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DISSERTATION

Production of Space in Symbols: The Phenomenon of “Boat-Architecture” as a Unique Cultural Manifestation in China Between 10th and 19th Century

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Kurzfassung

Von Menschen geschaffener architektonischer Raum ist eng mit der sozialen Kultur verknüpft. „Boots-architektur“ stellt eine besondere Form des antiken chinesischen architektonischen Raums dar, der als „Produktion von Raum in Symbolen“ angesehen werden kann und somit ein einzigartiges kulturelles Phänomen darstellt.

Das kulturelle Phänomen der „Boots-architektur“ erzeugt Raum durch Kombination kultureller Symbole (Boote) mit Architekturen innerhalb eines spezifischen sozialen Kontexts und der Massenpsychologie. Es spiegelt die Blickwinkel verschiedener Gruppen auf die Verflechtung von Raum, Kultur und Gesellschaft zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten wider. Diese Forschung zielt darauf ab, anhand dieses besonderen Architekturtyps zu untersuchen, wie die Chinesen historisch gesehen architektonischen Raum wahrnahmen und produzierten.

Eine neuartige Perspektive unterstützt die Erreichung des Forschungsziels: Erstens werden die wechselseitigen Spiegelungen zwischen „Boot“ und „Architektur“ als integrale Bestandteile der untrennbaren Einheit „Boots-architektur“ betrachtet; zweitens wird Raum als soziales Produkt und nicht nur als architektonische Form betrachtet. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt werden drei Kernfragen vorgeschlagen, die diese Untersuchung leiten sollen:

- A. Was ist das (kulturelle Phänomen) „Bootsarchitektur“?
- B. Wie wurde der Raum „Bootsarchitektur“ im Laufe der Geschichte produziert?
- C. Welche Erkenntnisse lassen sich aus der Raumproduktion der „Boots-architektur“ in Bezug auf historische Individuen als auch auf Gesellschaften ableiten?

Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, versucht diese Arbeit für vier verschiedene Benutzergruppen relevante Bootsarchitekturen zu untersuchen: Literaten/Beamte, weibliche Entertainer/Gönner, Kaiser/Herrscherfamilien und Landbesitzer/einfache Leute. Eine akribische Analyse vieler historischer Dokumente, Bilder und Architekturen untersucht signifikante Beispiele. Sie wird in eine umfassende historische Hintergrundinformation eingebettet. Zur Bewertung der Beispielwahl und ihrer Relevanz werden weitere, weniger detailliert ausgeführte Beispiele vorgestellt.

Als Ergebnis wird die „Bootsarchitektur“ als eigenständiges kulturelles Phänomen dargestellt. Erstens repräsentiert sie die menschliche Sehnsucht, sein eigenes geistiges Reich innerhalb der konstruierten Umgebung zu erforschen und zu erleben. Zweitens dient es als Verkörperung kultureller Symbolik im künstlerischen Medium Architektur. Schließlich können Unterschiede in der Interpretation von Bootsarchitekturen zwischen verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen auf unterschiedliche gesellschaftliche Ideologien zurückgeführt werden, was Einblicke in einen spezifischen historischen Kontext ermöglicht.

Schlagwörter:

Symbolik / Raumproduktion / kulturelles Phänomen / Boots-Architektur / Geschichte / China

Abstract

The creation of architectural space by humans is intricately intertwined with social culture. “Boat-architecture” represents a distinctive form of ancient Chinese architectural space, which can be regarded as “the production of space in symbols” and thus constitutes a unique cultural phenomenon.

The cultural phenomenon of “boat-architecture” produces space by combining cultural symbols (boats) with architectures within a specific social context and mass psychology. It reflects different groups’ perspectives on the interrelationship of space, culture, and society at different times. This research aims to explore how Chinese people historically perceived and produced architectural space through this particular architectural type “boat-architecture”.

To achieve the objective of this study, a novel perspective is embraced: firstly, the reciprocal reflections between the “boat” and “architecture” are considered as integral components of the inseparable entity known as “boat-architecture”; secondly, space is regarded as a social product rather than merely an architectural form. From this standpoint, three core questions are proposed to guide this investigation:

- A. What is the (cultural phenomenon of) “boat-architecture”?
- B. How has the space production of “boat-architecture” been executed throughout history?
- C. What insights can be derived from the space production of “boat-architecture,” in relation to both historical individuals and societies?

To address these inquiries, this paper endeavors to investigate “boat-architecture” cases pertinent to four distinct user groups: literati/officials, female entertainers/patrons, emperors/royal families, and landowners/folks. This study examines significant cases by meticulously analyzing abundant historical documents, images, and architectural entities, accompanied by comprehensive historical background information. Additionally, less detailed related cases are presented for cross-examination to validate the chosen selection and its relevance.

As an outcome, the “boat-architecture” will be presented as a distinctive cultural phenomenon in three ways. Firstly, it represents the human desire to introspect and experience humans’ own spiritual realm within the constructed environment. Secondly, it serves as an embodiment of cultural symbolism within the artistic medium of architecture. Lastly, variations in the interpretation of “boat-architecture” among different social groups can be attributed to divergent societal ideologies, providing insights into a specific historical context.

key words:

symbolism / production of space / cultural phenomenon / boat-architecture / history / China

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Affidavit

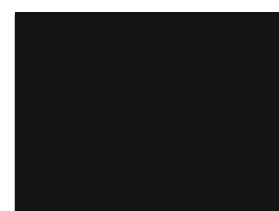
I hereby declare in lieu of an oath, that I have completed the present thesis and performed the associated research myself, using only literature cited in this volume.

I confirm that this work is original and has not been submitted elsewhere for any examination, nor is it currently under consideration for a thesis elsewhere.

I acknowledge that the submitted work will be checked electronically-technically using suitable and state-of-the-art means (plagiarism detection software). On the one hand, this ensures that the submitted work was prepared according to the high-quality standards within the applicable rules to ensure good scientific practice “Code of Conduct” at the TU Wien. On the other hand, a comparison with other student theses avoids violations of my personal copyright.

Wien, 20.10.2023

City and Date



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Contents

Kurzfassung	i
Abstract	ii
Contents	i
Acknowledgements	v
Abbreviations and Explanations of the Translation	vii
Chinese Dynasties	ix
Preface	1
Introduction	5
I.1. Research Object	6
I.2. Literature review	6
I.3. Perspective	11
I.4. Theoretical Framework	14
I.5. Objectives	15
I.6. Methodology	16
I.6.1 Research Contents and Materials	16
I.6.2 Data Collection and Analysis	18
I.6.3 Research Structure	19
1. Literati/Officials: Huafang Zhai and Shuhua Chuan	21
1.1 Huafang Zhai, the Precedent of a Studio Imitating a Boat	22
1.1.1 Ouyang Xiu and His Huafang Zhai	22
1.1.2 Restorations and reconstructions of the Huafang Zhai in and after the Northern Song dynasty	35
1.1.3 The Reception and Dissemination of Huafang Zhai as a Cultural Symbol	49
1.2 Shuhua Chuan, the Elegant Drifting Studio Full of Calligraphy and Paintings	57
1.2.1 Mi Fu and Others' Shuhua Chuan	58
1.2.2 The Activities Inside the Shuhua Chuan	67
1.2.3 Spatial Characteristics of Shuhua Chuan	81
1.3 <i>Fang</i> in Literati's Private Gardens: The Application and Development of the Two Prototypes	94
1.3.1 Entering/escaping the World: The Spread and Development of Huafang Zhai's Cultural Symbol in Song Dynasty Literati Gardens	95
1.3.2 The Confluence of Shuhua Chuan and Huafang Zhai	109
1.3.3 The Expansion of Symbolic Significance of <i>Fang</i>	117
1.4 Buxi Yuan as a Typical Example: Literati's Shaping of Boat-Architecture	126
1.4.1 Wang Ruqian and the Buxi Yuan	126
1.4.2 Concept: The Name of Boat-architecture	141
1.4.3 Symbol: The Utopia/heterotopia of Boat-Architecture	149
2. Female-entertainers/Patrons: Beauties and Boat-Architectures in the Pleasure Quarters	166
2.1 Water Stages with Female Entertainers	167

2.1.1 Boat-architectures as Performing Stages	167
2.1.2 Performers and Prostitutes	178
2.1.3 The High and Low Ends on the Echelon of Courtesans on Boat	184
2.2 Goddess of Water: Boat-architectures and the Cultural Metaphor in Female Context.....	192
2.2.1 The Connection Between Women and Water in Traditional Chinese Culture.....	192
2.2.2 Goddess Fantasy and the Wonderland of the Desire Realm	200
2.2.3 Wonderland on Water: The Heterotopia Metaphor Reinforced Through Boat-Architecture Space .	204
2.3 Fantasy Space: Boat-Architectures Depicted as Plot Settings of the Affairs Involved with Love and Sex	209
2.3.1 The Temptation in the Lonely Journey	211
2.3.2 The Conspiracy of the Water “Goddess”	220
2.3.3 The Choice Under the Last Resort.....	232
2.4 Power and Constructed Cultural Space: Aquatic Pleasure Quarters from an Urban Perspective.....	249
2.4.1 The Pleasure Quarter Along the Qinhuai River	249
2.4.2 The Flower Boat on the Pearl River.....	281
3. Emperors/Royal Families: Metaphors Rule the Country	320
3.1 Emperor and Boats: Start with a Metaphor	321
3.1.1 From zhishui to zhiguo: The Metaphor of junzhou-minshui and zaizhou-fuzhou	322
3.1.2 Emperor Qianlong’s Boat-Architectures.....	332
3.2 Boating Tour: Pleasure, Conceit, and Self-discipline.....	341
3.2.1 The Huafang Zhai Courtyard in Beihai.....	341
3.2.2 The Predilection and Possessiveness Towards the Jiangnan Region	350
3.2.3 Balanced Structure: A New Cultural Symbolism of Huafang Zhai	359
3.3 Uncapsizable Reign: From Wakefulness to Reluctance to Wake Up.....	367
3.3.1 The Qingyi Garden: Water Treatment, Filial Piety, and Selfish Desire.....	371
3.3.2 Shi Fang and the Design Idea	382
3.3.3 The Change and Contrast of Form, Space, and Intention	391
4. Landowners/Folks: The Discourse of Boat-Architectures Created by the Local Grassroot Communities	408
4.1 Yangchuan Wu and Its History: Architecture and Folklore	409
4.1.1 Yangchuan Wu as a Vernacular Architecture	410
4.1.2 Yangchuan Wu as a Folklore	424
4.2 Formation, Reception, and Propagation of Folk Boat-architecture Discourse in the Traditional Context.....	440
4.2.1 The Reception of the Discourse on Yangchuan Wu in Rural Huizhou.....	441
4.2.2 The folk Stories of the Boat-Shaped Settlements.....	447
4.3 Discourse on Boat-Architecture Against the Background of Conflict and Contest	455
4.3.1 The Era of the West Knocking on China’s Door: yanghuo and Foreign Steamboat.....	456
4.3.2 Early Foreign Steamboat in Chinese Eyes	468
4.3.3 Foreign Steamboat vs. Chinese Boat: The Symbol of Power and Counter-Power	479
4.3.4 A New Look at the Formation and Acceptance of the Discourse in the Case of Yangchuan Wu	492
Epilogue	504
E.1 What is (the cultural phenomenon of) “boat-architecture”?	504

E.2 How has the space production of “boat-architecture” been executed throughout history?.....	506
E.3 What insights can be derived from the space production of “boat-architecture,” in relation to both historical individuals and societies?	508
Bibliography	511
Character List	535
Figure Index	557
Curriculum Vitae	I

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Abbreviations and Explanations of the Translation

BCE	Before Common Era
b.	born
c.	century
ca.	<i>circa</i>
CE	Common Era (generally omitted, unless used in conjunction with BCE)
d.	died
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>
fl.	flourished
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i>
i.e.	<i>id est</i>
r.	ruled

CM-CXTSJ	<i>Chunxingtang shiji</i> 春星堂诗集 in <i>Congmu Wangshi yishu</i> 丛睦汪氏遗书
HZWXJC	<i>Hangzhou wenxian jicheng</i> 杭州文献集成
KXHXZ	<i>Kangxi Huaxian zhi</i> 康熙滑县志 (1686)
MGHXZ	<i>Minguo Huxian zhi</i> 民国滑县志 (1760)
SKQS	<i>Wenyuange Qinding Sikuquanshu</i> 文渊阁钦定四库全书
SKQSHY	<i>Chizaotang sikuquanshu huiyao</i> 摘藻堂四库全书荟要
TZHXZ	<i>Tongzhi Huxian zhi</i> 同治滑县志 (1867)
YZS	<i>Qing-Gaozong yuzhi shiji</i> 清高宗御制诗集

The corresponding Chinese in the translation will be provided upon their initial occurrence in the text. If they are mentioned earlier in the footnote or figure titles than in the main body, they will be indicated twice respectively, otherwise it will only be given in the text.

Proper nouns, such as personal names, place names, buildings, institutions, dynasties, and the reign titles, are capitalized but not italicized. However, words, phrases, official positions, and events are presented in italics.

Unless otherwise indicated, Romanized terms are provided according to their pronunciation in standard Chinese (Mandarin). The exceptions are provided as follows:

Chaozhou 潮州 (Tew Chew)	Hong Kong 香港	Guangzhou 广州 (Canton)
Huangpu 黄埔 (Whampoa)	Shanghai 上海 (Sianghai)	Xiamen 厦门 (Amoy)
Yangzi 扬子 (Yangtze)	Zhejiang 浙江 (Tehetchiang)	

Words or phrases from Latin languages other than English are displayed in italics. The original Japanese text is additionally indicated following the English translation.

The spelling, punctuation, and font size of the translation will correspond to those of the original text unless otherwise specified. Explanatory text will be enclosed in parentheses “(),” and additional text for fluency and clarity will be enclosed in square brackets “[].”

