and food and created a “busy” scene at the Fang Shrine.\textsuperscript{124} Cao Yuanfang also prefaced the poetry collection for Xingwen.\textsuperscript{125} In the late 1650s, the owner of the Shrine, monk Practice Literature, left Xiachuan and the thatched hut once the poetry gatherings stopped.

Xu Ying, however, concealing the “fact” that the Fang Shrine had been deserted, wrote in the poem as if the Fang Shrine still existed in the actual world:

磐声隐约动茅庵  The faint sound of chimes seems to have shaken the thatched hut
一 抹疏烟淡夕岚  A stream of sparse mist dissolves in the evening sun
似听松风花雨句  It is as if I hear words in the pine winds and flower rains,\textsuperscript{126}
个中禅许阿谁参  What would meditate the meaning of Zen in it?\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{124} *XCXZ*, *juan* 11, 11a-b. *juan* 12, 1a-b.

\textsuperscript{125} *XCXZ*, *juan* 12, 1a-b.

\textsuperscript{126} “Pine trees winds and flower rains” is a pun in the poem. It is the description of the scenic beauty of the Shrine and one verse line from Molang’s lyrics. See *XCXZ*, *Juan* 17, 20a.

\textsuperscript{127} *XCXZ*, *juan* 4, 22a.
Xu Ying started with two lines describing the physical setting of the Fang Shrine, which was tranquil and peaceful. In the next line Xu Ying employed “pine winds” and “flower rains” to indicate to whom the poem was dedicated to. “Pine winds” and “flower rains” refer to physical beauty of the Shrine at the moment of sunset. They were also two poetic lines from monk Practice Literature’s poem. Concluding the poem with a question of “who would meditate the meanings of Zen in it?” Xu Ying explained to the intended audience that the sound of chime from local temples evoked her memory of those who meditated in the Shrine before. Like the poems on the Penglai Pavilion, Xu Ying constructed an imaginary world of the Fang Shrine in the above poem. She is concealing the fact that that the shrine is empty.

Constructing an imaginary world that did exist, Xu Ying consciously sought an alternative to relieve her anxiety about receding memory of the former Ming and her dilemma of being a Ming loyalist in the Qing dynasty. In fact, other views that had disappeared included the Visiting Plum Blossom at the Guangfu Temple, the Lesser Hermit at Ten-thousand Stone Lair, and the Evening Bell at the Fang Shrine. The plum trees in the scenic view of Visiting Plum Blossom at Guangfu Temple, according to local histories, were cut down by local farmers right after the dynastic transition when its owner Zhou Ting committed suicide to show his loyalty to the former Ming. The Stone Grotto celebrated in the Little Hermit at Ten-Thousand Stone Grotto was where Zha Jizuo, a noted literary figure who was later implicated in the Ming History Case in 1663,

\textsuperscript{128} HCBZ, juan 30, 17b-18b; XCXZ, juan 3,
stayed from 1645 through 1647. It was deserted and torn down after Zha sought a teaching position in the provincial capital in Hangzhou in 1647.129

Like some of her contemporaries, Xu Ying felt discomfort for being a Ming loyalist in a new regime. Being a widowed woman, Xu Ying had to make a living all by herself, while most widows would have been in the families. Pressure came from condescension of her contemporaries who had adjusted to the new order and might see her Ming loyalist sentiment as odd. In her poems, Xu Ying expressed her grief of being alone and suffering from “mean people” (chang fu 俭父). More than lamenting for her personal loneliness, Xu Ying expressed the dilemma and desperation of being a Ming loyalist in a changing world. While some Ming loyalists adjusted themselves to the new order, Xu Ying felt it hard to hold on her political loyalty to the former Ming.

Deploying vanished sites in her poems, Xu Ying created an imaginary world that might relieve her dilemma and anxiety in the actual world. The poem on the scenic view of Tower Shadow at Cuckoo Lake implicitly reflects her dilemma and the ways in which she sought to solve that dilemma:

明湖潋滟镜初开 The bright lake sparkles, like a mirror case opens
熬乳撑波影不摧 The turtle pedestal supports the waves, yet the reflection is not destroyed130
怪底浮图山顶立 It is strange that the pagoda stands on the top of the mountain
凭谁移向水中来 Who, after all, moved it into the water? 131

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129 XCXZ, juan 3,

130 A bolster on the bottom of the sea, which is supposed to stabilize the heaven and the earth.
The poem describes the Zhibao Pagoda at Xiachuan. Though it stands on the top of the East Mountain, the tower, according to local accounts, can cast a shadow on the surface of the Cuckoo Lake at the foothill of the East Mountain. Xu Ying described what the scene looked like in the first couplet. She especially emphasized a world in the water, in which a turtle pedestal stands. In the concluding line, Xu Ying started with a rhetorical question of “who after all moved it into the river?” to imply the link between the actual world and the illusory world. “Water” is a metaphorical word that is often used in poems and essays to imply the illusory word in Chinese literary tradition. Emphasizing the tower transferring from the actual world into the illusory world, Xu Ying implied the possibility of transferring from the actual world to the illusory world. In fact, she used two verbs “stands” and “moved” to suggest the tower has relocated to the imaginary world in a manner that expresses her own hopes. The poem parallels Xu Ying’s perception of her dilemma of being a Ming loyalist in the early Qing. Her memory of her family life in the former Ming, the fallen Ming dynasty, and her Ming loyalism fellows who sacrificed themselves to the former Ming, constitutes the world in which she lived. Imagining the reflection of the tower in the water in the poem, Xu Ying suggested the possibility of resolving her dilemma by transferring from the actual world to an illusory world, just like the tower on the top of the mountain “moved” to the an illusory world of water.

The contrast between “real” and “illusory” pertains not just to local scenic views, but to Xu Ying herself. It was this kind of dichotomy between “real” and “imaginary”

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131 XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites, 12a.

132 XCXZ, juan 1, Ancient Sites, 18b-19b.
worlds in her poetry that speaks to the transcendence of a world in which Ming loyalists must endure Qing rule. Had the Ming not fallen, Xu Ying could have continued her happy life as a “virtuous wife and good mother,” an ideal that many women poets enjoyed and yearned to have in her time. The demise of Ming and the rise of the Qing after all brought about the dilemma of being a Ming loyalist in the Qing. By constructing an illusory world that related to the actual world in her poems of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, Xu Ying used the poems to relieve her dilemma.

If one takes Xu Ying’s poems at face value, one sees them as a set of poems that demonstrate the evocative power of words. Her *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* are subtle, obscure, satirical, critical, yet beautifully written. These various facets are part and parcel of Ming loyalists’ predicament. They wished to express their political attitude as Ming loyalists in a new Qing regime while concealing their loyalist views in a world with dramatic social and cultural changes in the wake of the dynastic transition. Under such circumstances, Xu Ying’s irony, critiques, and division of “real” and “illusory” worlds served a variety of ends. The *Twelve Scenic Views* places Xu Ying easily into its seventeenth-century setting of Ming-Qing transition, even when their literary ramifications transcend its own time.

The contrast with the poets of a century later is quite stark. Rather than emphasizing the parallel between an illusory world and a real world, poets of the eighteenth century focused on the scenic beauty of the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the real world. In the “Famous Sites” section, local literati employed both illustrations and prefatory texts to suggest the location and the physical existence of twelve scenic views, even though the twelve scenic views no longer existed. Local literati in the late
eighteenth century employed poems, illustrations, and prefatory texts to emphasize the physical existence of twelve scenic views and local cultural prestige embedded in it in the actual world.

One specific example was the reconstruction of the view of the Penglai Pavilion in the “Famous Sites” section. In poems that responded to those of Xu Ying, local literati of the eighteenth century shifted from attention to the illusory world to the physical settings of the Penglai Pavilion. Zhang Binghuai in his responding poem wrote:

何处橹声人不见    The sound of oars yet no one can be seen,
一天烟雨锁蓬壶    A Sky full of mist and drizzle engulfs the Penghu Pavilion.133

Emphasizing the misty rains and their impact in the world, Zhang Binghua describes the physical setting of the Penglai Pavilion encircled by the mist. In contrast to Xu Ying’s struggle to transcend, Zhang focused on the scenic beauty of the Penglai Pavilion itself. The last line of Zhang’s poem also alludes to the title of the scenic view, *Misty Rains at the Penglai Pavilion*, which the poems of the eighteenth century intend to highlight. Aesthetic beauty of local scenic views becomes the crucial elements in the illustrations, poems, and prefatory texts.

The woodblock illustrations of the eighteenth century also take on the physical settings of the Penglai Pavilion to emphasize specific meaning of local scenic beauty. Dark ink is employed to illustrate the scenic beauty of the Penglai Pavilion. In doing so, the illustration implies the beauty of the Penglai Pavilion should be as beautiful as that

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133 *XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites, 24a.*
represented in the Mi Fou’s “splashing ink” painting. Using Mi Fou’s “splashing ink” to suggest the beauty of the Penghu Pavilion, Xu Ying focused on the beauty of the Penglai Pavilion in the illusory world. In contrast, the illustration in the eighteenth century employs the method of “splashing ink” to highlight the scenic beauty of the Penglai Pavilion in the actual world. In the illustration, the Penglai Pavilion is arranged in the center and a pagoda was inscribed in the background to show the physical spatial location of the Penglai Pavilion. In other words, it is the Penglai Pavilion of the actual world that the illustration intends to highlight.

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134 Mi Fou (1051–1107) was a Chinese painter, poet, and calligrapher in the Song Dynasty. In painting he gained renown for his style of painting misty landscapes. This style would be deemed the “Mi Fou” style and involved the use of large wet dots of ink applied with a flat brush. His poetry followed the style of Li Bai and his calligraphy that of Wang Xizhi. His uninhibited style made him disliked at the Song court. He is best known for his calligraphy, and he was regarded as one of the four greatest calligraphers in Song Dynasty. His style arises from that of calligraphers in earlier dynasties, but with a unique mark of his own.
Figure 5.3 Misty Rains at Penghu Pavilion

Sources: *XCXZ*, “Famous Sites” section

\[135 \text{ *XCXZ*, *juan* 4, Famous Sites.}\]
The prefatory text follows the illustration and the poems to focus on the physical setting and scenic beauty of the Penglai Pavilion. The prefatory text goes as follows:

Penghu [Penglai] Pavilion rests upon the height and subdues the emptiness.

Looking the vast sea in the distance, [we can see] peaks along the sea. The view is constantly crisp and dry, yet the view of misty rain is like a stroke on the empty space. It is superior to Mi Fou’s “splashing ink” painting. Therefore we take in the view.