Chinese Dynasties

Xia dynasty, ca. 2070-1600 BCE

Shang dynasty, ca. 1600-1045 BCE

Zhou dynasty, ca. 1045-256 BCE

Spring and Autumn period, 770-476 BCE

Warring States period, 476-221 BCE

Qin dynasty, 221-206 BCE

Han dynasty, 206 BCE-220 CE

Western Han, 206 BCE-9 CE

Xin, 9-23 CE

Eastern Han, 25-220 CE

Three Kingdoms, 220-280

Six Dynasties

Western Jin, 265-317

Eastern Jin, 317-420

Southern and Northern dynasties, 420-589

Sui dynasty, 581-618

Tang dynasty, 618-907

Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 907-979

Song dynasty, 960-1279

Northern Song, 960-1127

Southern Song, 1127-1279

Jin dynasty, 1115-1234

Yuan dynasty, 1279-1368

Ming dynasty, 1368-1644

Qing dynasty, 1644-1912

the Republic of China, 1912-1949

The reign periods will be indicated within the text, with those corresponding to the Qing dynasty being referred to as XX (Qing emperor's name) reign, such as "Qianlong reign," while others will be denoted as the XX (the reign titles) period, such as "the Qingli period."

The date in the ancient Chinese calendar is conventionally expressed as "the XX day of the XX lunar month," for example, "the 28th day of the sixth lunar month." When providing the corresponding Gregorian calendar date, it is enclosed within parentheses "()."

Preface

Prior to providing any elucidation on the seemingly unconventional research object, I would like to introduce a painting that has left an indelible impression on me.

It is a masterpiece by Li Song 李嵩 (1166-1243) from the Southern Song dynasty, which I encountered during my research for my master's thesis utilizing Song paintings as primary source materials (Fig. P-1). The artist's meticulous brushwork portrays an ancient dragon boat, with its hull manipulated to resemble a dragon. The exquisitely sculpted dragon's head and tail at both ends are rendered vividly. The presence of three figures positioned on the dragon's "neck," the protrusion of three long oars from each side of the cabin, and the rudder under the dragon's "tail" suggests the existence of a conventional hull structure beneath the ornamental facade.



Fig. P-1 The dragon boat in “Tianzhong shuixi.”

In the middle of the hull – on the “back” of the “dragon,” an incredibly intricate architectural ensemble is depicted. The architectural complex aboard is a remarkable display of design delicacy, despite its constrained space. At the heart of this ensemble lies a centrally positioned two-story pavilion, seamlessly connected to the surrounding annex. On the left and right sides to the main building are single-story structures that gracefully merge with its ground floor. Towards the front stands another two-story pavilion, albeit smaller and lower in stature, while at the rear rests a one-story pavilion elevated upon a platform of equal height. They are linked to the central pavilion through arched corridors situated on the second floor, forming a symmetrical but varied structure.

Similar dragon boats can be seen in “Jinming Chi zhengbiao tu” 金明池争标图 (Dragon Boat Regatta on Jinming Lake, attributed to Zhang Zeduan 张择端, 1085-1145) (Fig. P-2) and “Jinming Chi tu” 金明池图 (Dragon Boat Regatta on Jinming Lake, attributed to Wang Zhenpeng 王振鹏 in the Yuan dynasty)¹ (Fig. P-3). The architectural layout of these dragon boats exhibits a striking resemblance, giving the impression of being exceptionally massive and structurally unstable for a watercraft, which may raise doubts about their ability to remain stable in water and effectively navigate.



Fig. P-2 The dragon boat in “Jinming Chi zhengbiao tu.”



Fig. P-3 The dragon boat in “Jinming Chi tu.”

¹ There are at least ten paintings on this motif that attributed to Wang Zhenpeng. For further information, see Yu Hui 余辉, “Song Yuan longzhou ticaicai huihua yanjiu: Xunzhao Zhang Zeduan ‘Xihu zhengbiao tu’ juan” 宋元龙舟题材绘画研究——寻找张择端《西湖争标图》卷, *Palace Museum Journal* 190, no. 2 (2017): 6-36, 160.

The image of these dragon boats from the Song dynasty, whose authenticity we are unable to personally verify, appears to be a conceptual amalgamation of boat and architectural elements. It would be plausible that the artist incorporated the image of familiar architectural combinations atop the dragon's back or even directly transplanted the method of painting pavilions while imaginatively adding a hull in the shape of a dragon below.

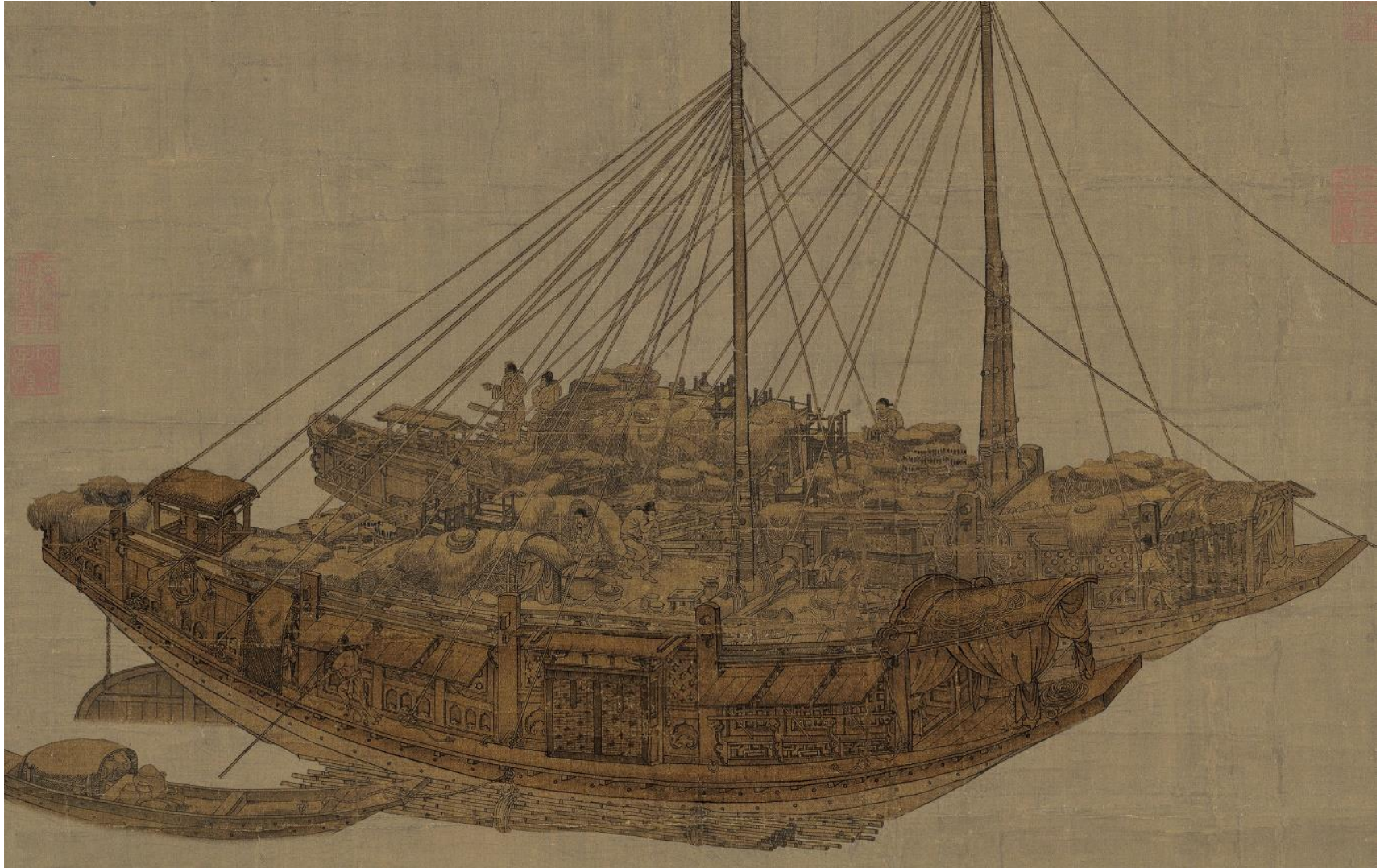


Fig. P-4 The boat in “Xueji jiangxing tu” 雪霁江行图.

However, apart from the exaggerated dragon boats, there are numerous more authentic depictions of common boats in the paintings of the Song dynasty (Fig. P-4). These images also portray structures on board that bear resemblance to land-based architectures. Given my objective at that time to study the “exterior components and space under the roof of timber architectures,” I also used these very finely traced boat-images to examine the architectural components of the Song dynasty.

Confronted with these visualizations, I did not hesitate to regard the structure on the deck as a form of “architecture.” This experience provided me with a “deconstructed” mental image of a specific type of “boat,” specifically comprising the lower hull and upper structure.

The implication is that I, in my classification of “boats,” elevate this particular class towards the realm of “architectures.”

To my grandmother,

Introduction

While it may appear unfamiliar to Europeans, the notion of associating the concept of “boat” with “architecture” is not strange to China. On the contrary, if the connection is established between the aforementioned type of boat and architecture, it naturally encountered another concept that already resided within this intersection zone but approached from an opposing path. It is the *fang* 舫 architecture (a kind of boat-shaped buildings that was commonly built in literati gardens) that has been recognized as a distinct architectural category due to its imitation of boats (Fig. I-1). This particular style of Chinese literati garden architecture is well-known among scholars of Chinese architectural history. Its defining characteristic lies in its emphasis on replicating a boat’s appearance, components, spatial ambiance, or simple association with boats through textual elements such as plaques.

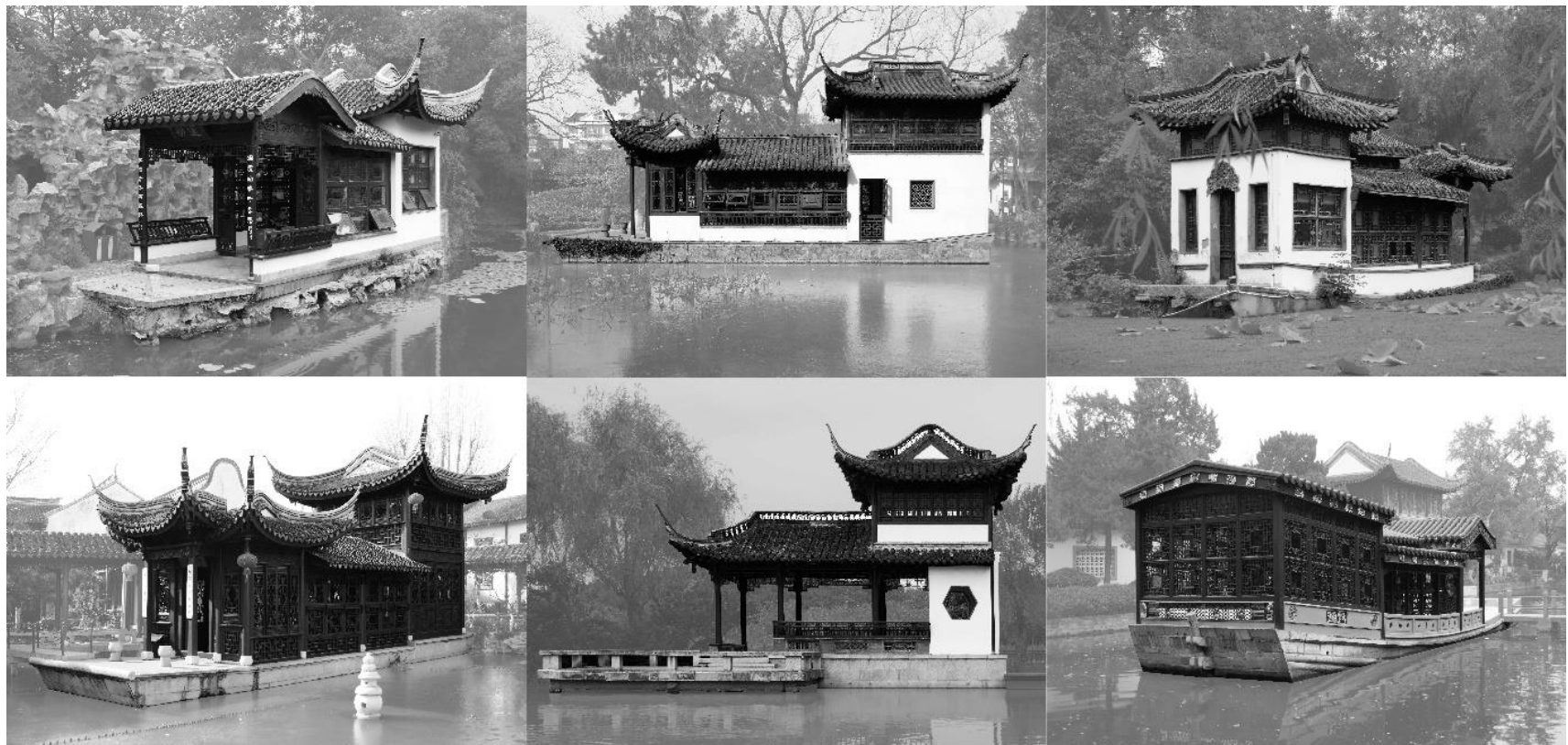


Fig. I-1 Several examples of *fang* architectures.

When these two concepts, one derived from the domain of “boat” and the other originating from the realm of “architecture,” meet halfway, a problem arises that has been overlooked by architectural historians: The design of *fang* architecture does not aim to replicate any boat, but rather a particular kind of boat that emulates architectural space through its upper structure, albeit less obvious than the image of a dragon boat. Consequently, a recurring echo structure emerges, challenging the conventional notion of simplistic one-way “imitation” and demanding a paradigm shift in understanding the unique spatial relationship.² This cognitive paradigm must focus on reciprocal reflections within the ambiguous realm that connects both “boat” and “architecture,” indicating that the distinctive spatial configuration is not solely

² The importance of this paradigm shift from a single perspective to a two-way perspective in understanding phenomena has long been demonstrated in scientific research, as exemplified by electromagnetic induction and wave-particle duality of light.

manifested through land architecture imitating boats but also through architectural space on board vessels.

I.1. Research Object

The spatial forms discussed in this study are collectively referred to as the concept of “boat-architecture,” which represents an architectural spatial configuration encompassing two manifestations and incorporating the symbolism of the “boat” in its production.

The term “boat-architecture” encompasses, in a broad sense, all spatial areas within the boat’s structure, including the upper part of the hull covered by a roof, as well as any architectural structures on land that bear varying degrees of resemblance or imitation to a boat. In a narrow sense, it specifically refers to the space within the boat that aims to replicate or accommodate activities similar to those experienced on land, and also includes consciously designed (or believed to be designed) architectural structures on land with an intentional resemblance to boats.

A distinctive definition is hardly possible. Therefore, we must refer to descriptions and paraphrases. For further clarification, the term “boat-architecture” can be informally used to describe a building when someone casually comments that it resembles a boat. However, this designation holds relevance only in a broad context rather than within a narrow framework if this observer is not the designer himself and his perspective remains confined to a limited group without wider dissemination. On the contrary, despite significant spatial constraints on a boat, certain individuals consider this confined area as their primary living space, resembling the abodes of land-dwelling counterparts. Then, it can still be regarded as a form of “boat-architecture” in its narrow sense. Similarly, if a building’s appearance may not overtly resemble that of a boat to most observers but is perceived as such by its designer, it falls within the confines of the narrow context. Furthermore, if a structure was not initially designed to resemble a boat but has acquired the perception and recognition as such through oral traditions or anecdotes by numerous individuals during its period of use, it also falls within the narrow definition of “boat-architecture.”

By progressively refining the definition of the research object, a duality is introduced to the concept of “boat-architecture,” accompanied by its inherent interaction and tension between its two manifestations. Moreover, it emphasizes the significance of human interpretation, wherein architectural space is not solely perceived as a design form but also as a social product.

With this enhanced yet broadened perspective on the research object, the genesis of this volume arises from a fascination with the vast unexplored territory within existing studies on the particular space, its concept and its production – which have hitherto been approached through a singular lens exclusively.

I.2. Literature review

Despite the existence of a research foundation related to this topic, the overall research

on “boat-architecture” is insufficient in three aspects.

Firstly, the existing research on boats in East Asia has predominantly focused on technical aspects, while neglecting the consideration of spatial perception.³ In this type of research, the primary focus of most scholars lies in technical aspects such as sail design, rudder functionality, and watertight cabin construction. Even in restoration studies, little attention is given to the boat’s superstructure appearance, let alone its interior space; hence resulting in a scarcity of related research. It has failed to attract attention from architecture researchers likewise though addressing space belongs to their field of activity and exercise area.⁴

However, it is worth noting that the space within a “boat” was regarded as an illustrative example of “heterotopia” according to Foucault,⁵ indicating its significant potential for further exploration. Moreover, in line with the age-old boating tour tradition that thrived in ancient China and even Japan (*funa-asobi* 舟遊び), the onboard space has been long regarded as a place for leisurely pursuits. The utilization and ambiance of this space, as well as its impact on users, warrant further examination.

³ In a comprehensive review of the research progress on traditional Chinese boats from 1962 to 2008, Xi Longfei 席龙飞 provided an overview of the previous studies conducted in the field of boat history. See Xi Longfei 席龙飞, “Research Status of Traditional Chinese Ships (1962-2008),” *The Chinese Journal for the History of Science and Technology* 30, no. 3 (2009): 358-369. The representative studies are partially enumerated as follows. English scholars: Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); Peter Kemp, *The History of Ships* (London: Orbis Publishing Limited, 1978); Robert K.G. Temple, *China, Land of Invention and Discovery* (London: Multimedia Publication Ltd., 1986). American scholars: George F. Bass, *A History of Seafaring* (New York: Walker and Compony, 1972); Bruce Swansen, *Eighth Voyage of the Dragon* (Maryland: Naval Institute Press Annapolis, 1982). Japanese scholars: Ueno Kiichirō 上野喜一郎, *Fune no sekaishi* 船の世界史 (Tokyo: kajisha 東京 : 舵社, 1980); Ōba Osamu 大庭修, *Studies on Chinese Books Imported in Japan in the Edo Period* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究 (Suita: The Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University 吹田 : 関西大学東西学術研究所, 1967). Chinese scholars: Yang Xu 杨樵, *Zhongguo zaochuan fazhan jianshi* 中国造船发展简史 (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiao Tong University keyan shengchanchu, 1962); Wang Guanchuo 王冠倬, *Zhongguo guchuan tupu* 中国古船图谱 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2000); Xi Longfei, *Zhongguo zaochuanshi* 中国造船史 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000); You Junfei 尤飞君 ed., *Zhongguo guchuan tujian* 中国古船图鉴 (Ningbo: Ningbo chubanshe, 2008); Xi Longfei and Song Yin 宋颖, *Chuan wenhua* 船文化 (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe, 2008).

⁴ Some researchers from other disciplines, including literature, art (painting and calligraphy), and opera studies, have conducted investigations on the visual appearance and spatial aspects of boats. These scholarly inquiries have made significant contributions to this study. References to these works will be included in the main text without being listed here.

⁵ See, Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27. Michel Foucault’s lecture “Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias” was given in 1967, and translated by Jay Miskowiec from *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* no. 5 (1984): 46-49.

Secondly, there is little research on architectures imitating boats, with the only exception of *fang* architectures 舫类建筑 (*fang lei jianzhu*, boat-shaped architectures)⁶ in literati gardens. On one hand, this kind of research significantly overlooks the existence of alternative architectural forms that imitate boats aside from *fang* architectures. Wu Qingzhou 吴庆州 once briefly mentioned examples such as the boat-shaped barbican gates, vernacular houses in the shape of boats, and villages and towns with boat-like layouts (Fig. I.2-1);⁷ however, no scholars have conducted an in-depth investigation on these cases or other related instances.

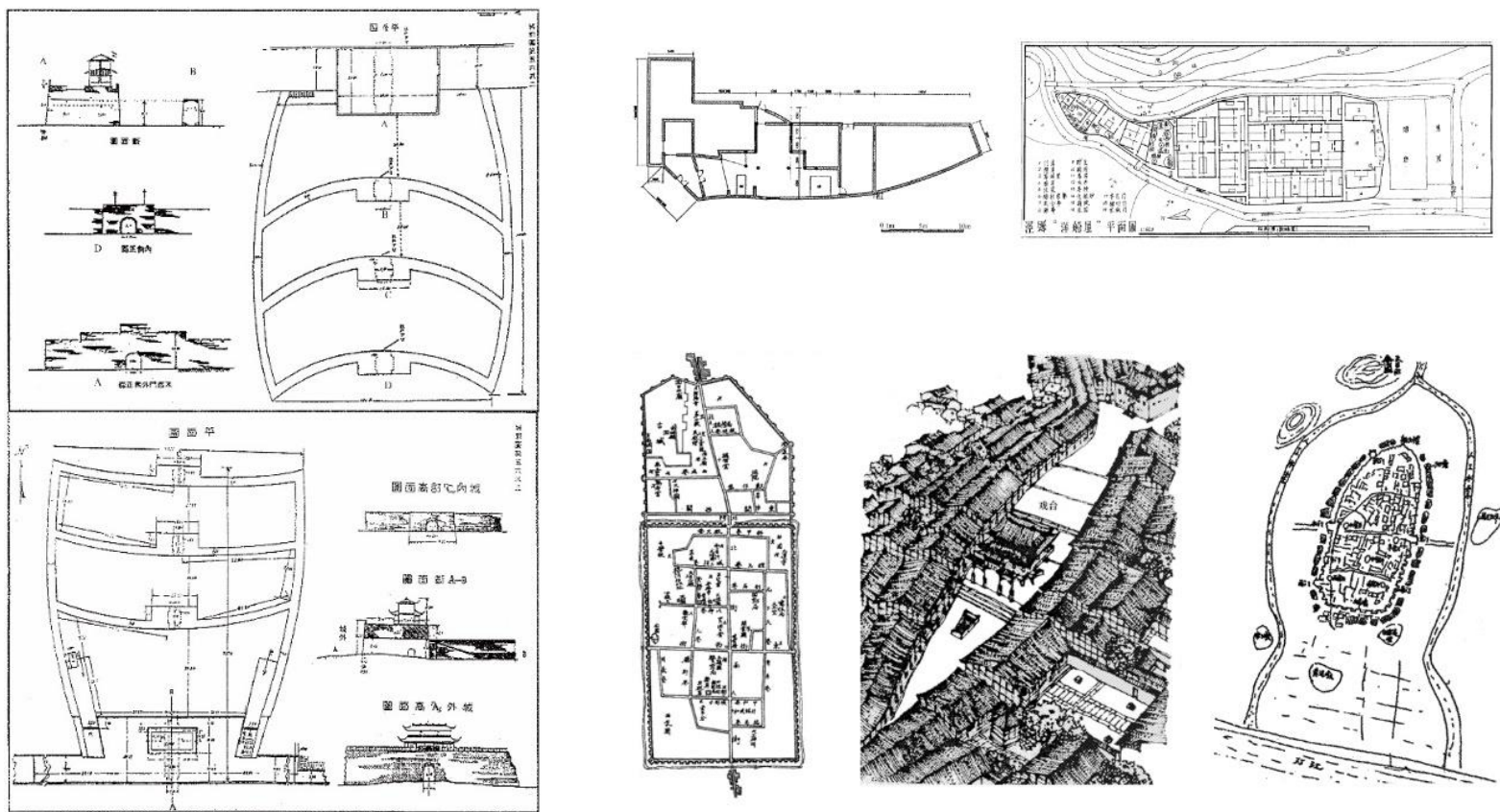


Fig. I.2-1 Boat-shaped barbican gates (left), vernacular houses in the shape of boats (up right), and villages and towns with boat-like layouts (down right).

On the other hand, the study of *fang* architectures in gardens itself represents a kind of niche area. The concept of *fang* in Chinese garden architecture was first brought to attention by Tong Jun 童寯 (1900-1983), who observed its prevalence in literati gardens despite its absence in the *Yuan Ye* 园冶 (Art of Garden-Building, published in 1634) written by Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-1642).⁸ Then, Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1897-1968) further expanded on the topic by

⁶ The term *fang* architecture (*fanglei jianzhu* 舫类建筑) was put forward by Xie Hongquan 谢宏权. See Xie Hongquan, “Boat-Like Pavilions in Traditional Chinese Gardens,” *Architectural Journal*, no. 7 (2016): 93-96.

⁷ Wu Qingzhou, “Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu” 船文化与中国传统建筑, *Journal of Chinese architectural history* 4, no. 00 (2011): 140.

⁸ See Tong Jun 童寯, *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* 江南园林志 (Beijing: Zhongguo gongye chubanshe, 1963), 13.

identifying *chuanting* 船厅 (boat-hall)⁹ and *hanchuan* 旱船 (boat-on-land)¹⁰ as two types of *fang* architectures with subtly distinct appearances and relationships with water environments.¹¹ Building upon their foundational research, nearly every comprehensive history and theory of Chinese gardens incorporates discussions on *fang*; yet these discussions remain peripheral.¹² There have been published monographs on *fang* architectures as well.¹³ However, this kind of research primarily focuses on the analysis of *fang* architecture's visual form and classifies whether their imitation is deemed "realistic" (*xieshi*, 写实) or "metaphorical" (*xieyi* 写意), while overlooking the experiential analysis of spatial utilization.¹⁴ In addition,

⁹ The category of *chuanting* refers to hall buildings or pavilions intentionally designed to metaphorically resemble boats, and normally situated away from bodies of water.

¹⁰ The category of *hanchuan* refers to architectural structures resembling boats, featuring a stone basement shaped like a boat's hull and normally located by the waterfront.

¹¹ Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢, *Liu Dunzhen wenji* 刘敦桢文集, vol 4. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1992), 112.

¹² See Zhou Weiyan 周维权, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* 中国古典园林史 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1990), 279; Zhang Jiaji 张家骥, *Zhongguo zaoyuan shi* 中国造园史 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1991), 393; Yang, Hongxun 杨鸿勋, *Jiangnan yuanlin lun* 江南园林论 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1994), 133; Pan Guxi 潘谷西, *Jiangnan lijing yishu* 江南理景艺术 (Nanjing: Dongnandaxue chubanshe, 2001), 390; Wang, Juyuan 汪菊渊, *Zhongguo gudai zaoyuanshi* 中国古代造园史 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2006) 811.

¹³ Cao Linti 曹林娣 analyzed the aesthetic significance of *fang* from the beauty of form, ecology and culture. See Cao Linti, "Zhongguo yuanlin fangzhou de meixue yiyi" 中国园林舫舟的美学意义, *Forum of Arts*, no. 4 (2005): 45-50. He Jianzhong 何建中 sorted out the historical development of *fang* and divided it into three types: realistic, symbolic and imaginative. See He Jianzhong, "Buxi zhi zhou: Yuanlin shifang mantan" 不系之舟——园林石舫漫谈, *Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, no. 2 (2011): 55-57, 32, 68. Jia Jun 贾珺 used *fang* in the Old Summer Palace 圆明园 to reveal the phenomenon of different degree of imitating the boat. See Jia Jun, "Yuanming Yuan zhong de fangzhou jianzhu" 圆明园中的仿舟建筑, *Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, no. 4 (2006): 30-32. Chen Yuehua 陈月华 sorted out the history, types and construction examples of *fang*, and analyzed its aesthetic attributes and artistic connotation. See Chen Yuehua, *Shuo fang* 说舫 (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2015). Xie Hongquan further divided *fang* into three types: imitating the appearance of a boat's cabin, imitating the space of a boat's cabin and imitating the navigation concept. See Xie Hongquan, "Boat-Like Pavilions in Traditional Chinese Gardens."

¹⁴ Among them, Xie Hongquan's study stands out as an exception. He introduced the concept of "metaphorically using room to represent cabin" in his classification, emphasizing the significance of spatial perception. Yet even he did not delve into this aspect extensively. It is noteworthy that he also emphasized the influence of architectural space utilization on boat-architecture development.

although the prototype of *fang* architecture is consistently traced back to the Song dynasty,¹⁵ such studies mainly rely on existing cases of Ming and Qing gardens, neglecting sufficient attention to the description of *fang* in various documents since the Song dynasty. Furthermore, these studies tend to prioritize typological analysis rather than focusing on the detailed historical context of construction and usage in specific cases. Therefore, *fang* architecture is often reduced to a mere stylistic design object, disregarding not only the formation of this spatial concept but also oversimplifying human activities and emotions within it. Consequently, further research is imperative.