According to local history, the Penglai Pavilion was torn down and deserted in 1660s after local Ming loyalists left to make a living elsewhere. Xu Ying constructed the Penglai Pavilions in two worlds, both illusory and real, to relieve her pressure of being a Ming loyalist and express her dilemma in an era of dramatic changes. So, in fact, the illustration is not a photographic picture in the sense of capturing the location and view. It is a reconstruction of a past view that seeks to demonstrate the physical beauty of the thing. However, the text shows no traces of the dilemma and pressure that Xu Ying presented in her poems. Instead, the text constructs a picturesque view of the Penglai Pavilion, in which “misty rains” echoes elements in Xu Ying’s poem. But “misty rains” presented in the illustration were not from “heavenly streets” in an illusory world, which Xu Ying imagined in her poem. Rather, they were rains and mists in the actual world, in which Xu Ying’s body was rooted and suffered. Although the method of “splashing ink”

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136 *XCXZ, juan 4*, Famous Sites, 22a.

137 *XCXZ, juan 3.*
painting was what both Xu Ying and local literati employed for their imagination of the Penglai Pavilion, the illustration of the eighteenth century has an emphasis on the Penglai Pavilion in the actual world while Xu Ying’s poem emphasizes that in the illusory world. The shift from the attention to the illusory world to the actual world suggests social and cultural transformation from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century. Xu Ying’s poem in the seventeenth century expressed her dilemma of being a Ming loyalist in the new Qing regime. She used the poem to express her dilemma and her yearning to transcend from the actual world to the illusory world. The former is the Qing regime in an actual world she could never identity with and the latter is a world full of her memory of the past. These shifts have their own social and cultural background. In the eighteenth century, local literati had a different perspective of local scenic views from Xu Ying. With one century of Qing ruling, the tragic dynastic transition that Xu Ying and her contemporaries experienced had gradually receded in people’s memory. The actual world itself had experienced great social and cultural changes. With a century of stabilization and expansion, the Qing dynasty became the largest empire with the vast territory and the largest population in the history of China. Haining itself had been celebrated as one of several places which the Qianlong emperor toured. As we have discussed, it is the “great peace” in a prosperous era that local literati intend to highlight in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 Xiachuan Local Gazetteer. In other words, the beautiful scenes such as the Penglai Pavilion represent local pride of imperial attention given to Haining and their pride of Haning landscape representing “great peace” in a prosperous age.
Conclusion

Xu Ying’s poems from the seventeenth century reflect a nostalgia for the former Ming dynasty, a lament for the community of Ming loyalists in the mountains during the Ming-Qing transition, her disappointment with receding memory of the Ming-Qing transition as the new regime stabilized its rule in local society, and a yearning for transcendence from the actual world, a world that she could never identify with; a world in which she was so disappointed. Rather than celebrating the scenic views with which she was surrounded, Xu Ying used them to carve out an illusory world in poetry in order to relieve her emotional dilemmas of anxiety and disappointment in the actual world. For example, according to Xu Ying and several of her contemporaries, the hustle and bustle of the Incense Market reflects the receding memory in local people’s minds of the Ming-Qing transition. The scenic beauty of the Chrysanthemum Estate evokes in Xu Ying a lament for the years past. Xu Ying was left in a mood of desperation and could only use the scenic images to alleviate her feelings in the present.

It is not clear whether Xu Ying composed these poems as the *Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, since her original manuscript *Green Studio Manuscript* is not available to us. But one thing is certain, her poems were not treated as the *Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* until the late eighteenth century, when Cao Zongzai and his literati friends composed one hundred and eighty-four poems in response to her earlier poems. In other words, the *Sequel of Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views* were more products of Cao Zongzai and his literati friends than Xu Ying’s. Matching verses to Xu Ying’s twelve poems and incorporating them in the “Famous Sites” section, Cao Zongzai and literati friends created the *Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*. In doing so, they
both celebrated local cultural prestige via these long-existing scenic views and by elevating a “talented woman” such as Xu Ying. On the other hand, they used their own Sequel of Twelve Scenic Views to carve out a space for themselves in local histories by incorporating those poems in the “Famous Sites” section. We can thus see a multi-layered function of these poems over the centuries.

Xu Ying and her poems were selected because her identity was regarded as a talented woman and her poems about local scenic views were considered as the perfect source with which to construct local cultural prestige on the imperial cultural landscape in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Jiangnan. With the rise of a culture of women’s writing in the late eighteenth century, talented women not only brought fame to their literati families but also marked local cultural prestige on the imperial cultural landscape. More and more women were incorporated into local histories as “Talented Women” than ever before. The existence of Xu Ying, who was skilled in poetic composition in local histories, marked Haining’s cultural fame as a locale imbued with raising talented women, just as many other cities such as Suzhou and Hangzhou in the Jiangnan region. Xu Ying’s poetic skills implicitly reflect the close link between and “extraordinary locality” (di jie 地杰) and “numinous talents” (ren ling 人灵), a common concept to construct locality in imperial China.

The local literati’s construction of the Sequel of Twelve Scenic of Xiachuan had their own political agenda in the late eighteenth century, that is, to celebrate the “great peace” of a prosperous age. The Qianlong emperor visited Haining four times on his six southern tours to Jiangnan. As discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation, the imperial attention given to Haining stimulated local literati to re-imagine Haining’s
position on imperial cultural landscape. Following the genre and format of the *Ten Scenic Views of West Lake* in the 1752 Records of West Lake (*Xihu zhi* 西湖志), local literati used woodblock illustration, prefatory texts, and poems to make the *Sequel to Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* to publicly celebrate this “great peace of a prosperous age,” as they explicitly wrote in the prefatory texts to the book.

In doing this, Cao Zongzai and his friends manipulated the meanings of Xu Ying’s poems about Ming-Qing conflict for their own purposes in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. By “reproducing” Xu Ying’s poems and adding prefatory texts and illustrations in the “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 *Haining Gazetteer*, local literati reconfigured the meaning of Xu Ying’s poems to pursue their political agendas. First, while Xu Ying was in a mood of desperation when she wrote the *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan*, local literati in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century expressed their pride and joy of living in a prosperous age of “great peace.” Second, anthologizing Xu Ying’s poems in the “Famous Sites” section, local literati diverted attention from the Ming-Qing transition to a public celebration of local cultural prestige represented in local scenic views in the late eighteenth century. For example, the “ladies and gentlemen” at the Incense Market criticized by Xu Ying and Cao Yuanfang in the seventeenth century, were reconfigured as a sign of local “great peace” under the Qianlong reign. The scenic beauty of the “Chrysanthemum Estate” in the late eighteenth century embodied the ideal of local hermit-literati culture from the early ninth century onward, not just the virtues of the Ming loyalists. Instead of focusing on the illusory world, the poems, illustrations, and prefatory texts about *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* present the physical location and scenic beauty of local landscape in
the actual world. In doing so, they emphasize actual sites and their impact on local
cultural prestige on the imperial map. Presenting local famous sites as “great peace” in a
prosperous age, local literati showed their gratitude to “imperial attention” given to
Haining. The “Famous Sites” section that was compiled under local literati reconfigures
Xu Ying’s nostalgia for, and sadness with, as well as critique of the fallen Ming dynasty
in late seventeenth century into a gratitude to “imperial attention” and a celebration of
“great peace in a prosperous era.”

One of characteristics of the “Famous Sites” section in the 1812 local gazetteer is
its use of poetry to construct local landscape. Several factors account for local literati’s
choice of poetry to construct local landscape. First, local literati used poetry to reinforce
their declining social and economic status in the late eighteenth century. With a fixed
quota for successful degree holders, the civil service examinations became more
competitive than ever before. More and more literati failed in the examinations. Though
they were able to make a living by teaching, publishing, and studying, most of them lost
their political privileges when they were excluded from the state bureaucracy because of
failing in the exams. Meanwhile, the rise of the merchant class as a result of
commercialization in Jiangnan area directly challenged these scholars and literati via
economic power. Confronted with their declining status in politics and economics,
scholars and literati, particularly those who failed in the civil service examination and
were forced to stay in their hometowns, were more concerned with their cultural status
and identity than ever before. Poetry, which the Qianlong emperor had promoted, became
instrumental for local literati to construct a cultural identity and cultural prestige. Second,
poetry formed one of the crucial links (other than the exams) between the emperor and
local literati in the late eighteenth century. During his six southern tours, the Qianlong emperor sponsored several special recruitment examinations that used poetry as one criterion to judge the quality of examinees. For the part of Qianlong, the examination reflects his cultural embrace of Jiangnan literati. Those who passed the examination might be more dependent on the authority of throne. However, for the part of local literati, success in the examination served as an avenue toward symbolic prestige, enrichment, and enhancement of their local standing as “men of culture and learning.” The use of poetry by Cao Zongzai and his literati to construct local landscape reflects their concerns of their local status of “men of culture and learning.” Using the poems to construct local famous sites, Cao Zongzai and his literati friends managed to bolster their otherwise declining literary identities and their authority in local society in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century.
Chapter Six

Famous Sites: Constructing a Lineage of Local Loyalists

One of the goals of my dissertation is to trace Haining’s involvement in the Qianlong emperor’s imperial project as reflected in the creation and utilization of the poems of Twelve Scenic Views in “Famous Sites” section of the 1812 Xiachuan Local Gazetteer. This task is complicated by the fact that forty-one poets from the thirteenth century through the early nineteenth century contributed three hundred and eight poems and twenty-four illustrations on Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan to the “Famous Sites” section. This created layers and layers of meanings of local landscapes. The “Famous Sites” section is, however, not isolated from other sections of the gazetteer – “Mountains and Rivers,” “Bridges,” “Temples and Monasteries,” “Biographies,” and “Treatise on Literature and Arts” – which do have entries documenting and recording the history of and anecdotes about Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan. Reading these sections in conjunction with each other will help us to get a better understanding of the motif, content, style, and structure of the “Famous Sites” section in a broad context, in particular, how the Qing society is imagined via Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan.

In chapter six, I first introduce Qianlong’s imperial project on the rehabilitation of Ming loyalists and its impact on the local literati’s scholarly interests. Then I proceed to examine its influences on the compilation of the 1812 Xiachuan Local Gazetteer. I focus on the “Biography” and “Treatises on Literature and Art” sections to show that local literati, through local histories that were compiled under their editorships, engaged in imperial project on re-orienting relationship between Manchus and Hans. Reading the
“Famous Sites” section as one part of the 1812 Gazetteer, I show the local literati manipulated the texts and illustrations to construct a lineage of local loyalist via Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views. In doing so, I argue, local literati indirectly participated in Qianlong’s imperial project of re-integrating Jiangnan into a multiethnic empire.