Thirdly, the existing research on the incorporation of “boat” symbolism and architectural space lacks in-depth exploration. The related discourse primarily revolves around *fang* architecture, with a predominant focus on its cultural connotations and aesthetic characteristics. In terms of the rationale behind incorporating “boat” symbolism into architectural design, existing research often simplifies it as a manifestation of specific inherent characteristics within Chinese culture.

For instance, Wu Qingzhou concluded the connection between boat culture and architecture as a Chinese traditional design method, referred to as *fangsheng-xiangwu* 仿生象物 (simulation of nature and representation of cultural schema). He put forward:

The architectures, gardens, ancient cities, fortified buildings, and fortresses in ancient China are all unique manifestations of Chinese culture with evident Chinese characteristics. Among them, *fangsheng-xiangwu* is one of the characteristics of Chinese traditional culture. It finds its roots in the veneration of reproduction, totem worship practices, and *fengshui* belief in ancient China.

中国古代的传统建筑、园林、古城以及设防的楼堡村寨，都是中国文化的特殊产物，具有明显的中国文化的特征。其中，仿生象物，是中国传统文化的特色之一。其渊源于中国古代的生殖崇拜、图腾崇拜和风水思想。¹⁶

In terms of specific content, however, the discussion of symbols serves solely to establish a premise for a simple connection with the architectural form. Neither he nor any other scholar delved into discussing how these symbols were established, inherited, and enriched by people during successive dynasties based on historical allusions. Similarly, the investigation into how historical individuals project their ideas, mentality, and emotions onto these architectural spaces through symbolic representation, as well as the reconstruction of their interpersonal relationships within such unique symbolic environments, remains an invaluable yet unexplored avenue of research.

The traditional approach to research leads to the cultural symbolism of architecture being perceived as a stereotype, “a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates

¹⁵ For further information, see Chapter 1.3.

¹⁶ Wu Qingzhou, “*Fangsheng-xiangwu yu zhongguo gucheng yingjian: shang*” 仿生象物与中国古城营建（上），*China Ancient City*, no. 9 (2016): 45.

between what is always ‘in place,’ already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated...”¹⁷ As a result, the opportunity for in-depth analysis of cultural development and social change through the lens of architectural space is forfeited.

The deficiency in current research largely stems from its limited perspective, particularly due to the segregation between studies on boats and architecture as well as the emphasis on style and technology rather than the production and utilization of space. Not only does this limited perspective distort our understanding of this spatial configuration but also hinders a comprehensive perception of its historical development and the intricate societal connections intertwined with it.

These limitations require to get surmounted.

I.3. Perspective

The identification of the enumerated deficits unveils an untapped area where a fresh perspective centered around “space” greatly unlocks the gateway to new insights. In order to open a new research paradigm, it is imperative not to accept or establish disciplinary boundaries between “boat” and “architecture,” nor can spatial products possessing both characteristics be perceived as mere stylistic design objects. Such an approach would overlook the formation of this spatial concept while oversimplifying human activities and emotions within it. Instead, the focus should be directed towards understanding this distinctive space and the research how it was produced.

The spatial configuration of “boat-architecture,” existing in an ambiguous realm between “boat” and “architecture,” has been extensively documented, variously symbolized and consciously utilized as a vessel for self-projection, thus attaining the status of a cultural phenomenon throughout history. Consequently, within the perspective of this study, “boat-architecture” can be interpreted as both a physical entity (space) and a cultural phenomenon.

The distinction between the broad and narrow limitations of “boat-architecture” establishes an internal framework for discussing it as a cultural phenomenon. Specific details will be presented in a systematic manner throughout the subsequent chapters; however, it is important to note three key points in advance.

First and foremost, when discussing “boat-architecture” as a phenomenon within architectural culture, we specifically refer to it in the narrow sense. This is because only this particular definition of “boat-architecture” can be further associated with the ideas and concepts of a group of designers or users. Only when such a spatial form is consistently produced as a symbolic carrier, thereby becoming a symbol itself, can it be regarded as a cultural phenomenon.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of “boat-architecture” is scarcely, if ever, unidirectional; instead, it necessitates a reciprocal exchange of life experiences. For instance, while the majority of literati primarily resided on land, they also engaged in leisurely boat tours or

¹⁷ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2004), 94-95.

embarked on journeys by boat. Only through experiencing both terrestrial and aquatic living spaces can they compare, penetrate, integrate spatial sensations and ultimately summarize a behavioral pattern and design motif in between. On the contrary, if a collective of individuals solely reside on boats without ever experiencing life on land, their way of life cannot be deemed an integral part of this phenomenon, namely the encounter with “boat-architecture” as a symbol. However, it should be emphasized that the observations and involvement of those residing on shore in the lives of the former are considered an indispensable aspect of this phenomenon, even if the observers only occasionally board a boat and never truly “lived” on one.

Thirdly, the cultural phenomenon did not emerge simultaneously with “boat-architecture” in its narrow sense; rather, it manifested later. This is because the emergence of cultural phenomena results from individuals’ explicit and associative generalizations based on their perception and understanding of evolving occurrences. In other words, when people possess a specific grasp of the notion of “boat-architecture” in its narrow sense and promptly adopt and spread this knowledge throughout society, “boat-architecture” solidifies itself as an integral part of architectural culture. Henceforth, it becomes indisputably apparent that well before the emergence of this cultural phenomenon, “boat-architecture” in its narrow sense had already made a notable appearance throughout history. Otherwise, individuals would lack the means to perceive its spatiality or engage in rational generalization.

For example, as early as the Wei 魏 (220-280), Jin 晋 (265-420) and Southern and Northern dynasties 南北朝 (420-589), *shuige* 水阁, *shuidian* 水殿, and *shuizhai* 水斋 (all different names of the waterside pavilions) have been repeatedly documented in poetries and proses. In this context, given the intimate correlation between the aquatic environment and boats, it was evidently logical to relocate the waterside pavilions from the bank to the boat or replace the waterside residence with boats. The relocation of the pavilion from the bank to the boat designates Yangkan 羊侃 (496-549) as an exemplar, who “[...] built a three-bay *tongliang* (通梁, using one long beam through three bays) water pavilion on two boats, decorated with pearls and jade, furnished it with brocade and embroidery, grandly installed with curtains and screens, displayed on it with female performers and musicians [...]”于两艘舫起三间通梁水斋，饰以珠玉，加之锦缋，盛设帷屏，列女乐…….¹⁸ The replacement of the waterside residence with a boat was exemplified by Zhang Rong 张融 (444-497). He chose to reside on a dilapidated boat due to his indifference towards material wealth. This way of living inspired his artful response to the emperor, the witticism of “dwelling on land yet not in a house, residing in a boat but not on the water” 路处无屋，舟居非水.¹⁹ These two examples, originating from a similar timeframe and embodying the binary manifestations, serve as perfect

¹⁸ Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liang shu* 梁书, vol. 39, 11b-12a. See Yu Minzhong 于敏中, comp., *Chizaotang sikuquanshu huiyao* 摘藻堂四库全书荟要 (Taiwan: Shijie shuju, 1985), photoprint of the Qing edition (1778). (The *Chizaotang sikuquanshu huiyao* will henceforth be referred to as *SKQSHY*.)

¹⁹ Xiao Zixian 萧子显, *Nan Qi shu* 南齐书, vol. 41, 9a-b: 世祖问融住在何处，融答曰：“臣路处无屋，舟居非水。”后日，上以问融从兄绪，绪曰：“融近东出，未有居止。权牵小船于岸上住。”上大笑。See *SKQSHY*.

illustrations of “boat-architecture” in a narrower sense, clearly predating the recognition of these practices as a phenomenon.

The advantages that new perspective can bring to research permeate deeply into every concrete level; three key points are highlighted here in advance.

Firstly, the angle taken in this research aligns with historical context and reflects people’s genuine comprehension of this unique spatial form, rather than arbitrarily conforming to contemporary disciplinary divisions. This aspect will be further examined in the text, while only one poem by Qianlong is provided here as an illustrative example:

The human race shares an innate curiosity in the fascination we experience when assigning reverse names to objects. Referring to a boat as an architecture would classify it as such, while labeling an architecture as a boat would then categorize it accordingly. However, both architecture and boat merely represent illusory imagery of an unattainable truth. [...]

人之好奇有同然，颠倒名象图新鲜。于船号庐斯庐耳，于室称舫又舫焉。其实室庐与船舫，求真不得均幻传。……²⁰

The poem reveals Emperor Qianlong’s perception of the “illusory” imagery created by the boat named after an architecture and the architecture bearing the name of a boat, thereby establishing an ambivalent space that defies rigid definition. For the ancient people represented by Qianlong, it was precisely the “unattainable truth” behind the reciprocal reversed imitation that sparked curiosity and perpetuated the spatial manifestation of “boat-architecture.”

Secondly, the perspective adopted here can enhance the existing understanding of architectural history by incorporating previously overlooked cases into the discourse on architectural space. It allows for the examination of ancient depictions of activities aboard boats and various events that took place within them. For instance, the utilization of boats as performing stages on water has seldom been explored under the scope of architecture research, despite its prevalence in Jiangnan Region of China and even in Japan (Fig. I.3-1).

²⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli 爱新觉罗·弘历, “Tianban Fang fangge” 天半舫放歌, in *Yuzhi shi sanji* 御制诗三集, vol. 2, 24b. See *SKQSHY*.



Fig. I.3-1 Boat stage depicted on a Japanese screen.

Finally, the perspective can inspire a deeper comprehension by guiding individuals to not only focus on a “binary opposition,” but also emphasize the ambiguous or interstitial spaces between the categories. When the “boat-architecture” is understood as an ambiguous space, it will be found that the designer and the user have a preference and appreciation for ambivalence, thereby enabling them to manifest the contradictions inherent in their mentalities and emotions within this spatial context. A meticulous analysis of these contradictory mentalities projected onto the ambivalent space, such as the psychological struggles and hesitations, the attitude of *faute de mieux*, the oscillations between obligation and desire, ..., will significantly contribute to a more profound comprehension of certain historic events.

I.4. Theoretical Framework

Considering the “boat-architecture” as a cultural phenomenon means that this study includes the consideration of space as a “social product,” and acknowledges the multiplicity of socially produced spaces and focuses on the “contradictory, conflictual, and, ultimately, political character of the processes of production of space.”²¹

In the microcosmic utilization of space, we observe the interplay and mutual construction between political and symbolic spatial practices, spatial representation, and individual actors. When “boat-architecture” is shaped into a cultural phenomenon, the tangible spatial activity emerges through the social power dynamics and knowledge power techniques

²¹ Łukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), ix.

associated with capitalism, racism, patriarchy. It embodies the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and obedience, while also encompassing a realm of freedom and emancipatory potential as a site of resistance.

Therefore, Lefebvre's "conceptual triad of space"²² serves as the fundamental theoretical framework, providing a solid basis for enhancing the comprehension of "boat-architecture" in this study. It indicates that the spatial practices and perceptions associated with "boat-architecture" discussed in this study are affected by specific historical and social contexts, and "is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality."²³ Hence, the study will benefit from the guidance and assistance provided by theories and methodologies of architectural phenomenology, semiotics, anthropology, and cultural studies.

Additionally, Foucault's theory of "power, knowledge, and space" is worth being emphasized. While Lefebvre emphasizes the agency and constructiveness of individuals in "representational space," Foucault focuses on the conflict within social space itself, which he refers to as "heterogeneous space." His study highlights the heterogeneity inherent in each actor, whether consciously introducing it into social space (as seen in Lefebvre's concept) or unconsciously reflecting upon their own heterogeneity within that space (as described by Foucault). Lefebvre examines the origins of heterogeneous space, while Foucault delves into its consequences.

By integrating these concepts, we come to comprehend that the production of social space itself is not an "iron cage" (Max Weber's *stahlhartes Gehäuse*), but rather a dynamic arena filled with contention, conflict and contradiction. The production of this "heterogeneous space" is a result of actor's (human actors, as per the Actor-Network Theory) construction, which holds profound implications for both the actors themselves and those who enter this constructed realm.

The understanding underscored the guidance of the theoretical framework in examining the phenomenon of "boat-architecture," offering direction for the objectives of this research.

I.5. Objectives

According to the definition of the research object and to surmount the inadequacy of previous studies, this research aims to investigate "boat-architecture" as a production of space that integrates cultural symbols (boats) with architectures within a specific social context and mass psychology. It serves as a reflection of diverse groups' perspectives on space, culture, and society throughout different historical periods.

From the perspective and theoretical framework adopted in this study, it becomes

²² The "conceptual triad of space" consists of "spatial practice" (*le perçu*), "representations of space" (*le conçu*) and "representational space" (*le vécu*). See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 33.

²³ *Ibid.*, 27.

evident that exploring the intricacies of “boat-architecture,” this study can not only shed light on how society exerts control over individuals through power-space monitoring technology, but also showcases how individuals can transform this space into an imaginative and liberating domain through their own spatial strategies involving cultural symbols.

To address these potentials effectively, it is imperative to delve into three core questions:

- A. What is the (cultural phenomenon of) “boat-architecture”?
- B. How has the space production of “boat-architecture” been executed throughout history?
- C. What insights can be derived from the space production of “boat-architecture,” in relation to both historical individuals and societies?

The answers to these three fundamental questions will operationally guide the selection and analysis of specific cases, while essentially unveiling the ultimate objective of this research – to propose an examination regarding “how Chinese people historically perceived and produced architectural space” through this particular architectural type.

Meanwhile, the core questions inevitably lead to a type of research methodology that is characterized by its multidimensional and transdisciplinary nature.

I.6. Methodology

The methodological approach of this research is based on the idea that social phenomena lie in the eye of the beholders. They are socially constructed. Our perception of reality is strongly influenced by our interpretation. Consequentially, the approach is related to a constructivist-interpretive position based on qualitative analysis.

I.6.1 Research Contents and Materials

The research content of this study primarily revolves around “boat-architecture” in the narrow sense and explores a distinctive cultural phenomenon triggered by the spatial production of these entities. It can be generally explained through two aspects: the selection of cases and the specific focus of each case.