A Multiethnic Empire and the Rehabilitation of Ming Loyalists

Evaluation of Ming loyalists had been an intriguing yet crucial issue in the Qing history, particularly when the Qing achieved military success on the western frontier and established a multi-ethnic empire with the largest territory and most diverse ethnic population in the history of China in the eighteenth century. The military success generated new dilemmas for a new multi-ethnic empire, which, according to Michael G. Chang, is one of the “problems of success” and was not easily “disentangled from the institutional and ideological legacies of conquest.” As Pamela K. Crossley cogently points out, the dilemma partly lies in that the Eight Banners, the Mongols, and the tribesmen of Manchuria and northeastern Asia continued to address themselves to the Khanship of the Qing while the Han elite addressed themselves to the Qing emperorship. In other words, while the empire was very successful in military expansion and integrated diverse ethnic groups into its sovereignty via manifestation of its universalism over other ethnic groups, Manchus themselves encountered identity crisis when the Qianlong emperor integrated different ethnic groups into the empire. The Qianlong emperor was aware of the crisis and took the advantage of a series of literary projects such as writing the history and the genealogy of the Manchus to reconstruct Manchu’s ethnicity and

1 Chang, A Court on Horseback, 19-20.

identity. It is my hypothesis that the imperially commissioned works on the history of non-Han Chinese regimes and the re-evaluation of the Ming-Qing conflict should be read against the backdrop to the Qianlong’s imperial project to construct Manchu’s identity and ethnicity in the eighteenth century. The re-evaluation reflected Qianlong’s desire to reinforce Manchu identity via legitimizing Manchu’s conquest of China proper in 1645. It also reflected Qianlong emperor’s desire to integrate Han China proper in the newly established multiethnic empire via re-evaluation of Ming loyalists during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

Ming loyalists are a group of people, primarily literati, known for holding on their loyalty to the former Ming when the Manchu Qing dynasty replaced the Han-Chinese Ming dynasty in 1644. While some Chinese literati took their lives, martyring themselves (xun guo 冤国) for the former Ming, a large number of them chose to go on living rather than end their lives in the wake of dynastic transition. They had given up

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3 Crossley, A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology, 224. Crossly argues the eighteen-century Qing was a universal empire whose rulers drew diverse sources: Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, Islamism, Shamanism, to construct a multiethnic empire. The Qianlong Emperor was the Confucian ruler in China Proper, the successor of Chinggis Khan in Mongolia, the Buddhist ruler and master priest in Tibet.

4 Han is the term used to describe China’s single most populous ethnic group, generally accepted to constitute approximately ninety-six percent of China’s total population today. However, Han ethnicity is a label that includes great genetic (and linguistic) diversity. Han is more accurate as a label of cultural identity rather than biological decent; through a process of acculturation one could become Han.

5 The following discussion is based primarily on Lynn Struve’s The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683, Frederic Wakeman’s The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Order in Seventeenth-Century
the resistance after a point but had firmly resisted being forced or lured into Qing service. Some tonsured their hair and became monks to resist the command of “shaving hair.” A “hair cutting” order demanding all Chinese men shave the front of head and wear a long queue to show their submission to the new Manchu rulers. Some sequestered themselves in the mountains and claimed a reclusive life. The historical figures celebrated in the poems of *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* in the “Famous Sites” section came from these two groups.

In the early Qing, the writing about the Ming-Qing conflict was constrained to private historiography because of strict and cruel literary inquisition of the new rulers. “Righteous death” (*jie si*) became an affirmative principle for those who were writing private histories on Ming-Qing dynastic transition. Many people were enthusiastically recorded as having died righteously when, in fact, “they had died for reason unrelated, or actual contrary, to nobility of character—illness, poverty, accident, fright, unavoidable hostilities, and so on,” as Lynn Struve points out. Such a principle for “righteous death” eliminated those people who chose to live on yet still hold on their loyalty to the former Ming dynasty from the private histories. This might be one of

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reasons why some poems about *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* of the seventeenth century disappeared from the public scene of Haining for a century: loyalists who secluded themselves in the mountains and celebrated in the landscape poems such as *Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan* did not meet the principle of “righteous death” and thus did not deserve to be recorded in the histories.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Quan Zuwang (1705-1755), a historian, a classicist, and a poet native to Ningpo, proposed a new way to evaluate Ming loyalists. In *Jieqi ting ji*, a local history of his hometown Ningpo, Quan sought to diminish the distinction between “righteous death” and “righteous life” by placing primary emphasis on the common determination not to serve two dynasties. For Quan, the most important distinction to be made was between those who had stood firmly (not necessarily by dying) on the principle of loyalty to the state (and emperor[s]) under which they were nurtured to adulthood, and those who had died by happenstance or merely went on living under a new dynasty and did not take office for any number of reasons.

Concurrent with the private historiography on the rehabilitation of Ming loyalists, official historiography on Ming-Qing transition also experienced a dramatic change in the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1761, the Qianlong emperor issued an edict to inquire about the morality of a prominent late-Ming minister and poet Qian Qianyi, who had led other officials of the rump Ming regime, Hongguang, in capitulating to the Qing in 1645, had briefly held a high post in the Qing court, and in retirement had been accused of harboring a seditionist. In 1769, the emperor issued a stern posthumous condemnation to castigate Qian for his perfidy in failing to die for the Ming and in

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7 *SKQSZM*, juanshou, 13b.
turning coat, but even more for his continued use of “wild, howling language” and “slander of the present ruling house” after he had disgracefully chosen to prolong his contemptible life and enjoy the benefits of Qing rule. Qian, along with several other “villains,” was criticized as distasteful or corrosive of public morality.\(^8\)

Shortly after the emperor’s castigation of Qian, the *Record of Various Subjects Who Died Out of Loyalty to the Fallen Dynasty* (*Qing ding sheng chao xun jie zhu chen lu*)，a work commissioned by the Qianlong emperor, was completed in 1776. It lists time and place of death of each martyr for their righteous death during the transition. It also assigns special honorary titles to 33 figures who were outstanding throughout their lives and standard titles (in four categories) to 1505 other men notable chiefly for their exemplary deaths during the Ming-Qing transition. Meanwhile it designates 2249 non-officials for special commemoration in their respective places of origin.

This work led to an imperial project of re-evaluation of the late-Ming officials in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the following year, the Qianlong emperor created a new biography category for “two-timing officials” (*erchen*) for Qian Qianyi and others who joined the Qing side under the pressures of expansion and conquest to humiliate them. From that point, the term “not serving two dynasties” served as a core criterion to re-evaluate historical figures during dynastic transition for imperially commissioned historical projects.

Meanwhile, the Qianlong emperor also initiated an array of literary projects on the origins of Manchus, Mongols, and other non-Han Chinese regimes in the history of

\(^8\) *SKQSZM, juanshou*, 13b.
China. By the act of writing something official about the origins of these non-Han Chinese regimes, the Qianlong emperor incorporated these ethnic groups into the Qing imperial cultural mosaic, as Pamela K. Crossley demonstrates in her study of the origins of Manchus.9 These works constituted a broader context of the Qianlong’s emperor’s rehabilitation of the Ming-Qing conflict. It is my hypothesis that the re-evaluation of Ming-Qing transition is on the one hand to legitimate the Manchu’s conquest of China proper in 1644 in terms of following Chinese political ideology of following “Mandate of Heaven,” and on the other hand to reorient China proper into the newly built multi-ethnic empire.

The rehabilitation of the Ming loyalists reflected not only the Qianlong emperor’s desire to encourage political loyalty unto death for the ruling court among his advisors, but also his desire to constitute an imperial authority over his subjects and justify Manchu’s conquest of his subjects in Jiangnan, where the Qing conquest encountered fierce resistance during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. The rehabilitation should be considered in the backdrop to a whole array of imperially sponsored literary projects of the Qianlong period to formulate the ideology of state rule. The works such as Records of Various Subjects Who Died Out of Loyalty to the Fallen Dynasty and Researches on the Origins of Manchus (Manzhou yuan liu gao 滿洲源流考) reflected the emperor’s desire to legitimize Manchu’s conquest of China proper and re-incorporate Jiangnan in a multi-

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The empire had reached the vast territory and the most diverse ethnic groups in the history of China after a series of military expansion from the 1680s through 1760s. The rehabilitation also enhanced the emperor’s authority and influence over the Han elites and local society in Jiangnan. By granting the titles of “Exemplary Worthies” (zhongyi) to those Ming loyalists, particularly, establishing shrines to them in their hometown, the Qianlong emperor showed his presence and authority to his local subjects.

The rehabilitation of Ming loyalists had its greatest impact on Jiangnan, one of the core areas mustering various anti-Qing movements during the Ming-Qing transition. In response to the emperor’s rehabilitation, local officials set up shrines for local worthies who martyred themselves to the former Ming dynasty under their jurisdiction. Local literati also engaged in the Qianlong’s literary projects to formulate the ideology of a multiethnic empire via their scholarly interests in writing non-Han Chinese regimes and their re-evaluation of local Ming loyalists.11

Local Responses to the Rehabilitation of Ming Loyalists

The rehabilitation of Ming loyalists had its impact on Haining as well. Local literati, consciously and unconsciously, were involved into the Qianlong’s imperial project of re-orienting Jiangnan’s position in a multiethnic empire in many ways.

First, the rehabilitation affected local treatment of the legacy of Ming loyalists. In respond to the emperor’s order, shrines had been set up for local figures who received the

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11 For details about local interests in re-writing Ming loyalists, please see Struve, The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683, 68-74.
title as “Exemplary Worthies” from the Qianlong emperor since 1776. In Haining, five local Ming loyalists were approved as “Exemplary Worthies” and a shrine to them, the Local Worthies Shrine, was set up in 1776. Twenty years later, five more Ming loyalists were approved as local worthies at the request of local literati.¹²

Second, the rehabilitation also stimulated Haining literati’s engagement and responses to the imperially sponsored works on Ming-Qing historiography. They dwelt on individual or local projects on local Ming-Qing transition. They compiled biographies of local Ming loyalists, re-wrote the histories of Ming-Qing conflict, or re-anthologized writings of political figures during the dynastic transition (Table 6.1).

¹²HCBZ, juan 8, School, 13.
### Table 6.1: Local Works on Ming Loyalists (1780s-1820s)

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<td>Wu Qian (1733-1813) et al</td>
<td>A collection of a late-Ming official Mao Wenlong’s official reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongjiang yi shi (1806)</td>
<td>Wu Qian et al</td>
<td>A biography of Mao Wenlong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Qian chu xiansheng nian pu (1778)</td>
<td>Wu Qian et al</td>
<td>A biography of a local Ming loyalist Chen Que.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Qian chu xian sheng yi ji (1798-1800)</td>
<td>Wu Qian and Chen Jinzhang (1759-1813)</td>
<td>A complete collection of Chen Que’s writings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu Xinzhai xian sheng nian pu (1790s-1810s)</td>
<td>Wang Jianke et al</td>
<td>A biography of a local Ming loyalist Lu Jiashu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu Xinzhai xian sheng quan ji (1790s-1820s)</td>
<td>Wang Jianke et al</td>
<td>A collection of Lu Jiashu’s poems and essays.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zixia wen xian lu (1793-1804)</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai (1756-1824; 1812 gongsheng)</td>
<td>A collection of essays and poems by local Ming loyalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zouyun chang he ji (1800?)</td>
<td>Ma Wen</td>
<td>A poetry collection on a Rock of a Ming loyalist Zha Jizuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yilao gao feng lu (?) re-</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>A poetry collection by local Ming loyalists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13 The data are created on the basis of Treatises on Literature and Art section of HCBZ (1848).