The selection of cases mainly involves the consideration of time and region. Regarding the emergence and development of “boat-architecture” as a unique cultural phenomenon, this study posits that it originated during the Northern Song dynasty in China, gained prominence in the Ming dynasty, gradually became widespread during the Qing dynasty, and eventually declined amidst China’s modernization process. To encompass these historical periods while incorporating a broader viewpoint beyond specific dynasties, a time range from the 10th to the 19th century is chosen based on Gregorian chronology. Additionally, this study incorporates Naitō Konan’s 内藤湖南 (1866-1934) concept of “early modern” (*kinsei* 近世) period of China.

Its beginning coincides with the Tang-Song transformation,²⁴ during which social changes in China paralleled those of the Renaissance in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. Its end is marked by the decline of the Qing dynasty (1912), signifying the onset of China's rapid modernization.

However, as cultural phenomena do not abruptly commence or cease, this study does not strictly limit its examination to objects and materials within this designated period. Additionally, due to cultural exchanges, neighboring Asian countries surrounding China have also experienced certain degrees of influence. Although this study did not specifically investigate this aspect, it is comprehensible that pertinent materials from nearby nations are sporadically incorporated into the research. One could even contend that these resources effectively illustrate the dynamism inherent in "boat-architecture" as a cultural phenomenon.

The specific focus of each case can vary to a significant extent. However, in order to present a comprehensive and multidimensional depiction of the research object prior to delving into the main body of text, it is pertinent to outline the relevant contents of this study as follows.

The first category: the examination of physical entities in "boat-architecture"; individuals' perception of spatial characteristics in "boat-architecture"; and constructions, restorations, and reconstructions of "boat-architecture."

The second category: the study on the direct representation of "boat-architecture," encompassing images (design drawings, paintings, photos, etc.), writings (poems, articles, novels, etc.) and oral descriptions (ballads, folklores, etc.); the discussions and narratives of the direct representations; the symbolization of "boat-architecture" through ideas and concepts influenced by cultural traditions.

The third category: the investigation into the utopia/heterotopia space as socially constructed by the lived experience of the individuals, manifested as the overlapping or projection of spiritual space onto the physical realm of "boat-architecture."

Following the explanation of the research content, it becomes evident that the research materials primarily encompass three aspects: physical (architectural) material, textual material and visual material. The physical (architectural) material pertains mainly to existing structures of "boat-architecture," such as *fang* architectures and boat-shaped vernacular buildings. The textual material comprises historical records, technical books such as *Yingzao Fashi* 营造法式 (published in 1103), and literary works mentioning "boat-architectures." The visual material includes old photographs, maps, and paintings.

²⁴ Naito enumerated the major changes in political, economic and cultural trends during the Tang-Song transition period, such as political centralization, development of cities and commercial economy, improvement in the conditions of the common people, innovations in scholarship and arts, and so forth. See Naitō Konan, "Gaikatsu teki Tō Sō jidai kan" 概括的唐宋時代觀, *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理, vol. 9, no. 5 (1922). For a Chinese translation, see Liu Junwen 刘俊文, ed., *Riben xuezhe yanjiu Zhongguo shi lunzhu xuanyi* 日本学者研究中国史论著选译 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 10-18.

I.6.2 Data Collection and Analysis

According to the various types of data related to the research content, the following two methods were employed for data collection.

The first method involves conducting field investigations, which include capturing photographs of existing buildings and conducting one-on-one interviews with local residents. However, given that a majority of the cases under study no longer persist, this method is not deemed primary.

The primary method of data collection in this study is document analysis, with a particular focus on historical materials and previous research related to the “boat-architecture” cases and the builders or users.²⁵ Among them, historical materials hold paramount importance in this study. The sources encompass archives, diaries, letters, poems, notes, novels, local chronicles, reviews, compilations of folk stories, biographies, newspapers, old photos, paintings and other supportive information carriers. Within these records exist a substantial number of secondary documents; therefore it is imperative to be mindful of the potential presence of false elements resulting from the author’s personal interpretation or imagination. However, due to this study’s particular emphasis on understanding the perception and interpretation of architectural space by different individuals throughout history, these secondary materials become the most authentic primary information for investigating the psychology of builders or users.

According to the different types of collected data, various methods of data analysis were employed, encompassing four main types: content analysis, image analysis, narrative and discourse analysis, and statistical analysis.

Content analysis in this research involved conducting textual research on historical materials in order to extract relevant information and establish connections between them, thereby identifying key information. This research adopted a hermeneutic approach and focused on analyzing the life experiences, social relationships, and psychological projections of characters. In addition to considering objective factors such as time, place, and events, this approach placed significant emphasis on subjective personal feelings and expressions; effectively integrating both aspects together.

Influenced by scholars such as Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) for formal analysis and Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) for iconography, the image analysis approach in this research not only focused on an objective and rational examination of form but also delved deeply into its underlying significance. Moreover, architectural analysis such as figure-ground relation, orientation, and function were also carried out.

The narrative and discourse analysis primarily manifested in dealing with materials such as poetry, novels, paintings, folk stories. It placed emphasis on hermeneutic interpretation

²⁵ Apart from the previous studies mentioned in the literature review, other research fields are also implicated in the relevant background of this study. On one hand, these studies provide valuable insights into historical documents pertaining to this study; on the other hand, they contribute significantly to a deeper comprehension of the subject matter. Relevant studies will be duly referenced within the text.

of expressions within artworks while exploring their mechanisms and significance.

The primary application of this statistical analysis method was utilized to quantify and categorize statistics (such as architectures or poems) in order to effectively depict the underlying reasons behind their distribution.

I.6.3 Research Structure

Given that “boat-architecture” refers to both the architectural entity and the cultural phenomenon, this study does not aim to establish a rigidly defined type of “boat-architecture” with distinct boundaries. In particular, it refrains from treating it as a mere substitute concept for the *fang* architecture mentioned by other scholars. Instead, this study posits that such spatial forms serve as unique material carriers for people’s thoughts, emotions and relationships; thus, the production of such space holds profound cultural connotations and social significance.

Consequently, this study cannot adopt a research framework based on typological analysis or description of a preconceived new concept. As Heidegger observed, the “phenomenon,” originating from the Greek word *phainomenon* meaning “that which reveals itself,” will manifest itself to us, “only if we do not attempt to coerce it into one of our ready-made conceptual strait jackets.”²⁶

However, the symbolism of the “boat” in Chinese traditional culture carries a profound connotation. When integrated in and merged with architecture, it forms an intricate system that poses challenges for comprehensive understanding, let alone effective presentation. Therefore, to provide a multi-dimensional and in-depth historical exposition on the occurrence and development of “boat-architecture,” this study must grasp the crux so as to establish a narrative structure that enables self-presentation of this phenomenon to its fullest extent.

The key lies within human actors who assume the roles of creators, users, and narrators in shaping architectural spaces. Through their bodily activities within these spaces, people perceive the unique characteristics of the environment, experience the significance of place, comprehend the existence of the world, and construct their own identity within it. It is only through human’s dwelling (Heidegger’s *wohnen*) that architecture establishes a connection with cultural symbols; thus revealing the meaning behind spatial existence.

Given that diverse social groups possess distinct understandings and emotional connections to this space within a specific historical era and societal context based on their respective identities, it becomes evident for this study to adopt different group identities as a rational framework for exploring the intricate symbolism underlying “boat-architecture.”

This study selects four pairs of distinct yet interconnected identities to construct four main chapters: literati/officials, female entertainers/patrons, emperors/royal families, and landowners/folks. The organization of each chapter revolves around relevant cases involving a group of individuals. The thick-description method is employed to examine cases of greater significance, while other cases are utilized in a complementary manner. Additionally, it is worth noting that while the contents of this study progress chronologically from early to late times to

²⁶ William Barrett, *Irrational Man* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1962), 214.

some extent, there is no intention to organize the narrative according to a timeline.

Despite its limitations in establishing a rigorous, clear, and universally applicable theoretical framework, this research structure aims to establish connections between different groups through the interaction and reference between different chapters. In general terms, this research framework encompasses three main features.

First of all, the four distinct identity groups signify four different typical types of boat symbolism, thereby facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of “boat-architecture” by exploring how these groups integrate the symbol of a “boat” with architectural space.

Secondly, the groups with these identities exhibit a certain degree of overlap, thereby endowing the different chapters with the significance of cross-referencing or contrasting. For example, the “patrons” in Chapter 2 consistently included literati, some of whom held official positions. The two identities within each set are intricately interconnected; however, the relationships between them can be multifaceted.

Thirdly, within the basic research framework, there is flexibility to establish diverse modes of discussion based on the specific focus of each chapter’s content: “literati” and “officials” embody distinct roles in different environments; “female entertainers” and “patrons” represent corresponding identity concepts constructed within the same space; “emperors” and “royal families” symbolize individuals occupying the highest ruling class position in imperial dynasties; “landlords” and “folks” belong to different classes within feudal society’s fundamental structure that are interdependent and possess potential for transformation.

Indeed, beyond the scope of this study, there may exist other user groups that warrant further investigation. However, it should not be perceived as a limitation that this study follows a four-chapter framework; instead, through the gradual unfolding of these four chapters and their implied interactions, a broader and more captivating realm is unveiled.

1. Literati/Officials: Huafang Zhai and Shuhua Chuan

The term “boat-architecture” is a neologism coined by combining the words “boat” and “architecture.” In the context of modern academic knowledge, these two terms pertain to distinct disciplines and are not considered as “corresponding” concepts.²⁷ Despite the preface having already enumerated a considerable number of cases in Chinese history that exemplify both “boat” and “architecture” characteristics, even delineating between broad and narrow interpretations within this conceptual framework, a fundamental issue regarding this study remains unresolved. That is, in the social and historical context of China from the 10th to the 19th centuries, how can “architecture built in imitation of boats” and “architectural space constructed on boats” be considered as a singular distinct category, rather than merely two types of spatial entities with a certain correlation?

Only when this question is answered will this study cease to be a futile endeavor aimed at uniting an arbitrary dichotomy imposed upon two concepts. The crux of unraveling this query lies within the “reciprocal flow,” as emphasized in the preface, that traverses both ways. Thus, the first chapter will focus on examining this bi-directional flow through the boat-architectures created by literati/officials, who served as the pioneers of this concept.

In terms of content, the first chapter will initially establish the spatial correlation between the “boat” and the “architecture” through two prototypes from different perspectives, namely “Huafang Zhai” 画舫斋 (the Pleasure Boat Studio) and “Shuhua Chuan” 书画船 (the boat of calligraphy and paintings). While each of these two prototypes represents one of the two manifestations of boat-architecture, the corresponding study will also incorporate insights from designers and users of the alternative manifestation for comparative analysis. The subsequent section delves into the inheritance, convergence, and expansion of these two archetypes, culminating in a spatial form referred to as “boat-architecture” in this study that encapsulates profound symbolism. The final section explores how the literati have cognized and shaped the concept of “boat-architecture” and its associated spatial implications.

In terms of form, just as the Huafang Zhai in Section 1 (a studio that imitates a boat) and the Shuhua Chuan in Section 2 (a boat used as a floating studio) establish a reciprocal relationship, the *fang* (boat-shaped buildings) in the gardens discussed in Section 3 also forms a two-way correspondence with the main case in Section 4 – a *fang* (painted pleasure boat) that is named as a garden.

Apart from the “reciprocal flow” that underlies the research object’s foundation, the first chapter also emphasizes other crucial aspects for comprehending the cultural phenomenon

²⁷ To exemplify the “corresponding” concepts mentioned here, the concepts of “garden” and “house” can be utilized as illustrative examples. Particularly in the examination of Chinese ancient private gardens, these two concepts are often perceived as a set of interrelated spatial notions. Furthermore, in the study of urban space, “streets” and “buildings” are also considered to be mutually corresponding due to their spatial correlation.

of boat-architecture through various case studies. These studies encompass the ancient Chinese literati's comprehensive understanding of boat symbols, their integration of these symbols in architectural space, their inheritance of architecture as a cultural carrier, as well as their sentiments and aesthetic preferences towards the spatial characteristics of boat-architecture. Several more contents will be presented and discussed in the chapter.

In general, the first chapter will comprehensively situate, elucidate, and expound upon the subject of this study – boat-architecture – from the perspective of literati/officials' comprehension, utilization, and perception of it. Owing to the influential role played by this social group in shaping and disseminating culture, the research on their creation and documentation of the distinctive space of boat-architecture also unveil its transformation into a vessel for certain ideas, gradually giving rise to a cultural phenomenon.

1.1 Huafang Zhai, the Precedent of a Studio Imitating a Boat

If we trace back to the boat-shaped design as well as the boat-related name of a landbound building, it originated in the Northern Song 北宋 dynasty (926-1127, along with the Southern Song dynasty from 1127 to 1279, collectively constitute the historical period known as the Song dynasty) when Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 (1007-1072) constructed Huafang Zhai in Huazhou 滑州, Shandong 山东 province.²⁸ The building not only represents the first documented instance of a boat-shaped building constructed within a garden, but also serves as the origin of this architectural practice recognized by subsequent generations. Moreover, Ouyang Xiu's written commentary elevated this architecture entity beyond its physical manifestation and transformed it into a cultural symbol.

1.1.1 Ouyang Xiu and His Huafang Zhai

Ouyang Xiu was a distinguished scholar of the Northern Song dynasty, renowned for his mastery of literature, eminent status as an official, significant contributions to political theory and extensive knowledge of history. Throughout his political career spanning three emperors, he served twice as an official in Huazhou (nowaday Hua 滑 county, Anyang 安阳, Henan 河南). In the third lunar month of the Kangding 康定 period's first year (1040), he went to Huazhou Wucheng Army 武成军 to serve as *qianshu jiedu panguanting gongshi* 签书节度判官厅公事 (a notary of the administrative assistant to the military commissioner). However, on the 28th day of the sixth lunar month, he was summoned back to the capital to resume his

²⁸ The studies pertaining to Huafang Zhai in Huazhou are relatively simplistic, with most of them being briefly mentioned in the examination of *fang* buildings (see the literature review in the Preface). A more comprehensive analysis primarily stems from the investigation into the relics related to Ouyang Xiu, see Cheng Yujing 程宇静, "The Prosperity of the Relics Related to Ouyang Xiu and Its Cultural Significance," *Journal of School of Chinese Language and Culture, Nanjing Normal University*, no. 1 (2018): 10-19.

position as *guange jiaokan* 馆阁校勘 (the emendator of Guan Ge)²⁹ and arrived in the capital on the 1st of the eighth lunar month. Then, in the second year of Qingli 庆历 period (1042), during the ninth lunar month, he assumed the position of *tongpan* 通判 (assistant prefectural magistrate) in Huazhou and arrived there in the tenth lunar month. On the 26th day of the third lunar month in the following year (1043), he was summoned back to capital from Huazhou again.