14 *HCBZ, juan 39, Treatises on Literature and Art 13, 15b. Please also see details in “The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683” 182.

15 *HCBZ, juan 39, Treatises on Literature and Art 13, 15b. Please also see details in “The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683,” 71

16 *HCBZ, juan 39, Treatises on Literature and Art 13, 18a.

17 *HCBZ, juan 39, Treatises on Literature and Art 13, 18a.

18 Wang Jianke, native to Haining. He was the nephew of Cao Zongzai. The two worked together for 1812 Local Gazetteer of Xiachuan.

19 *HCBZ, juan 40, Treatise on Literature and Art 15, 11a.

20 *HCBZ, juan 41, Treatise on Literature and Art 15, 12b.
Parallel to the influences of the rehabilitation projects on the Ming loyalists, the Qianlong emperor’s project on non-Han Chinese also had its impact on local literati in Haining. The Qianlong emperor initiated a series of imperially sponsored works on the histories of Jin (1115-1234), Liao (960-1125), and Yuan (1271-1368) regimes in 1747. Research on the Origins of Manchus was completed in 1777. The Collections of Imperial Language of Three Histories of Liao, Jin, Yuan (Liao, Jin, Yuan san shi guo yu jie), a linguistic reference work for the histories of three non-Han Chinese regimes, was completed in 1781.

The Qianlong emperor’s interest in the histories of non-Han Chinese regimes and their people also had its responses from local society, particularly in the Jiangnan region. Hanxue-learning scholars, who were also called evidential scholars, devoted themselves

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21 Wu Qian noted in the bibliography of his collection that he accidentally obtain the book from one of his friends on his way to Xiachuan Mountain. He copied the work in order to transmit the texts by local worthies.

22 *HCBZ, juan* 46, Treatises on Literature and Art 20, 6a.

23 *HCBZ, juan* 41, Treatises on Literature and Art 15, 14a.

24 *HNYYRW*, 143; *QDBZQJ*, 636. According to these documents, Qian Fu lived from the late Qianlong reign (1736-1795) through the Daoguan reign (1821-1850).

25 *HCBZ, juan* 40, Treatises on Literature and Art 14, 15a.
to the history and culture of Mongols, Jurchens, and other non-Han Chinese regimes in the second half of the eighteenth century. They explored origins, cultures, and languages of the regimes. These works either functioned as supplementary material to the imperially sponsored works on the same subject or circulated as historical works collected in private libraries.26 Some works were used for Confucian students at official schools. Students at the school of Gujing jingshe (诂经精舍), an official school at the provincial capital Hangzhou patronized by Zhejiang circuit governor Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), had courses on non-Han Chinese regimes such as Liao, Jin, and Xixia.27 This further stimulated scholarly interest in the production of the works on the subject.

Haining local literati were involved in such scholarly trend. As an example, Zhou Chun (1730-1815), a scholar, avid book collector, and noted poet native to Haining, compiled *Xixia shu*, a history on a non-Han Chinese regime—Xixia—located at the northwest frontier of China in the thirteenth century. As he noted in the preface of the work, Zhou Chun was inspired to produce *Xixia shu* by the curriculum of the Gujing jingshe, the official school sponsored by Ruan Yuan.28 In spite of many works on non-Han Chinese regimes such as Liao, Jin, and Yuan in both private and official histories, the history of Xixia regime had long been neglected among Chinese scholars. The Qianlong emperor also neglected the Xixia. While he initiated several official writing

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26 For details on the development of the Evidential School in Jiangnan, please refer to Benjamin A Elman’s work *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*.


about Liao, Jin, and Yuan regimes, the Qianlong emperor forgot one regime of their contemporary - Xixia regime. The emperor lost his interests in Xiaxia partly because the area had no longer functioned as the frontier after Xinjiang, to the west of Xixia, had been integrated in the Qing Empire and became a new frontier of China in the eighteenth century.

Han-learning scholars such as Zhou Chun, however, took on the “blank field” of the history of Xiaxia regime to foster their scholarly interests. Zhou’s *Xixia shu* in 1804 was one of pioneer works on the history of the regime. Before this, Zhou Chun had already produced several works on the history and culture of Liao, Jin, and Yuan regimes (Table 6.2). While the Qianlong emperor intended to use the works to present Manchu political legitimacy and construct an identity for a multiethnic empire, Zhou Chun appropriated that political intention for his own scholarly interests.

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Table 6.2: Zhou Chun’s Works on the History and Culture of Non-Han Chinese Regimes (1756 - 1804)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Liao Jin Yuan xing pu</em> (1760s-1800s).</td>
<td>An account tracing the origins of surnames of three non-Han Chinese regimes: Liao, Jin, and Yuan. (^{31})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Xixia shu</em> (1804).</td>
<td>A history on Xixia Regime. (^{32}) One of earliest works on Xixia history in the Qing. (^{33})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Liao shi hua</em> (1756-1800s).</td>
<td>Talks on Poems in the Liao, (^{34}) the first edition was prefaced by Shen Deqian and then destroyed in the fire. Qian Yin, a noted poet and director of West Zhejiang Military Maintenance prefaced the second edition. (^{35})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dai bei xing pu</em> (1756).</td>
<td>A work documenting the origin of surnames of Xianbei people of the fourth century. (^{36})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His inspiration of making a work on the history of Xiaxia shows Zhou Chun was aware of the trend of scholarly interests in non-Han Chinese regimes. Zhou Chun’s three other works on non-Han Chinese regimes were produced during 1756 to 1804, almost at the

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\(^{31}\) *HCBZ, juan* 38, Treatises on Literature and Art 12,4b.

\(^{32}\) *HCBZ, juan* 38, Treatises on Literature and Art 12,4b-5a.

\(^{33}\) Chinese scholars rarely paid attention to Xixia history until the middle of the eighteenth century. Please see details in Hu Yubing’s “Qingdia xue zhe bian xian xia xia shi ji shu yao (Studies on Qing Scholars’ studies on Xixia Historiography)” *Ningxia da xue xue bao* 126 (3), 2005.

\(^{34}\) The work follows the style of *Poetry Talks on Tang Dynasty* (*Quan tang shi hua*) to anthologize two hundred poems produced in the Liao Regime from official histories, local gazetteers, *bijji*, and novels.

\(^{35}\) *HCBZ, juan* 38, Treatises on Literature and Art 12, 8a.

\(^{36}\) *HCBZ, juan* 38, Treatises on Literature and Art 12, 4b.
same time when the Qianlong emperor started his imperial project on non-Han Chinese regimes—Liao, Jing, and Yuan. Yet his compilation and publication of the above works occurred in the course of the book collecting, editing, and selling that were endemic to scholars of his time. These works did not mean Zhou Chun had interests in the history of Ming-Qing dynastic transition itself. His scholarly interests in the topic and the works related to the topics, nevertheless, was involved in the imperial project of establishing a multiethnic empire, which was the broad historical and cultural context in which the rehabilitation of Ming loyalists occurred.37

**The “Biography” Section on Ming Loyalists**

The rehabilitation of Ming loyalists also created a new space for local histories to accommodate or re-write the biographies of local Ming loyalists, who had long been eliminated from local histories because of their resistance to the Qing. So was the case of the 1812 *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer*, in which Cao Zongzai showed his chiming in with the emperor’s emphasis on the importance of “political loyalty.” In the following section,

37 An example is another Haining literatus Wu Qian’s *Dongjiang yishi* that was compiled under his editorship in 1806, a collection of materials on the controversial career and death of Mao Wenlong, a late Ming official serving in the court of the last Ming emperor Chongzhen. He presented Mao as an effective, patriotic general who became a martyr to the capriciousness of the Chongzhen emperor and the consequent arrogation of punitive power by Mao’s executioner, Yuan Chonghuan—the sort of man who tends to seek favor by rash, arbitrary, unjust means under rash, arbitrary, unjust rulers. The treatment Mao Wenlong received under the Chongzhen emperor thus is made a prime example of the irrationality of Ming governance, which subsequently led so many of Mao’s subordinates to recognize the fairness and reasonableness of Huangtaiji. Wu Qian might have no interest in the history of Ming-Qing dynastic transition itself. In doing so, Wu Qian, however, was involved in the Qianlong’s imperial project on the rehabilitation of Ming-Qing conflict. Please see details in Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683*, 69.
I discuss the shift of the section in the Gazetteer in order to echo the principal of “not serving two dynasties” on the rehabilitation of Ming loyalists provided by the Qianlong emperor in the late eighteenth century.

In the preface to the “Biography” section in the 1812 Gazetteer, Cao Zongzai wrote:

In a hamlet of ten families there must be someone who is loyal and trustworthy. Xiachuan is a remote area. It rarely has the extraordinary and the talented. Yet the hidden virtues and moral behavior of scholars who managed to study and the outstanding talents they have are never lacking. They are as shining as [our] mountains and rivers. Based on previous local gazetteer and what I have read and heard, I put them together and recorded them [in the Gazetteer].

“Loyalty and trustworthiness” (zhong xing 忠信) is a term deriving from the Analects of Confucius. It refers to qualities of a gentleman and political values that Confucian scholars promoted, pursued, and identified. The term indicated the compiler Cao Zongzai’s perception of the function of local histories, that is, to praise those who might not be so extraordinarily talented in literature yet held their political virtues and integrity when confronted with social and political chaos. Cao even changed the structure of the “Biography” section for such perception. The biographies in local gazetteers were usually divided and sequenced into subsections such as Local Officials, Confucian Scholars (those who passed the civil service exam), Littératores (wen yuan 文苑, those who did

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38 XCXZ, juan 7, Worthies of the Past.
not pass the civil service exam), Filial Sons, the Loyal and Upright, Exemplary Women, Sojourners, and Monks and Nuns. Cao combined these subsections together four, Worthies of the Past (qi jiu 貢舊), Sojourner Worthies (yu xian 寓賢), Monks and Nuns (fang wai 方外), and Exemplary Women (lie nü 列女). Combining Filial sons, Litterateur, Confucian scholars, and the Loyal and Upright into one category of Worthies of the Past, compiler Cao Zongzai emphasized the aspects of virtue and integrity of local historical figures in the “Biography” section.\(^{39}\)

Based on the perception of “loyalty and trustworthiness,” Cao Zongzai re-defined criteria of who can be incorporated and in which ways. Since political loyalty became a criterion to judge who should be local worthies, two strategies had been used to re-define the section. First, to include those who held their political loyalty during dramatic social changes yet had been dismissed in the previous local gazetteers. Second, to re-draft the biographies of those who had been recorded as literary talents to that of loyalists. Via ordering and reordering of subsections, the compilers of the 1812 local Gazetteer shifted local pride of those literary talents to those political loyalists.