His two periods of service in Huazhou lasted less than a year in total, yet he left behind an important architecture known as “Huafang Zhai” and several literatures including a Prose “Huafang Zhai ji” 画舫斋记 (The Record of the Pleasure Boat Studio):

Three months after I came to Hua, I converted the rooms of the eastern wing of the government offices into a place for me to spend my leisure time. I named it “Pleasure Boat Studio.” The studio is one room across and seven rooms long (the rooms being connected by doorways), and so to walk into my studio is just like walking into a boat. First, in a corner of the warm room I made a hole in the roof to let in light. Then on either side of the bright and open unwallied rooms I installed railings to sit on or lean against. Anyone who relaxes in my studio will find that it is just like relaxing on a boat. The craggy stone mounds and the flowering plants and trees that I arranged just beyond the eaves on both sides make it seem all the more that one is drifting down the middle of a river, with the mountains on the right facing forests on the left, all very attractive. This, then, is why I named my studio after a boat.

In the “Judgment” of the *Book of Changes*, whenever one encounters dangerous circumstances, the advice is always: “Cross the river.” One can see from this that the real purpose of boats is to deliver people from danger rather than to provide comfort. But now I have converted part of the government offices into a studio for relaxation and have named it after a boat – was that not a perverse thing to do? Furthermore, I myself was once banished to the rivers and lakes because of my crimes. I sailed down the Bian River, crossed the Huai River, and floated along the mighty Yangtze as far as Ba Gorge. Then I turned and went up the Han-mian River. In all, I must have covered several thousand miles on water. During those wearisome travels, when I was unlucky enough to encounter sudden storms or rough waters, many times I cried aloud to the gods to spare my brief life. In one such moment, as I looked ahead and behind, I noticed that the only other people out in boats were all either merchants or government officials. I sighed as I thought to myself: except for men who are anxious for profit and those who have no choice, who would be caught out here?

By Heaven’s grace, I came through all such crises alive. Moreover, today my former misdeeds have been forgiven and I have been reinstated at Court. This is why I have now come to this prefecture where I eat my fill on public food and live comfortably in

²⁹ Guan Ge is the general name of various institutions responsible for the administration of libraries, classical works, the compilation of national history, and other related matters in the Song dynasty.

government quarters. As I reflect upon the numerous mountains traversed and perils encountered by my vessel, including the emergence of dragons and water-serpents as well as tumultuous waves crashing from all directions, it is not uncommon for me to be plagued by nightmares that disrupt my slumber. And yet now I disregard all the dangers I faced and name my studio after a boat. Can it be that I am fond of life afloat after all? I have heard of men of antiquity who fled from the world to distant rivers and lakes and refused to their dying day to return. They must have found some source of pleasure there. If one is not anxious for profit, even at the risk of danger, or is not convicted of a crime and forced to embark; rather, if one has a favorable breeze and gentle seas and is able to rest comfortably on a pillow and mat, sailing several hundred miles in a single day, then is boat travel not enjoyable? Of course, I have no time for such diversions. But since “pleasure boat” is the designation of boats used for such pastimes, I have now adopted it as the name of my studio. Is there anything wrong with that?

My friend, Ts'ai Chün-mo (Ts'ai Hsiang) excels at large style calligraphy. His writing is quite unusual and imposing. I have decided to ask him to write out my studio's name in large characters, which I will display on a pillar. I feared, however, that some people might not understand why I chose the name I did, and so I wrote out this explanation and inscribed it on the wall.

Written on the 12th day of the 12th [lunar] month in the Jen-wu year (January 25, 1043).³⁰

予至滑之三月，即其署东偏之室，治为燕私之居，而名曰画舫斋。斋广一室。其深七室。以户相通，凡人予室者，如入乎舟中。

其温室之奥，则穴其上以为明；其虚室之疏以达，则槛栏其两旁以为坐立之倚。凡偃休于吾斋者，又如偃休乎舟中。山石嵒峯，佳花美木之植列于两檐之外，又似泛乎中流，而左山右林之相映，皆可爱者。因以舟名焉。

《周易》之象，至于履险蹈难，必曰涉川。盖舟之为物，所以济难而非安居之用也。今予治斋于署，以为燕安，而反以舟名之，岂不戾哉？矧予又尝以罪谪，走江湖间，自汴绝淮，浮于大江，至于巴峡，转而以入于汉沔，计其水行万余里。其羈穷不幸，而卒遭风波之恐，往往叫号神明以脱须臾之命者，数矣。当其恐时，顾视前后凡舟之人，非为商贾，则必仕宦。因窃自叹，以谓非冒利与不得已者，孰肯至是哉？赖天之惠，全活其生。今得除去宿负，列官于朝，以来是州，饱廩食而安署居。思曩时山川所历，舟楫之危，蛟鼉之出没，波涛之汹欵，宜其寝惊而梦愕。而乃忘其险阻，犹以舟名其斋，岂真乐于舟居者邪！然予闻古之人，有逃世远去江湖之上，终身而不肯反者，其必有所乐也。苟非冒利于险，有罪而不得已，使顺风恬波，傲然枕席之上，一日而千里，则舟之行岂不乐哉！顾予诚有所未暇，而舫者宴嬉之舟也，姑以名予斋，奚曰不宜？予友蔡君谩善大书，颇怪伟，将乞大字以题于楹。惧其疑予之所以名斋者，故

³⁰ The translation of the prose here is revised based on the rendering in Ronald C. Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72)* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 211-212.

具以云。又因以置于壁。
壬午十二月十二日书。³¹

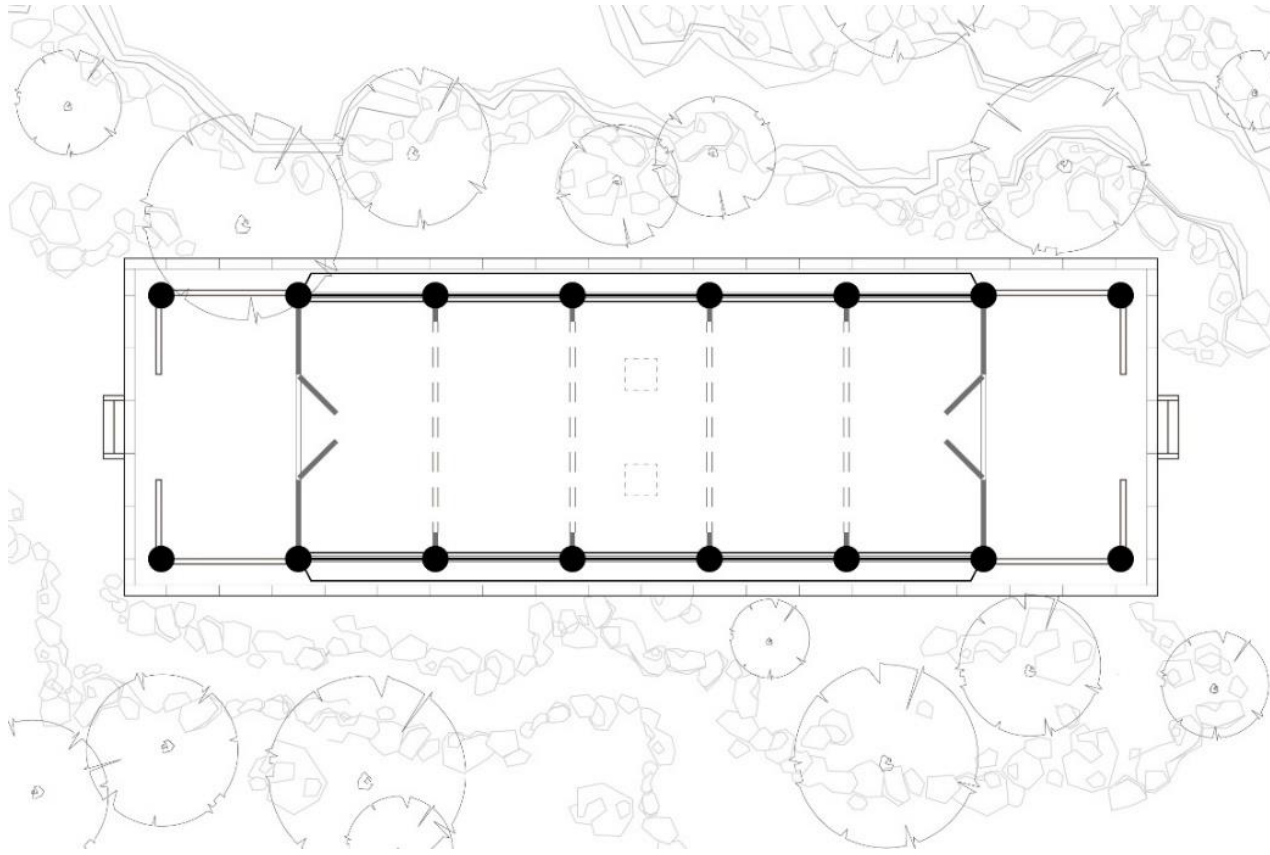


Fig. 1.1.1-1 The plan diagram of the Huafang Zhai.

Ouyang Xiu provided a comprehensive account of the architectural design (Fig. 1.1.1-1) and nomenclature (the name and the reason of giving the name) of this building in his prose. According to it, three months after his arrival in Huazhou (the 12th lunar month, 1042), Ouyang Xiu erected a studio building resembling a painted pleasure boat and named it as Huafang Zhai.

The building was located on the eastern flank of the governmental building complex in Huazhou, which, according to depictions and archives discovered in local gazetteers, occupied the northwestern extremity of the county. The government establishment of Huazhou was initially constructed by Li Yong 李邕 (678-747), the governor of Huazhou in Kaiyuan 开元 period (713-741), Tang dynasty. In the second year of Tianxi 天禧 period (1018), Northern Song dynasty, the governor Zhao Shichang 赵世长 (d. 1063) reconstructed its main hall.³² Due to the adjacency of the county wall on the west and north sides, as well as the main entrance located on the south side, Ouyang Xiu chose to construct Huafang Zhai, a private leisure area, on the east side of the building complex. As the land area was limited Ouyang had to deal with a lengthy and narrow interstitial space.

Perhaps the site triggered his contemplation on its potential to create a space reminiscent of the boat he embarked upon during his exile in Yiling 夷陵 county (now Yichang 宜昌, Hubei 湖北). In the third year of Jingyou 景祐 period (1036), Ouyang Xiu, who was then only 30 years old, received a demotion from Emperor Renzong of the Song dynasty 宋仁宗

³¹ Ouyang Xiu, “Huafang Zhai ji,” in Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 欧阳修全集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986), 271-272.

³² See Yao Dewen 姚德闻 and Lü Jiazhong 吕夹钟, *Kangxi Huaxian zhi* 康熙滑县志 (1686), vol.3, 4b. (The *Kangxi Huaxian zhi* will henceforth be referred to as *KXHXZ*.)

(Zhao Zhen 赵祯, 1010-1063, r. 1022-1063) to serve as a local magistrate in Yiling county. The aforementioned punishment was due to his support of Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052), who was unjustly accused of “colluding and forming cliques,” which greatly angered the emperor.³³

This incident marked Ouyang Xiu’s first encounter with demotion in his political career, followed by many other times. In the diary of his exile journey, *Yu yi zhi* 于役志 (The Record of the Arduous Journey), he recorded his experience traveling by waterway from the capital Kaifeng 开封 to Yiling. The waterway traversed the Bian 汴 River, crossed the Huai 淮 River, entered the Grand Canal, and finally descended into the Yangtze River. The entire journey spanned over 5,000 *li* 里 (approximately 2,700 kilometers) and lasted for a duration of 110 days.³⁴ He had not only experienced the pleasure of drinking with his friends on the boat many times,³⁵ but also tasted the hardship of being unable to dock during the gale.³⁶ During these 110 days, he sought solace in the beauty of scenic vistas and cultural landmarks to assuage his sorrow over being demoted,³⁷ while also indulging in convivial gatherings with friends to commiserate about current events affecting the nation and court.³⁸ Simultaneously, the perils of life on the boat left an indelible imprint on his mind, as he articulated in his “Huafang Zhai ji”: “As I reflect upon the numerous mountains traversed and perils encountered by my vessel, including the emergence of dragons and water-serpents as well as tumultuous waves crashing from all directions, it is not uncommon for me to be plagued by nightmares that disrupt my slumber” 思曩时山川所历，舟楫之危，蛟鼉之出没，波涛之汹欵，宜其寝惊而梦愕。³⁹

The experience left such an indelible impression on him that he was inspired to utilize the site’s narrowness by constructing a studio as described before. He connected the seven

³³ See Hu Ke 胡柯, “Luling Ouyang Wenzhong gong Nianpu” 庐陵欧阳文忠公年谱, in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, preface, 4: 景祐三年丙子。公年三十。是岁，天章阁待制权知开封府范仲淹言事忤宰相落职，知饶州。公切责司谏高若讷。……五月戊戌，降为峡州夷陵县令；and Ouyang Xiu, “Yu Gao sijian shu” 与高司谏书, in *ibid.*, 488-490.