As a result, “loyalism” became an influential criterion for the construction of the section. Those who either died in the battlefields resisting the new rulers, or who took their lives out of political loyalty, or who simply hold political loyalty via sequestering themselves in the mountains were judged as local worthies and for the first time incorporated into local gazetteers (Table 6.3).

\(^{39}\) *XCXZ, juan 6-10, Worthies of the Past and Exemplary Women.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Achievements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zou Shiwen</td>
<td>A Song loyalist who was martyred to the Song during the Song-Yuan dynastic transition, designated as a loyalist in the biography.⁴⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Zhaoyin</td>
<td>A Song loyalist whose father was martyred to the fallen Song dynasty. He secluded himself to Xiachuan in the wake of Song-Yuan dynastic transition, designated as a recluse in the biography.⁴¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu Jue</td>
<td>A Ming loyalist who committed suicide after Qing armies conquered Haining, designated as “righteous death” in the biography.⁴²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Zongyi</td>
<td>A Ming loyalist who martyred to the Ming during Ming-Qing dynastic transition, designated as “martyred death” in the biography.⁴³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng Xuefang</td>
<td>A Ming loyalist who followed Zhou Zongyi in mustering local militia to resist Qing conquest in 1645, designated as “martyred death” in the biography.⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cao Shengqing</td>
<td>A Ming loyalist who followed Zhou Zongyi in mustering local militia to resist Qing conquest in 1645, designated as “martyred death” in the biography.⁴⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Yunfeng</td>
<td>A Ming loyalist who followed Zhou Zongyi in mustering local militia to resist Qing conquest in 1645, designated as “martyred death” in the biography.⁴⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Weixiu</td>
<td>A Ming loyalist who followed Zhou Zongyi in mustering local militia to resist Qing conquest in 1645, designated as “martyred death” in the biography.⁴⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁰ *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 5b.*

⁴¹ *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 5b.*

⁴² *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 14b.*

⁴³ *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 19a.*

⁴⁴ *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 19a.*

⁴⁵ *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 19a.*

⁴⁶ *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 19a-b.*
Cao Zongzai used a different strategy for categorizing those people who chose not to martyr themselves during the Qing conquest in 1645. These were group of local literati who did not succeed in high-level civil service examination yet had great influence in local society. Since his own interest was on how late-Ming high officials performed during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition, Qianlong did not pay much attention to local literati’s political attitude when he provided the principle of “not serving two dynasties” for the official historiography on Ming-Qing conflict. Because of their reputation in local society, the local literati, however, constituted the largest number of historical figures local histories had to deal with.

These local literati had already gained reputation in poetry in Jiangnan before the Ming-Qing transition. They stayed in the mountains of Xiachuan in the wake of transition, intending to avoid chaos. Many chose not to take the civil service examination in the new dynasty but allowed their sons or nephews to pursue that track. While they might have resisted the lure of engaging with the new dynasty, they did not refuse to participate in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Militia to resist Qing conquest in 1645, designated as “righteous death” in the biography.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jiang Sichu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Ming loyalist who was martyred to the former Ming in 1645.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Gao Ding                                                                     |
| A Ming loyalist who was martyred to the former Ming in 1645,                |
| designated as “righteous death” in the biography.                         |

| Xu Ying                                                                     |
| A woman poet, designated as a wife whose husband was martyred to the former Ming dynasty. |

47 XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 19b.

48 XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 19b.

49 XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 120a.

50 XCXZ, juan 10, Exemplary Women, 23b.
local affairs commissioned by local officials. Fan Xiang, one of the local literati Xu Ying celebrated in her poems of twelve scenic views, compiled a local gazetteer on the request of local magistrate.\textsuperscript{51} Zha Jizuo and Lu Jiashu, two other Ming loyalists Xu Ying praised in her poems about local twelve scenic views also took up positions indirectly linking with new order. The former took up teaching in an official school in Hangzhou and the latter decided to find a position to make a living in the capital Beijing after they ended their reclusion after the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

Because of their literary fame, they had been incorporated as littérateurs (\textit{wen yuan}) in local gazetteers before.\textsuperscript{52} In the “Biography” section in the Gazetteer, they were largest group of people whose biographies were re-narrated from the emphasis of their literary talents to that of loyalists in order to accord with the motif of “loyalty and trustworthiness” of the section. Their resistance to the lure of serving in the court rather than their literary fame was emphasized and highlighted in the biographies of the section; it was conceptualized as the virtue of local recluses who held political loyalty to the former dynasty.

As an example, Zhu Yishi was a local literatus who sequestered himself during the dynastic transition. His biography in the “Littérateur” section of the 1765 and 1775 Haining Gazetteers narrated him as a talented scholar yet he would rather not devote himself simply to the arduous study. His biography goes:

\begin{quote}
Zhu Yishi, styled as Jinxiu, was native to Haining. He obtained his \textit{juren} degree in the year of \textit{renwu} (1642) during the Chongzhen’s reign (r.g.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{HNYYRW}, 103; \textit{HNXZL}, Preface.

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{HNXZ} (1689, 1765), \textit{HNZZ} (1775), Littérateur.
1627-1644). His talents were pure and extraordinary. He was insightful in his studies. But he did not have a constant teacher and was not simply indulged himself in his study. Once he said: “Other people learned primarily from books. I instead learned from my friends.” He entertained himself by writing. He wrote *Shilun* (10 juan) and *Wei ke tang ji* (100 juan) for later generations.  

After the biography was attached one of his essays on measuring local lands in the early Qing dynasty. The biography described Zhu Yishi as a local literatus who was well educated and actively participated in local public affairs. But his entry in the “Biography” section in the 1812 *Xiachuan Gazetteer* tells a different story, emphasizing his life during and in the wake of the dynastic transition. It reads:

Zhu Yishi, styled name Jinxiu, literary name Qin’an. He lived in the Qianxi Creek of the county. He obtained his *juren* degree in the year of *renwu* (1642) during the Chongzhen’s reign (r.g. 1627-1644). His talents were pure and extraordinary. He was insightful in his studies. He was a disciple of Wu Weiye. Zhang Pu and Zhang Cai of Loudong both thought highly of him. He was noted at his time. After the dynastic transition, he wandered around the rivers and lakes. He made friends with literary figures such as the Lu brothers (Lu Jiashu and Lu Bingxiu), Pan Meihan, and Zhou Wuzong. They composed poems and corresponded with each

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53 *HNXZ* (1765), juan 9, Littérature, 5a.

54 *HNXZ* (1765), juan 9, Littérature, 5a.
other. He was invited to serve in the court. He refused. He entertained himself with writing. All of his acquaintances were noted scholars. He died at the age of sixty-two sui. He wrote *Shilun* (10 juan) and *Weike tang ji* (100 juan) for later generations.55

The entry partially followed that in 1765 local gazetteer, recording Zhu as a talented scholar. The whole entry, however, emphasized his activity and social networking during and in the wake of dynastic transition. His refusal to serving in the court and his association with other Ming loyalists together constructed Zhu Yixiu as a Ming loyalist after all.

Zhu Yishi was one among many whose biographies were redrafted to fit the motif of “loyalists” in the section. In doing so, Cao Zongzai and his peers set up the tone of “loyalty and trustworthiness” for the whole local gazetteer.

The different ways in which biographies were drafted in local gazetteers reflected different concerns of compilers and thus manifested different motifs of local gazetteers. While some were incorporated into the 1812 *Gazetteer* as Ming loyalists, they might be presented as literary talents in other local gazetteers. Another example of shifting concerns of local gazetteers manifested by the narrative of biography is Xu Ying. Her biography in the “Exemplary Women” subsection in the 1812 *Gazetteer* goes:

Jie’an [Xu Ying] was a native of Wu. She had a poetry collection named *Green Studio Manuscript*. Master Tian Daogeng prefaced it for her. It is not clear where she was from or what was her husband’s family name. I

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55 *XCXZ, juan 7, Worthies 22a.*
read one poem entitled *Random Account (Man su 漫述)* in her manuscript. It says: “My husband told me: ‘We, father and son, [are] devoted to our dynasty, not to fame. Therefore we hide our names to engage [in the anti-Qing enterprises].’ He also advised me: ‘You should leave Wu for other places to avoid disasters.’” [Her husband] must have sacrificed himself to the Ming. He must be an upright gentleman. After she moved to Xiachuan, she secluded herself by Gold Wudun.56

Cao Zongzai composed the above biography in 1793 when he included Xu Ying and her poems in a local poetry collection that he edited.57 He employed Xu Ying’s own poems to indicate her family background as Ming loyalists via praising her husband as an “upright gentleman.” He also praised Xu Ying’s virtues of secluding herself in the mountains, which embodied both her womanly virtues after her husband passed away and her political integrity after the demise of the former Ming. Being faithful to one’s husband and to the dynasty were seen as being parallel virtues.

In the “Talented Women” section in later Haining local gazetteers (1848, 1896, 1922), however, Xu Ying’s biography was re-drafted in no more than one sentence: “Xu Ying, literary name Jie’an, native to Haining;”58 she had a collection entitled *Green Studio*...
The entry emphasizes her poetic talents, but her virtues as a Ming loyalist were erased.

The case of Xu Ying shows while loyalism and local reclusion might be important elements in 1812 Gazetteer, they were not crucial themes for other local gazetteers. Local literati reshaped Xu Ying’s biography to make it accord with conventional praise for a talented woman rather than a Ming woman loyalist with both womanly virtues and political integrity.

The ways in which local virtuous men and exemplary women were presented by their biographies reflects the impact of Qianlong’s reassessment on the Ming-Qing dynastic transition on the ways in which local literati conceptualized and represented local histories and cultures. Applying Qianlong’s definition of “not serving two courts” as the criterion for loyalty, local literati on the one hand supported the emperor via incorporating those Ming loyalists who martyred themselves to the fallen dynasty in local histories for the first time. On the other hand, they appropriated the emperor’s political intentions to re-accommodate the largest group of local literati in local histories via re-orienting them as local recluses rather simply as literary talents in the “Biography” section. In doing so, local literati engaged in Qianlong’s imperial project of constructing a multiethnic empire but also set up a tone of applauding loyalists, especially Ming loyalists, throughout the whole Gazetteer.

**Landscapes and Loyalists in the “Treatises on Literature and Art” Section**

The Qianlong emperor’s rehabilitation of Ming loyalists also had an impact on the compilation of the “Treatises on Literature and Art” section in the 1812 Gazetteer, which

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59 *GCHJSXJ, juan 43, 5b; HCBZ, juan 42.*
is deeply concerned with political loyalty and Ming loyalists. Cao Zongzai explicitly addressed the links among texts, scenic views, and local recluses in the preface to the “Treatises on Literature” section. He wrote:

Great masterpieces would bring fame to mountains and rivers. The broken steles could also provide old stories and accounts [of mountains and rivers]. Though the location of Xiachuan was remote, there were many poetic compositions and literary accounts praising recluses with hidden virtues, which lights up “forests and springs.” Therefore I record them for later reference.