³⁴ See Ouyang Xiu, “Yu Yin Shilu shu” 与尹师鲁书, in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, 490: 沿汴绝淮，泛大江，凡五千里，用一百一十程，才至荆南。

³⁵ See Ouyang Xiu, *Yu yi zhi*, in *ibid.*, 1006-1007: 壬戌，与元均小饮仓北门舟中，夜宿仓亭……丁卯，隐甫来会，登仓北偃上亭纳凉。迟客至，遂及元均小饮舟中，已而大风震雹，遂宿舟中……戊辰，余生日，具酒为寿于舟中。

³⁶ See *ibid.*, 1005: 壬寅，出东水门，泊舟，不得岸，水激，舟横于河，几败。家人惊走登岸而避，遂泊亭子下，and *ibid.*, 1009: 丁丑，次昭化港。夜大风，舟不得泊，祷江神。戊寅，次穿石矶。夜大风击舟，不得寝。

³⁷ See *ibid.*, 1006: 庚戌，过宿州，与张参约：泊灵壁镇，游损之园，and 1007: 甲戌，知州陈亚小饮魏公亭，看荷花，与者隐甫、朱公绰。晚，移舟楚望亭，and *ibid.*, 1008: 辛卯，饮僧于资福寺。移舟溶溶亭，处士谢去华援琴，待凉，以入客舟。

³⁸ See Ouyang Xiu, “Yu Yin Shilu shu,” in *ibid.*, 491: 安道与予在楚州，谈祸福事甚详。

³⁹ Ouyang Xiu, “Huafang Zhai ji,” in *ibid.*, 271-272.

rooms with doors and removed walls at both ends of the building, leaving only railings as support for sitting and standing. In the innermost chambers, skylights were installed to augment illumination. Additionally, rockery have been arranged and flora has been planted on either side of the eaves to further evoke a sense of boating on the lake for those who entered this studio.

For this unique architectural image, the elongated and narrow plane initially evokes a sense of surprise due to its uncommon shape, while the railings at both ends establish a resemblance to that of a boat. However, the true embodiment of the design intention to imitate a boat lied in its name “Huafang Zhai,” as *huafang* 画舫 refers specifically to a painted pleasure boat. Ouyang Xiu, well-cognizant of this fact, enlisted the expertise of his friend Cai Xiang 蔡襄 (1012-1067), who possessed a mastery in calligraphy, to inscribe and exhibit the name on a pillar. Furthermore, he authored the prose “Huafang Zhai ji,” which meticulously expounded on his rationale for naming his studio after a boat and displaying it prominently on the wall to acquaint all of his friends and guests with its name.

In this prose, which can be considered as a piece of architectural writing, Ouyang Xiu presented the form and spatial experience of the Huafang Zhai while also delving into his design intentions at length. He ostensibly conveyed the design intention of emulating a painted pleasure boat, in order to provide guests with the experience of a delightful boat tour and banquet. It was undeniably true and this intention was further emphasized by the intentionally crafted landscaping and railings, elevating the overall experience of being in this locale. However, Ouyang Xiu’s convoluted writing style suggests that his intentions go beyond mere aesthetics.

He initially posited that boats are tools for “navigating through perilous circumstances” 履险蹈难,⁴⁰ rather than dwellings, and raised a rhetorical question of whether it was too ominous to name a leisure studio after a boat. He did not provide a direct response to the inquiry, instead opting to recount his poignant demotion to Yiling due to “transgressions” and subsequent travels across various bodies of water by boat. It is worth noting that he reiterated his lack of affinity for life on the water. Afterwards, the article started to reverse its stance and asserted that ancient people who sought refuge in rivers and lakes must have experienced “the pleasure of boating.”⁴¹ It may resemble the gratification he had encountered during his journey, which he comprehended well but presently lacks the time to relish. Therefore, he consoled himself by naming his studio after a boat, and there was no impropriety.

It is evident that Ouyang’s design stems from a close integration of symbolic interpretation of the “boat” and personal experience of onboard space. The cultural symbol and material space were fused in the creation of Huafang Zhai by its designer Ouyang Xiu. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the political and personal context surrounding Ouyang Xiu at the time, as well as a thorough grasp of the symbolic significance of boats in Chinese culture, is essential to truly comprehend the architectural design that emulated a boat. Only by capturing the cultural connotation behind the Huafang Zhai’s design can we gradually

⁴⁰ Ibid., 271.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 272: ……则舟之行，岂不乐哉？…….

comprehend the cultural phenomenon established by this prototype of boat-architecture.

Gao Xiuhua 高秀华 possessed a keen awareness of the political context of the Northern Song dynasty and its impact on Ouyang Xiu. She characterized the era in which Ouyang Xiu lived as follows:

The Northern Song dynasty brought an end to the division of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, ushering in a prosperous era of national unity. However, the rulers of this dynasty were plagued by weakness and incompetence. Beginning with Emperor Taizong of the Northern Song dynasty, subsequent emperors were found to be lacking in both ambition and enterprise. Objectively, the establishment of the Song dynasty was accompanied by both internal and external troubles that gradually escalated in severity.

北宋结束了五代十国的分裂，呈现出大一统国家的兴旺局面。同时，宋朝统治者软弱无能，从宋太宗起，北宋各个皇帝毫无进取之心；而客观上内忧外患几乎伴随着宋王朝的建立而与之同存，并日益严重。⁴²

She also posits that the social characteristics of a generation of literati, such as Ouyang Xiu, have a profound impact on their psychology. On one hand, due to the Northern Song dynasty's encouragement and emphasis on intellectual participation in politics during its developmental stage, Ouyang Xiu and his contemporaries exhibited high levels of enthusiasm for political engagement. They not only hold profound political ideals, but also demonstrate a resolute commitment to their political responsibilities and maintain an enduring engagement in national politics throughout their lifetimes. On the other hand, the mediocrity of the Song court and the perilous state of being surrounded by foreign enemies engendered profound anxiety and apprehension in these literati regarding the fate of the dynasty.⁴³

Under the historical context of that era, Ouyang Xiu arrived in Huazhou from Kaifeng, the political center, in the second year of Qingli (1042). In contrast to the majority of officials who were reassigned to remote areas, he voluntarily requested his transfer and was not subjected to demotion. In the earlier part of that same year, in the third lunar month, Prime Minister Lü Yijian 吕夷简 (978-1044) put forth a recommendation for Fu Bi 富弼 (1004-1083) to undertake a diplomatic mission to the Khitan. The malice embedded in this recommendation was due to the extremely tense relations between the Khitan and Northern Song at that time, which posed an enormous threat to the envoy's safety. At that time, Ouyang Xiu was the *jixian jiaoli* 集贤校理 (collator of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies) and the *tongzhi liyuan* 同知礼院 (jointly deputy of the Imperial Sacrifice Ritual Department), the position that was responsible for documentation and ceremonial matters, but lacks decision-making power in the

⁴² Gao Xiuhua 高秀华, "Ouyang Xiu wendaoguan xinlun" 欧阳修文道观新论, in *Guo xue* 国学, vol. 6. ed. Sichuan shifan daxue zhonghua chuantong wenhua xueyuan Sichuan sheng renmin zhengfu wenshi yanjiuguan 四川师范大学中华传统文化学院四川省人民政府文史研究馆 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2018), 162.

⁴³ See *ibid.*

actual affairs of state. In this position, Ouyang Xiu endeavored to dissuade the emperor by citing the historical precedent of Yan Zhenqing 颜真卿 (709-784) in the Tang dynasty, who was resented for his political views by the Prime Minister and thus was appointed a similar malevolent mission that ultimately led to his demise. However, his petition never was replied. In the fifth lunar month, during the emperor's consultation with all officials, Ouyang Xiu seized another opportunity to present his response of *sanbi wushi* 三弊五事 (three malpractices and five problems) in “Zhunzhao yanshi shangshu” 准诏言事上书.⁴⁴ He received no reply once again. Therefore, on the one hand, he felt frustrated in court as the emperor only acknowledged his literary talents and disregarded his political opinions. On the other hand, he might have deemed it futile to voice his thoughts in central government and preferred to focus on local affairs as he had previously done.

For instance, upon his demotion to Yiling county, Ouyang Xiu scrutinized past public cases and bemoaned the corruption of local officials while vowing to uphold political integrity:

I was once demoted to an official position in Yiling, which was not a conducive environment for respectable men. In the prime of my life and still fervent for knowledge, I longed to peruse the *Shiji* and *Han shu* but was unable to locate them in either public or private collections. Without any [reading material] to occupy my time, I resorted to reviewing old case records from the shelves repeatedly, only to witness countless miscarriages of justice: fabrications from thin air, exaltation of villains as heroes, and engagement in illicit favoritism that eroded equity, undermined reason, and compromised ethics. Furthermore, the state of the entire country can be inferred from the circumstances in a remote and small county like Yiling. At that moment, I made a solemn vow to never neglect my duties in the execution of official affairs”

吾昔贬官夷陵，彼非人境也。方壮年，未厌学，欲求《史》、《汉》一观，公私无有也。无以遣日，因取架阁陈年公案，反复观之。见其枉直乖错，不可胜数。以无为有，以枉为直；违法徇情，灭亲害义，无所不有。且以夷陵荒远偏小，尚如此，天下固可知矣。当时仰天誓心，自尔遇事，不敢忽也。⁴⁵

Ouyang Xiu later followed through on his pledge. It is recorded in the gazetteer of Hua county that he “was respected by the local people for upholding justice, caring for his subordinates and writing articles in line with benevolence and justice” 秉正恤下，敷文率义，滑人德之。⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See Hu Ke, “Luling Ouyang Wenzhong gong Nianpu,” 6: 公上书引颜真卿使李希烈事，乞留弼，不报。五月，复应诏上书，极陈弊事。八月，请外。九月，通判滑州。十月至； and Ouyang Xiu, “Zhunzhao yanshi shangshu” 准诏言事上书, in *ibid.*, 311-317.

⁴⁵ Liu Deqing 刘德清, *Ouyang Xiu jinian lu* 欧阳修纪年录 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 87.

⁴⁶ Ma Zikuan 马子宽 and Wang Puyuan 王蒲园. *Minguo Huxian zhi* 民国滑县志 (1760), vol.14, 15a. (The *Minguo Huaxian zhi* will henceforth be referred to as *MGHXZ*.)

By comprehending the context behind Ouyang Xiu's transfer to Huazhou, we can establish a foundation for understanding his mindset in constructing the Huafang Zhai. Subsequently, through meticulous analysis of his "Huafang Zhai ji," we can further elucidate the underlying sophisticated message he intended to convey through this studio that emulated a boat.

In this article, Ouyang Xiu highlighted the dual symbolism of the "boat" – on one hand representing *jishi* 济世 (benefitting the world) and on the other hand embodying *taoshi* 逃世 (escaping the world). These two concepts form a set of contrasts.

The former symbolic significance derives from the *Yijing* 易经 (the Book of Changes): "Wood is hollowed out to make a boat, and wood is cut to make oars. The advantage of boats and oars lies in their capacity to traverse territories that lack roads" 剡木为舟，剡木为楫，舟楫之利，以济不通.⁴⁷ The *Shiben* 世本 (The Origin of the World) recorded that Gong Gu 共鼓 and Huo Di 货狄, two officials of the Yellow Emperor 黄帝 (ca. 27th c. BCE), invented boats which greatly benefited people throughout the country.⁴⁸ Lang Yi 郎顛 in the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220) once remonstrated with Emperor Shun of the Han dynasty 汉顺帝 (Liu Bao 刘保, 115-144, r. 125-144): "I have learned that the process of hollowing out wood to construct a boat and cutting wood to create oars is intended for traversing rivers and seas, while the act of hiring skilled individuals and selecting competent officials will benefit to establish stability within society" 臣闻剡舟剡楫，将欲济江海也；聘贤选佐，将以安天下也.⁴⁹ Gradually, the "boat crossing the river" evolved into a symbol known as *zhouji jichuan* 舟楫济川 (using boats to cross the rivers), which embodies the fundamental concept and requirement of Confucianism – attaining official position and benefiting society. The image of boats was a widely utilized metaphor in the poems and essays of the Tang dynasty, symbolizing authors' fervent aspirations to enter the court and achieve accomplishments that would benefit society. For example, Meng Haoran's 孟浩然 (689-740) "I desire to cross, yet I am unable to locate a boat. How deeply ashamed I am to lack a position in the court and have made no contribution to this magnificent world" 欲济无舟楫，端居耻圣明,⁵⁰ and Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) "I aspire to one day harness a persistent wind and conquer the tumultuous waves. With my sails set high and true, I shall traverse the vast depths of the sea" 长风破浪会有时，直挂云帆济沧海.⁵¹

The latter, on the contrary, reflected the mindset of a disengaged recluse capable of

⁴⁷ Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhou Yi benyi* 周易本义, vol. 3, 17b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁴⁸ See *Shi ben* 世本, annotated by Song Zhong 宋衷, compiled by Mao Panlin 茆泮林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 111: 共鼓货狄作舟.

⁴⁹ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 后汉书, vol. 60B, 15b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵⁰ Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 (Kiang, Kang-hu), *The Jade Mountain: A Chinese Anthology, Being Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty, 618-906*, trans. Witter Bynner (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), 85.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

standing aloof from the world.⁵² Although Confucian culture is fundamentally focused on benefiting society, the words and actions of Confucians also occasionally revealed an attitude of detachment from worldly affairs. Confucius 孔子 (Kong Qiu 孔丘, *zi* Zhongni 仲尼, 551-479 BCE) once said: “When assuming an official title, one should apply their ideas for the benefit of society; when not in a position of authority, one should retreat from worldly affairs” 用之则行，舍之则藏.⁵³ Mencius 孟子 (Meng Ke 孟轲, 371-289 BCE) also said: “Preserve your dignity as a nobody; promote the social welfare as a somebody” 穷则独善其身，达则兼善天下.⁵⁴ Regarding the relationship between the boat symbol and the recluse spirit of “escaping the world” in Confucian culture, it can be traced back to Confucius. When his proposal failed to gain recognition from kings and dignitaries, he lamented that he might as well “take a boat and drift away on the seas” 乘桴浮于海.⁵⁵

Of course, the contradiction between *jishi* and *taoshi* also has a more complex extension beyond Confucian culture. However, as these details are too intricate for a general understanding of the boat-architecture cultural phenomenon, they will not be expounded upon here.⁵⁶ For the examination of the architectural prototype of the Huafang Zhai, it is more warranted to focus on Ouyang Xiu’s exposition of the inherent contradictions, as both its content and composition serve as a conduit for conveying meaning. From his personal experience, Ouyang Xiu’s portrayal of *jishi* and *taoshi* implies a deeper contrast and reversal, ultimately achieving a symphony between seemingly contradictory elements. Therefore, Pu

⁵² Regarding the concept of “reclusion,” Alan J. Berkowitz has done a thorough research. See Alan J. Berkowitz, “The Moral Hero: A Pattern of Reclusion in Traditional China,” *Monumenta Serica* 40 (1992): 1-32. He also listed his reference in “Reclusion in Traditional China: A Selected List of References,” *Monumenta Serica* 40 (1992): 33-46.