Key points in the above preface must be kept in mind as the preface goes: texts about a specific location do not simply celebrate of scenic views but also praise “hidden virtues” embodied in local recluses.

Following what he said in the preface, Cao Zongzai and his peers carefully selected texts on local landscapes for the section. They paid specific attention to the landscapes associated with those Ming loyalists. The practice of the “Treatises on Literature and Art” section in local histories, which began in the Song dynasty, usually featured a bibliography of local literati writing. What makes it different from many other Haining local histories is the 1812 Gazetteer incorporated entire texts of essays and poems rather than a brief bibliography. Thus it functions as a local selected literary collection rather than a brief bibliography. Examining who and what were included in the

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60 Forest and springs is an allusion of literati community.

61 XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 1a.
section would help us to get a better understanding of the compilers’ perception of local histories and culture.

The section consists of the following categories: historical accounts of local sites, biographies of local noted figures, and poems and prose on local landscapes; dealing with various aspects of local histories and cultures (Table 6.4). The section was arranged on the basis of literary genres.
Table 6.4 Subsections in the “Treatises on Literature and Art” Section

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genres</th>
<th>Brief introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accounts (ji)</td>
<td>Accounts of origins and histories of a specific local site (a temple, a hall, a pavilion, a family estate, a public land for burial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography (zhuan)</td>
<td>Biography about local virtuous men and women. Rather than a short entry, biography in this genre is an independent essay about a specific local man and woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefaces (xu)</td>
<td>Prefaces to local literary collections, local gazetteers, local poetry collections, most of which deal with local histories and cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosodies (fu)</td>
<td>Prose-poetry celebrating local figures, sites, and sceneries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sketch Biography (lue)</td>
<td>Biography of local virtuous men and women. Rather than a short entry, biography in this genre is independent essay on a specific man and woman. It is usually shorter than both zhuan and zhuang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reports (shu)</td>
<td>Reports to superiors on public facilities (construction of bridges, repair of temples, donation for irrigation system, etc) and other local affairs (titles for local worthies and exemplary women).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Report (qi)</td>
<td>Public reports dealing with public facilities (construction of bridges, repair of temples, donation for irrigation system, etc) and other local affairs (titles for local worthies and exemplary women).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographies (zhuang)</td>
<td>Biographies on local virtuous men and women. Rather than short entries, biographies in this genre are independent essays on specific men and women. They are usually longer than lue in the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encomium (zhan)</td>
<td>A genre of praise to local virtuous men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postscripts (ba)</td>
<td>Postscripts to literary collections dealing with local histories, landscape, and culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steles and Inscriptions (bei jie)</td>
<td>Texts inscribed from steles; the contents range from origins and history of local schools, temples, towers, to bridges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poems (shi)</td>
<td>A collection of local poems in different genres. These poems are landscape poetry dealing with local landscape.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My close reading of the section shows that local recluses, particularly those Ming loyalists and the texts about their activities associated with a specific site, became the primary concerns of the “Treatises on Literature and Art” section. Attached below is a complete list of the contents of the “Account (ji)” subsection, in which local loyalists were highlighted (Table 6.5).63

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63 XCXZ, juan 11.
Table 6.5 Account (ji) in the “Treatises on Literature and Art” Section

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Sections with the entries related to sites, authors, or figures praised in the Accounts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bei Qiong (1314-1378)</td>
<td>Banyun jian ji</td>
<td>An account of the origin of Banyun Hall during the Song-Yuan transition.</td>
<td>The Hall is included in the “Pavilions” section. The author Bei Qiong was included as a worthy sojourner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bei Qiong (1314-1378)</td>
<td>Ti Qingying tang ji (1371)</td>
<td>An account of the origin of Pure Hermit Hall (Qingying tang) during Yuan-Ming transition.</td>
<td>The Hall was built during Song-Yuan dynastic transition and Bei Qiong wrote the essay in 1371 four years after the Ming dynasty defeated the Yuan dynasty. The site is also included in the “Ancient Sites” section.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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64 XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art.

65 XCXZ, juan 7, Sojourner Worthies, 20a. Bei Qiong, according to local histories, lived through Yuan-Ming transition. He secluded himself in Xiachuan Mountain of Haining during the dynastic transition. The selection of his essays of local man-made structures reflected local histories compilers.

66 XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 1a-1b.

67 XCXZ, juan 2, Pavilions, 13b.

68 XCXZ, juan 7, Sojourner Worthies, 20a. Bei Qiong, according to local histories, lived through Ruan-Ming transition. He secluded himself in Xiachuan Mountain of Haining during the dynastic transition. The selection of his essays of local man-made structures reflected local histories compilers.

69 XCXZ, juan 3, Ancient Sites, 11a.

70 XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 1b.

71 XCXZ, juan 2, Ancient Sites, 11a.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pan Fu (late Ming)</td>
<td>Chunpu Yuan Ji</td>
<td>An account of Chunpu Estate in late Ming. The author was the owner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenren Jiayan (late Ming)</td>
<td>Chunpu Yuan Ji</td>
<td>An account of Chunpu Estate in late Ming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan Yuting (?)</td>
<td>Dongshan tayuan gujin ji</td>
<td>An account of the reconstruction of Zhibiao Tower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Estate is included in the “Ancient Sites” section; one of original twelve views in the “Famous Sites” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Estate was marked as one of reclusive places in the “Mountains and Rivers” section; The author was one of contributors to the original twelve scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section. He was included in the “Biography” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Tower was included in the “Ancient Site” section; one of original twelve scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 3b-4a.

73 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 3b-4a.

74 *XCXZ, juan* 6, Worthies, 9a.

75 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 4b.

76 *XCXZ, juan* 2, Pavilions, 15b.

77 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 5a-b.

78 *XCXZ, juan* 2, Ancient Sites, 18b.

79 *XCXZ, juan* 4, Famous Sites, 11b-13a.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zong Zongyi (?-1645)</td>
<td><em>Xiubei jilue</em> (1644-1645)</td>
<td>An Account of setting up “fences walls” to protect Xiachuan in 1644. Zhou mustered local resistance to bandits and robbery during the dynastic transition. He was presented as a Ming loyalist martyred to former Ming in the late eighteenth century. This is an essay he wrote c.a. 1644, emphasizing the necessity to build fences in order to protect local people.</td>
<td>Zhou Zongyi was recorded as a Ming loyalist in the “Biography” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Yishi (1610-1657?) 1642 juren</td>
<td><em>Xiashi zhen guan xiang shui zha ji</em> (1644-1645).</td>
<td>An account of necessity to set up “fences walls” in Xiachuan.</td>
<td>The author was noted as a Ming loyalist in the “Biography” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Yishi</td>
<td><em>Yi he ji</em> (1644-1645)</td>
<td>An account of two cranes of Zhong Zongyi, who mustered local militia to resist Qing armies in 1645. Two cranes followed him after he died in the battle.</td>
<td>The author was noted as a Ming loyalist in the “Biography” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu</td>
<td><em>Dongshan</em></td>
<td>An account of a local</td>
<td>The site is included in the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 5a-b.

81 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 6a-9b.

82 *XCXZ, juan* 6, Worthies, 18b.

83 *XCXZ, juan* 7, Worthies 22a.

84 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 5b-6a.

85 *XCXZ, juan* 7, Worthies 22a.

86 *XCXZ, juan* 7, Worthies 22a.

87 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 9b.

88 *XCXZ, juan* 7, Worthies 22a.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jiazheng $^9^9$</th>
<th>penglai ge ji (c.a 1645-1650)</th>
<th>gathering place for local literati at Penglai Pavilion during the dynastic transition. $^9^0$</th>
<th>“Pavilion” section; $^9^1$ one of twelve scenic views recorded in the “Famous Sites” section. $^9^2$ The author was marked as a Ming loyalist in the “Biography” section. $^9^3$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jiang Xun. $^9^4$</td>
<td>Xiashan fang’an ji (1645-1650)</td>
<td>An Account of the origin of the Fang’an, which was established by a monk by 1645 and was noted as a gathering place for those who sequestered themselves in Xiachuan. $^9^5$</td>
<td>The site is included in the “Temples and Monasteries” section; $^9^6$ one of twelve scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section. $^9^7$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shen Guoyu $^9^8$</td>
<td>Ziwei quan ji lue</td>
<td>An account of a traveling at Ziwei Mountain. $^9^9$</td>
<td>The author was one of contributors to the original twelve scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section. $^{10^0}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

$^9^9$ According to the entries of Worthies in the Gazetteer, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Zhu Er’mai, and Shen Guoyu all lived through the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

$^9^0$ XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 9b.

$^9^1$ XCXZ, juan 2, Pavilion, 14b.

$^9^2$ XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites.

$^9^3$ XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies of the Past, 9b.

$^9^4$ According to the entries of Worthies in the Gazetteer, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Zhu Er’mai, and Shen Guoyu all lived through the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

$^9^5$ XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 11a-b.

$^9^6$ XCXZ, juan 3, Temples and Monasteries, 13a.

$^9^7$ XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites, 21a-22b.

$^9^8$ According to the entries of Worthies in the Gazetteer, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Zhu Er’mai, and Shen Guoyu all lived through the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

$^9^9$ XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 12a-b.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pan Tingzhng</td>
<td><em>Ru quan ji</em></td>
<td>An account on traveling to a local well in early Qing.</td>
<td>The author was recounted as a Ming loyalist in the “Biography” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Er’mai</td>
<td><em>Tie ling guan ji</em></td>
<td>An account of the origin of a local mountain Pass.</td>
<td>The author was the son of Zhu Jiazheng. The family was known as a poetry family during the dynastic transition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous (?)</td>
<td><em>Jiushijiu feng ge ji</em></td>
<td>An account of a recluse at the Pavilion during Ming-Qing Transition.</td>
<td>The site is included in the “Pavilion” section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Han (?)</td>
<td><em>Tian she yi zhong ji</em></td>
<td>An account of donations for a public burial land.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Zhan (1753-1817)</td>
<td><em>Jü zhuang ji</em> (1800s)</td>
<td>An account of the history of the Chrysanthemum Estate, one of the gathering places</td>
<td>One of twelve scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section; the author was one of the twelve.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100 *XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites.*

101 According to the entries of Worthies in the Gazetteer, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Zhu Er’mai, and Shen Guoyu all lived through the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

102 *XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 12b-13a*

103 *XCXZ, juan 6, Worthies, 20a-b.*

104 According to the entries of Worthies in the Gazetteer, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Zhu Er’mai, and Shen Guoyu all lived through the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

105 *XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 14b.*

106 According to the entries of Worthies in the Gazetteer, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Zhu Er’mai, and Shen Guoyu all lived through the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

107 *XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 14b-15b; *XCXZ, juan 2, Pavilion, 14b.*

108 *XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 14b-15b; *XCXZ, juan 2, Pavilion, 14b.*

109 *XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 16a-18a.*
As listed above, nine accounts were written by figures during the Ming-Qing transition; four before 1644; one in the early nineteenth century; and one undated. Among fourteen authors, Zhou Zhongyi for the first time had a text included in a local history, his proposal to set up “fence-walls”\textsuperscript{113} to protect local people from robbery and plundering during the dynastic transition. The inclusion of the text in the section accorded with the first-time incorporation of him in the “Biography” section. Zhu Yishi, Zhu Jiazheng, Jiang Xun, Pan Tingzhang, and Zhu Er’mai’ had one or two texts included into local histories before. Yet their texts in the “Account” subsection were different from those in the previous local gazetteers. As an example, the text of Zhu Yishi in 1765 Haining local gazetteer is an essay on measuring local lands in the early Qing while the text of his in the subsection is an essay in memory of Zhou Zhongyi’s two loyal cranes, which were presented following Zhou’s death after he died in the battle. Jiang Xun and Zhu Jizheng’s texts record two gathering places for those who secluded themselves in Xiachuan during the dynastic transition, which were also included two of twelve local scenic views in the “Famous Sites” section of the Gazetteer. The text on the public burial land tells of local

\textsuperscript{110}XCXZ, juan 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, 18a-b.

\textsuperscript{111}XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites.

\textsuperscript{112}XCXZ, juan 2, 1a.

\textsuperscript{113}“Fence walls” were checkpoints set up along the river by the town. Guards at the “Fence Walls” were set up to check those who entered or exited the town in order to prevent bandits and robbers getting in the town.
donations to set up a public tomb. Though neither the author nor the date is clear, the text reminds the intended readers of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition when it is arranged with other texts on the same subject in the subsection.

The selection of these texts shows the praise of “loyalists,” particularly “Ming loyalists,” is a crucial theme in the “Treatises on Literature and Art” section. The anti-Qing sentiments, which might have brought about troubles to local society because of cruel literary inquisitions in the late seventeenth century, came to be glorifying local people in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The inclusion of texts on and by local loyalists was considered as promoting local virtues and reputation. As Cao pointed out in the preface, the collected texts, either from masterpieces or broken steles, had “best manifestations” of local natural scenery to embody “hidden virtues” of local recluses.

In fact, this was how the poems of Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan in the “Famous Sites” section were read and used by local literati in the eighteenth century. The poems were not only read as compliments of local scenic beauty, but more importantly, as praises of “hidden virtues”-political loyalty and integrity-of local recluses. In the following section, I use the Account on the Chrysanthemum Estate in the subsection to analyze how twelve scenic views were read as manifestations of “hidden virtues” of local loyalists.

The author of the text was Chen Zhan (1753-1817). He obtained a juren degree in 1799. After staying in Beijing for several years, Chen Zhan came back to Haining and devoted himself to the study of Chinese classics. He associated with local bibliophiles, poets, and scholars, actively participating in local history projects. Chen was invited to be
one of editors for the *Xiachuan Gazetteer*.\footnote{XCXZ, juan 2, 1a.} He also prefaced the *Gazetteer* when it was published in 1812.\footnote{XCXZ, Prefaces.}

*The Account on the Chrysanthemum Estate* (*Juezhuang ji*) was written in the early nineteenth century. Chen Zhan must have read the poems in the “Famous Sites” section when he wrote the *Account*. He cited two lines from one poem of Xu Ying, one of contributors to the poems of the “Famous Sites” section, to describe the scenic beauty around the Estate. The *Account* was commissioned by the owner of the Estate, the Hu Family of Xiachuan.\footnote{XCXZ, juan 11, Records, 17b-18b.} In the *Account*, Chen Zhan first traced the history of the Estate, saying that it came into existence during the Song-Yuan dynastic transition of the thirteenth century when the ancestors of Hu Family migrated to Xiachuan and planted chrysanthemums around it. He then mentioned that one ancestor of Hu Family was a martyr to the Song dynasty; his descendents refused to serve in the court and chose to seclude themselves at the Estate in the wake of the dynastic transition. It was because of this, Chen Zhan mentions, that “the Estate became one of twelve scenic views of Xiachuan.”\footnote{XCXZ, juan 11, Records, 17b-18b.} In doing so, Chen Zhen explicitly pointed out the link between local famous sites and loyalists in the history of Haining. Loyalism appealed to local literati not only because of its political implication of the Ming-Qing transition, but also because of its cultivation of local cultural prestige in producing Ming loyalists.
Chen Zhan further established the link between the Estate and political loyalty via citing first two lines of Xu Ying’s poem on the Estate:

Pine shadows and mists fill four directions,\textsuperscript{118}

Yellow flowers in late season are fresh again;\textsuperscript{119}

I mistook it for Caisangli,\textsuperscript{120}

What is only lacking is a person in white sending over the wine.\textsuperscript{121}

The whole poem was incorporated into the “Famous Sites” section. Xu Ying employed the allusion from Tao Yuanming, a hermit of the fifth century, to suggest political loyalty and integrity embodied in the owner’s appreciation of Chrysanthemums.

In the Account, Chen Zhen followed Xu Ying’s praises and further applauded the owner’s political virtues embedded in the Estate. He listed the descendents of Hu Family’s participation in local public affairs such as charities and annual sacrifices. By indicating the continuity of the family’s virtues in the Account, Chen Zhan constructed an unchanging legacy of the Estate from the thirteenth century through the nineteenth century. In other words, it was moral values such as political loyalty, virtues, and integrity of the owners that perpetualized the scenic beauty of the Estate.

\textsuperscript{118} XCXZ, juan 4, Famous Sites, 13b-14a.

\textsuperscript{119} Late season also refers to political integrity loyalists maintained for their whole life.

\textsuperscript{120} Caisongli was where Tao Yuanming, a fifth century hermit and also a legendary figure in Chinese literary history, stayed after he withdrew from officialdom.

\textsuperscript{121} One in white sending the wine over was anecdote about Tao Yuanming enjoyed wines and chrysanthemum on the day of the Double Nine Festival.
“Famous Sites” Section: Constructing a Lineage of Ming Loyalists

Cao Zongzai, the compiler of the Gazetteer, upholds political loyalty as a moral standard and has applied it as a principle to select and structure the poems in the “Famous Sites” section. Cao carefully structured texts and illustrations in the section, constructed a lineage of local loyalists. In doing so, he on the one hand chimed in support with Qianlong’s lines on the Ming-Qing transition in terms of praising those who held on their political loyalty to the former Ming “without serving two courts.” On the other hand he intended to promote local cultural prestige in terms of its local political loyalty manifested in local scenic views.

First, Cao Zongzai and his peers constructed a lineage of local loyalists by paralleling two subsections starting with the poems of two loyalists. Zhou Zhaoyin and Xu Ying’s poems were arranged so as to lead off their subsections of twelve scenic views of Xiachuan. Zhou was referred to as being the first poet to write the original set of twelve scenic views of Xiachuan while Xu was the first one for the sequel set. Later, in the same text we are told, local literatus Guan Yuanyao told us that Zhou Jing instead of Zhou Zhaoyun should be given credit for the authorship of the original set of scenic views.122

While Zhou Jing might have been the actual author of the poems of the original twelve scenic views, Zhou Zhaoyin was more suited for the “Famous Sites” section in terms of his “loyalist background.” Zhaoyin, according to his entry in the “Biography” section, lived in Xiachuan during the Song-Yuan dynastic transition of the late thirteenth

122 HCSJZ, juan 8. 1a.
century. Like Xu Ying’s family who was devoted to the former Ming dynasty, Zhaoyin’s father was said to have devoted his life to the former Southern Song dynasty. His mother committed suicide to follow his father when the Mongols took over China. He himself moved to Xiachuan after the Song-Yuan dynastic transition.

It was worth noting here that Zhou Zhaoyin had never been presented in Haining local gazetteers before, not even his poems. He was first incorporated in the 1789 *Remnant Records of the Haining Gazetteer*, a local history aiming to record those who were left out of the previous local gazetteers. In his biographical entry, Zhou was noted as the first ancestor of the Zhou Family of Xiachuan as well as the first loyalist in the history of Haining. Cao Zongzai followed that narrative and included Zhou Zhaoyin as one of earliest loyalists in the history of Haining when he included Zhaoyin’s biography in the “Worthies” section in the *Gazetteer*.

By paralleling a Song loyalist Zhou Zhaoyin with a Ming loyalist Xu Ying, the “Famous Sites” section thus constructed a genealogy of local loyalists, in particular, a trans-dynastic lineage. Employing the metaphor of continuity of local scenic beauty embedded in the texts of Xu Ying and Zhou Zhaoyin, Cao Zongzai constructed a continuity of local loyalists from the thirteenth century down to the nineteenth century, a crucial theme that Cao Zongzai intended to highlight and applaud in the *Gazetteer* as reflected in the “Biography” section and “ Treatises on Literature and Art” section.

123 *XCXZ, juan 6*, Worthies, 4a.

124 *XCXZ, juan 6*, 3a.

125 *NZYW, juan 5*, 13a.
In structuring the section as such, Cao Zongzai severed local famous sites from their historical and cultural contexts and equalized social and cultural meanings of famous sites of the thirteenth century with those of the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century. Lumping the texts and illustrations of famous sites a-historically, Cao Zongzai erased possible historical and cultural distinctions between a Ming loyalist and a Song loyalist and therefore constructed a coherent narrative and representation of the history of local loyalists. In doing so, the “Famous Sites” section on the one hand presented local scenic beauties while it accords with the Qianlong emperor’s rehabilitation on Ming loyalists in the late eighteenth century.

Second, illustrations of the early nineteenth century also help to formulate coherent representations of local political loyalty in the “Famous Sites” section. As shown in chapter four and five, forty-one poets from the fifteenth century through the nineteenth century contribute the poems to the section. Layers and layers of meanings were juxtaposed, forming heterogeneous narratives. The parallel structure of the original twelve views and the sequel scenic views and the repeating motif of local reclusion culture in the illustrations, however, subverted the heterogeneous meanings of poems and formulated a coherent narrative and representation of political loyalty embedded in the “Famous Sites” section.

With the few exceptions the illustrations in the section depict each scenic view in a distinct recognizable motif, that is, an ideal of reclusion. It was repeated in both sets of twelve scenic views thus becoming the standard modes of representation for local twelve scenic views.
Two painters, Pan Yong and Yao Shijie, who were invited to paint for woodblock illustrations, approached two sets of twelve scenic views in their own ways on the basis of their reading and understanding of the poems selected in the section. Pan Yong deliberately employed the shape of haze and clouds around the scenes to show the auspiciousness and divineness of local scenic views in the original subsection while Yao Shijie constantly employed the device of compartmental composition of scenic views to construct local settings for the recluses in the Sequel subsection (figure 6.1 and 6.2). Yao carefully arranged the mountains, rivers, rocks, and trees to construct a local reclusive setting. Thatched huts, and sometimes pavilions, form the centerpieces of the illustrations. A typical illustration would feature a recluse. He, with a gourd of wine or a book, drinks or reads in the hut. Several servants serve him or are working in the front or back of the hut (figure 6.3). Behind this are groves of pines trees or bamboo stretching off into the distant mountains without interruption. In the foreground are fences that enclose a small garden plot of chrysanthemums, and a stream with a bridge over the rushing water completes the picture.
Figure 6.1 One of Twelve Scenic Views by Pan Yong: Sunset at Blue Cloud Temple

(Note: The site, according to entries in local histories, is where local Taoist Ma Ziran transcended)
Figure 6.2 One of Twelve Scenic Views by Yao Shijie: Birds’ Songs at Mountain Pavilion

(Note: The site, according local histories, was on the way to Guangfu Temple)
Figure 6.3 One of Twelve Scenic Views by Yao Shijie: Autumn Color of Chrysanthemum Estate

(The site, according to local histories, was an estate of a local Ming loyalist)
The different ways in which Pan Yong and Yao Shijie approached local reclusion cultures reflected different historical background and social and cultural meanings of two sets of twelve scenic views. While those applauded in the original scenic views were primarily Taoist practitioners and Buddhist followers, the recluses praised in the sequel scenic views were local Ming loyalists. The hazes and mists in the original scenic views and small-sized figures in the sequel scenic views reflected different perception of local reclusions culture on the basis of two painters’ careful reading of two sets of poems about local scenic views.

In spite of their differences in the ways to approach twelve local scenic views, the repeating images of recluses would form a coherent narrative and representation of local reclusion culture for intended audience.

Cao Zongzai also reinforced such coherent narrative of local loyalists via marking Xu Ying as a “Ming” woman poet in the section. He added three characters “Talented Lady of the Ming” (Ming gui xiu) in the front of her name each time it appears in the section. As we have read in the previous two chapters, Xu Ying lived through Ming-Qing dynastic transition. She was a half Ming and half Qing figure. By designating her as a Ming figure in the “Famous Sites” section, Cao Zongzai highlighted her family background of Ming loyalists. It was a conventional way for historians to mark Ming loyalists who martyred to the former Ming as Ming figures and those who lived through to the Qing dynasty as Qing figure. Cao Zongzai also applied this rule in the “Biography” section, in which he marked those martyrs or with “martyr” family background as Ming figures and those who lived through to the Qing as Qing figures. Marking Xu Ying as a
Ming figure in the “Famous Sites” section, Cao Zongzai implicitly designating her Twelve Scenic Views of Xianchuan as the poems of a Ming loyalist.

Reconstructing Local Famous Sites in the Actual World

The dissemination of texts on local famous sites also led to actual reconstruction. In the case of Xiachuan Twelve Scenic Views in the “Famous Sites” section, most of them gradually slipped out of public attention in the late seventeenth century after the Qing stabilized their rule in China proper. The sites themselves were either destroyed or collapsed after their owners left or passed away. To list a few, the view of “Ten-thousand Stone Grotto” where Zha Jizuo was secluded from 1645 through early 1650s turned into nothing but piles of rocks after he left.126 The plum trees forming the view of “Watching Plums at Guangfu Temple” were cut down and turned into a plot of land where local farmers took on to grow vegetables soon after the dynastic transition.127 The Chrysanthemum Estate was covered with wild grass and trees when an early eighteenth century local poet paid a visit to it.128 The Fang Shrine and the Penglai Pavilion, two of twelve scenic views forming the sequel of twelve scenic views, were built by a monk and a Taoist in 1640s and collapsed after they left in 1650s.129

After re-incorporation of Xu Ying’s poems in the “Famous Sites” section, Twelve Scenic Views of Xiachuan again became tourist destinations and inspirational sites for local poets. In addition, some famous sites were reconstructed in Xiachuan in the early

126 XCXZ, juan 4, 14b-15a.
127 XCXZ, juan 1, Temples and Monasteries, 6a.
128 XCXZ, juan 1, Ancient Sites, 9b.
129 XCXZ, juan 2, Pavilions and Hall, 14b; juan 3, Temples and Monasteries, 13b-14a.
nineteenth century to facilitate local literati’s interests. As an example, one of twelve scenic view—“Visiting Plum Blossoms in Early Springtime” was reconstructed in 1812. Plum trees were replanted and a hall named “Heavy Snow” was reconstructed close by the Guangfu Temple. The hall followed the name of a study of a local Ming loyalist Zhou Ting. According to local histories, Zhou Ting was the one who created the scenic view in 1644 by planting hundreds of plum trees at the Guangfu Temple. After he died during the dynastic transition, the trees were cut down. Re-planting plum trees and constructing a hall following the name of Zhou’s studio, local literati reconstructed one of scenic views in actual world in terms of its close connection with a memory of a local Ming loyalist.

Meanwhile the Hu family invited local literati to write essays to commemorate the Chrysanthemum Estate. Later the family rebuilt an estate in Xiachuan. It was the dissemination of texts on local famous sites that led to the construction of famous sites in the actual world. More importantly, they were constructed as a site commemorating local loyalists, as reflected in the case of the Chrysanthemum Estate and plum trees at the Guangfu Temple.

**Conclusion**

In the case of *Xiachuan Local Gazetteer*, we can see local literati engaged the discourse of political loyalty and emphasized local loyalists and their impact on local culture and history. They incorporated many Ming loyalists, who had devoted their lives

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130 *XCXZ, juan* 1, Temples and Monasteries, 6a.

131 *XCXZ, juan* 11, Treatises on Literature and Art, Records, 17b-18b; *XCXZ, juan* 2, Ancient Sites, 9b.
out of the loyalty during the Ming-Qing transitions and who were never incorporated into local histories before. This showed local literati’s affirmation to the discourse set up by the empire.

Meanwhile local literati appropriated the political discourse to accommodate local literati for local histories, particularly those who chose to live on instead of devoting their lives to the former Ming dynasties. They were those who formed the largest percentage of Ming loyalists in the locale. However, they were people the Qianlong emperor did not mean to honor. Borrowing the concept of “righteous life” from Quan Zuwang, local literati emphasized the political loyalty of these people in terms of their reclusion even if they chose to live on in the wake of the dynastic transition. In doing so, they appropriated the discourse of political loyalty for their own agenda. In the Xiachuan Gazetteer, the group of Ming loyalists were praised in the “Biography” and “Treatises on Literature and Art” sections in terms of holding their political loyalty via declining to serving in the new court and secluding themselves in the mountains of Xiachuan.

The section of “Famous Sites” also became one of spaces to applaud local Ming loyalists. By means of recounting local cultural prestige via the beautiful views and sites frequented by Ming loyalists, the section thereby reaffirmed a cultural continuity with the past and provided models for the perpetuation or recuperation of literati culture in Haining. What is at stake here is that section of Famous Sites constructed a strategic text for local cultural prestige, literati aesthetics, and political engagement in the late eighteenth century.

By celebrating famous sites frequented by local literati—particularly loyalists—the section of Famous Sites presented local cultural prestige in terms of famous sites
embedded with political loyalty. Such perception of local famous sites met the demand of political requirements of “loyalty” and the Confucianism ideology of “trustworthiness.”

The practice of landscape poetry also fit the aesthetic taste within the literati class. More importantly, with the construction of local famous sites in texts, images, and the actual world, local literati engaged in the imperial project of re-orienting Jiangnan into a multi-ethnic empire.

The creation of local famous sites also related to the local literati’s identities and cultural trends in the late eighteenth century Jiangnan. As I have discussed in Chapter four, the contributors to the Famous Sites Section were literati with low status who had failed in the civil service exams. In the face of this failure, they embarked upon creating local famous sites as a means to nevertheless construct and obtain their own literary identities, cultural prestige, and social status. Equally important, the incorporation of their poems in the Famous Sites Section of local histories provided them a new opportunity to prove their literary talents and take on functions in local affairs. By recreating the famous sites section with their poetic and visual talents in response to the rehabilitation on Ming-Qing conflict, the literati inscribed themselves as an important link of local literati culture and the imperial project.
Appendix 1 Local Gazetteers and Local Histories (1750s-1922)

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<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
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<td><em>Haining xian zhi</em> (<em>HNXZ</em>, 1765)</td>
<td>Zha Qichang et al.</td>
<td>Local gazetteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Haining zhou zhi</em> (<em>HNZZ</em>, 1775)</td>
<td>Zhan Xiaozeng et al.</td>
<td>Local gazetteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ning zhi yu wen</em> (<em>NZYW</em>, 1789)</td>
<td>Zhou Guanye</td>
<td>Local gazetteer to supplement the previous two gazetteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Haichang sheng lan</em> (<em>HCSL</em>, 1780)</td>
<td>Zhou Chun</td>
<td>A combination of poetry and evidential entries to explore local famous sites, people, products, and histories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Haichang zhang gu</em> (<em>HCZZ</em>, 1780s?)</td>
<td>Zhou Chun</td>
<td>A collection to record anecdotes of local histories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Xinban tu feng</em> (<em>XBTF</em>, 1778)</td>
<td>Chen Zhan</td>
<td>A poetry collection exploring local famous sites, foods, people, products, and customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jianyang cong bi</em> (<em>JYCB</em>, 1809)</td>
<td>Wu Qian</td>
<td>A poetry collection exploring local famous sites, foods, people, products, and customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Juanhu yu chang</em> (<em>JHYC</em>, 1886)</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>A poetry collection exploring local famous sites, foods, people, products, and customs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hua xi zhi zhi ci (HXZZC, 1800?)</td>
<td>Dong Hao</td>
<td>A poetry collection exploring local famous sites, foods, people, products, and customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiachuan shi chao (XCSC)</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>A poetry collection featuring local poets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiachuan xu zhi (XCXZ, 1812)</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>A local gazetteer on Xiachuan town in Haining</td>
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<td>Huaxi zhi (HXZ, 1784)</td>
<td>Xu Liangmu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haichang cong zai (HCCZ, 1860s-1890s)</td>
<td>Yang Fuli</td>
<td>A collection of local poetry and essays as a supplement to local histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiuchuan xiao zhi (XCXZ, 1866)</td>
<td>Zou Cungan</td>
<td>A local gazetteer on Xiuchuan town in Haining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiachuan shi chao (XCSC, 1789)</td>
<td>Cao Zongzai</td>
<td>A local poetry collection featuring local poets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiachuan xu shi chao (XCXSC, 1850s?)</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>A local poetry collection featuring local poets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haichang bei zhi (HCBZ, 1848)</td>
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<td>Haichang zhou zhi gao (HCZZG, 1896, 1922)</td>
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<td><strong>Haichang sheng ji zhi (HCSJZ, 1923)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Guan Zhengzhi</strong></td>
<td><strong>A local gazetteer specifically about local famous sites.</strong></td>
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