⁵³ Kong Qiu, *Lunyu* 论语, annotated and translated by Yang Bojun 杨伯峻 and Yang Fengbin 杨逢彬 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2000), 60.

⁵⁴ Jiao Xun 焦循, *Mengzi Zhengyi* 孟子正义 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1986), 525.

⁵⁵ Kong Qiu, *Lunyu*, 37.

⁵⁶ For example, in the Taoism, the thought of “escaping the world” by drifting on a boat is exemplified by Fan Li’s 范蠡 (ca. 6th c. BCE) *wuhu chuan* 五湖船 and Zhuangzi’s 庄子 (369-286 BCE) *buxi zhi zhou* 不系之舟, which will be explained later. The introduction of Buddhism also delved into the boat’s symbolism of “benefiting the world” from a religious perspective, aiming to rescue individuals from the ocean of suffering and guide them towards enlightenment on the other shore. With the amalgamation of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism during the Song dynasty, the intellectual elite led by literati seamlessly incorporated the symbolic representation of these three religions through the metaphorical significance of boats into their contemplation on “entering/escaping the world.” For further reading on the aesthetic transformation of literati driven by the integration of three religions, see Xu Qingquan 徐清泉, *Zhongguo chuantong renwen jingshen lunyao: Cong yinyi wenhua, wenyi shijian ji fengjian zhengzhi de hudong fenxi rushou* 中国传统人文精神论要：从隐逸文化、文艺实践及封建政治的互动分析入手 (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 78-88.

Qilong 浦起龙 (1679-1762) in the Qing dynasty, commented on this article as “the utilization of the name as a point of departure to delineate the pleasure, employing the contradiction engendered by said name to pose inquiries, and subsequently addressing these queries through the name itself, encapsulates an expression that epitomizes a sophisticated and seasoned life” 因名写趣，因名设难，因名作解，亦是饱更世故之言，⁵⁷ capturing its essence.

On the one hand, Ouyang Xiu cited the *Book of Changes* to explain that the boat symbolizes Confucian philosophy’s aim to “benefit the world.” However, achieving this goal inevitably entails navigating dangerous waves of the officialdom. In “Huafang Zhai ji,” Ouyang Xiu wrote: “[...] as I looked ahead and behind, I noticed that the only other people out in boats were all either merchants or government officials. I sighed as I thought to myself: except for men who are anxious for profit and those who have no choice, who would be caught out here” 顾视前后凡舟之人，非为商贾，则必仕宦。因窃自叹，以谓非冒利与不得已者，孰肯至是哉？⁵⁸ Ouyang Xiu, who was among those forcibly exiled at that time, belonged to the group of individuals “who have no choice.” Upon being demoted in the third year of Jingyou, Ouyang Xiu received an urgent order that necessitated his immediate departure from the capital.⁵⁹ Ouyang Xiu initially attempted to travel overland with his entire family, but due to the scorching weather and a shortage of horses, he was unable to do so in a timely manner.⁶⁰ So, he had to travel by water. However, the officials who were demoted were not entitled to an official boat, which was more stable and secure.⁶¹ Consequently, they could only rely on privately owned boats that were relatively small and unsafe.⁶² Wasn’t that the one pertaining to individuals with no alternative options? In the face of raging winds and tumultuous waves, when life and death hung in the balance, it is impossible for anyone to remain unflappable. It was certainly not a refined gesture for a scholar who had studied the works of sages to beseech divine intervention in times of peril, akin to a man risking his life for personal gain. However,

⁵⁷ Pu Qilong, comp., *Guwen Meiquan* 古文眉诠 (Sanwu Shuyuan 三吴书院, 1744), vol.59, 20b.

⁵⁸ Ouyang Xiu, “Huafang Zhai ji,” 271.

⁵⁹ Ouyang Xiu, “Yu Yin Shilu shu,” 490: 临行，台吏催苛百端，…….

⁶⁰ When Ouyang Xiu traveled to Yiling, he brought along his elderly mother and three-year-old son (his wife had passed away shortly after giving birth to their son, who himself died at the age of eight). As it was summertime and there were no horses or carriages available, they had to opt for a boat in order to ensure the safety of both young and old. See *ibid.*: 始谋陆赴夷陵，以大暑，又无马，乃作此行。

⁶¹ The dispatch of official ships without authorization was strictly prohibited during the Song dynasty. See Xie Sehnfu 谢深甫, comp., *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei: zhizhimen 8 – chajie zhouchuan* 庆元条法事类·职制门八·差借舟船, in *Xuxiu sikuquanshu* 续修四库全书, comp. *Xuxiu sikuquanshu* bianweihui 《续修四库全书》编委会 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), vol.86, 1203: 诸州座船监司辄差借与人及受者，杖一百。

⁶² From Ouyang Xiu’s account, they remained in the small boat until being picked up by local officials of Yiling in an official vessel. See Ouyang Xiu, *Yu yi zhi*, 1009.

despite this encounter, he persisted in naming his studio after the boat, demonstrating his unwavering determination to become an official capable of contributing to the country.

On the other hand, Ouyang Xiu extracted the symbolic meaning of *taoshi* from the actions of “ancient people” who withdrew to enjoy nature’s beauty. As stated in his prose: “[...] if one has a favorable breeze and gentle seas and is able to rest comfortably on a pillow and mat, sailing several hundred miles in a single day, then is boat travel not enjoyable” 使顺风恬波，傲然枕席之上，一日而千里，则舟之行岂不乐哉?⁶³ Combined with Ouyang Xiu’s statement that “I have no time for such diversions” 顾予诚有所未暇，⁶⁴ it is evident that despite his yearning for a life of seclusion, he remained concerned with matters of state. When he was in Yiling, he once wrote to his friend, Yin Zhu 尹洙 (*zi* Shilu 师鲁, 1001-1047), about his stance on relegation:

In recent years, individuals have faced demotion or other disciplinary actions due to their words and actions. However, some exhibit arrogance and recklessness, prioritizing important affairs and neglecting meticulous duties, [which I am opposed to.] Therefore, upon Shilu’s departure, you vowed to exercise greater caution in your responsibilities and abstain from alcohol consumption - a pledge I also intend to uphold henceforth.

近世人因言事亦有被贬者，然或傲逸狂醉，自言我为大不为小。故师鲁相别，自言益慎职，无饮酒，此事修今亦遵此语。⁶⁵

When he composed “Huafang Zhai ji” six years later in Huazhou, his political acumen had further advanced. Meanwhile, the Khitan’s power was on the rise, leaving him with little time for leisure pursuits. Naming his studio after a boat allowed him to experience a modicum of relaxation during his spare moments, which naturally aligns with one of the design purposes of a leisure residence.

Though Ouyang Xiu’s writing may seem circuitous, it effectively conveys his stance on “entering/escaping the world.” Despite being undervalued in court, he did not compromise his principles for fame and fortune. Instead, he chose to serve as a local official in Huazhou where he could make practical contributions to society. Even then, he remained steadfastly focused on state affairs rather than indulging in personal pleasures or distractions.

With this conviction, Ouyang Xiu, aged 37, returned to Kaifeng from Huazhou in the third year of Qingli (1043) and initiated the political reform known as *Qingli xinzheng* 庆历新政 (Qingli New Deal) together with his predecessors Fan Zhongyan and his associates Han Qi 韩琦 (1008-1075), Fu Bi, Cai Xiang, Wang Su 王素 (1007-1073), Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064) and others. The aristocratic bureaucrats impeded the New Deal as it conflicted with their interests. In early 1045, Fan Zhongyan, Ouyang Xiu and other reformers were successively

⁶³ Ouyang Xiu, “Huafang Zhai ji,” 272.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ouyang Xiu, “Yu Yin Shilu shu,” 491.

dismissed from the imperial court, and various reforms were abolished. Despite its complete failure, the Qingli New Deal paved the way for Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021-1086) Political Reforms. After being banished from the capital, three years following his composition of "Huafang Zhai ji," Ouyang Xiu penned "Zuiweng Ting ji" 醉翁亭记 (Record of the Old Tippler's Pavilion) in Chuzhou 滁州. This renowned prose relieved his political frustration and expressed his thorough and sincere delight in the happiness of the local populace.⁶⁶ In the sixth year of Qingli (1046), Fan Zhongyan also wrote the famous "Yueyang Lou ji" 岳阳楼记 (Record of the Yueyang Pavilion) for his friend Teng Zijing 滕子京 (b. 990) who had also been exiled. Through this work, he conveyed his political beliefs: "When such men hold high positions in government or at court, their foremost concern is for the welfare of the people; and when they retire to secluded streams and lakes, their primary focus remains on serving their sovereign" 居庙堂之高则忧其民，处江湖之远则忧其君, and "be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts" 先天下之忧而忧，后天下之乐而乐.⁶⁷

In fact, the concepts of *jishi* (also known as *rushi* 入世, entering the world) and *taoshi* (also known as *chushi* 出世, escaping the world) form a dualistic philosophical proposition that scholars and officials steeped in Confucian culture and experienced in officialdom strive to explore. Based on their life experiences, they constantly seek to orient themselves between the two options.

Rather than striving for a definitive choice between the two, Chinese literati consistently approach and express this contradiction in their lives with clarity and comprehension. The architectural space, as a vessel for life, often assumes the role of conveying this concept through poetic articulation. Therefore, Huafang Zhai served not only as a space for leisure but also as an architectural manifestation of Ouyang Xiu's spiritual expression. By employing the boat's shape as a metaphor, Huafang Zhai has also inherited the cultural symbols of *jishi* and *taoshi* associated with boats, thereby endowing it with the potential for multifaceted interpretations due to the rich connotations and contrasting meanings inherent in this paradox. Meanwhile, this enigmatic architectural structure emulates the spatial form of a boat while being situated on land and lacking mobility. Straddling between "boat" and "architecture," it naturally served as an ideal medium for conveying the paradoxical notion.

By writing "Huafang Zhai ji," Ouyang explicated the message conveyed by boat-architecture, laying a groundwork that can be construed and reinterpreted. As Ouyang Xiu's literary legacy gained admiration from later generations, he contributed to the shift from literal to metaphorical language of the term "Huafang Zhai." When it is transformed into a cultural symbol, the material form of the boat-architecture gradually receded in importance. This phenomenon is exemplified by the restoration and reconstruction of the Huafang Zhai after the Northern Song dynasty, which will be examined in section 1.1.2.

⁶⁶ See Ouyang Xiu, "Zuiweng Ting ji," in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, 276.

⁶⁷ Fan Zhongyan, "Yueyanglou ji," in *Fan Wenzheng ji* 范文正集, vol. 7, 5b. See *SKQSHY*.

1.1.2 Restorations and reconstructions of the Huafang Zhai in and after the Northern Song dynasty

Although the physical structure of the Huafang Zhai designed by Ouyang Xiu no longer exists, it remains a cultural symbol that has been passed down through subsequent generations via renovations, extensions and even total reconstructions. The cultural significance attributed to Huafang Zhai enabled it to transcend the physical structure erected by Ouyang Xiu, and thus served as a prototype for boat-architecture that influenced other literati's construction activities, leading to its widespread adoption.

From the available local chronicles, it can be discerned that the local populace, particularly the officials, evinced a strong inclination towards perpetuating this cultural symbol. Subsequently, the discussion will explicate on the alterations and continuations made by individuals during the process of renovating and reconstructing Huafang Zhai. From the historical practice of local communities throughout past dynasties regarding Huafang Zhai, it is apparent that its physical entity, including its original material and structure, appearance and form, location and scale, need not be preserved in an authentic manner. Rather, what holds true value for continuity and inheritance is the cultural symbolism that emanates from Huafang Zhai and becomes embodied within various subsequent structures associated with the "original." Comprehending this point is of paramount importance in grasping the significance of cultural symbols within boat-architecture and the emergence of cultural phenomena surrounding it.

Huafang Zhai was commonly used and well-maintained during the Northern Song dynasty. While there are no direct records of restoration efforts, evidence from poetry and literature suggests its continued usage.

After Ouyang Xiu's departure from his office in Huazhou, it is possible that Huafang Zhai was left abandoned for a period. In his poem "Song Wang Yanfu *mijiao tongpan huazhou*" 送王岩夫秘校通判滑州 (Seeing the *Mijiao*, Wang Yafu, Off to Huazhou as the *Tongpan*), Mei Yaochen 梅尧臣 (1002-1060) mentioned that:

I have heard that the Xinduhou 信都侯 (Ouyang Xiu) once constructed a Huafang Zhai. [...] After his departure, all the successors lacked aesthetic sensibilities. [They] changed the architecture into storehouse and stable, and cut the plants as firewood. You should pay a visit to the remains, undertake restoration work and affix a plaque bearing its original name.

昔闻信都侯，尝作画舫斋。……一从信都去，来者趣意乖。屋室改库厩，花木为薪柴。君当访其迹，更葺安旧牌。⁶⁸

In the title, Mei Yaocheng called Wang Shuo 王说 (*zi* Yanfu 岩夫, 1028-1101) as *mijiao* 秘校. It is the abbreviation of an official title *mishusheng jiaoshulang* 秘书省校书郎 (the book

⁶⁸ Mei Yaochen, "Song Wang Yanfu *mijiao tongpan Huazhou*," in *Wanling ji* 宛陵集, vol. 55, 9b. See *SKQSHY*.

reviser of the Secretarial), which was often granted to the newly selected *jinshi* 进士 (the successful candidate in the highest Imperial Examination). Evidenced by the title of Shen Gou's 沈遘 (1025-1067, 1049 *jinshi*) poem, "Ciyun he Wang Yanfu, Youmei Tang hui zhu nianqi" 次韵和王岩夫有美堂会诸年契 (Using the Same Rhyme-words with Wang Yanfu,⁶⁹ Meeting in the Youmei Pavilion with Friends Who Were Selected as *jinshi* in the Same Year), Wang Yanfu was also selected as a *jinshi* in the same year (1049) as Shen Gou.⁷⁰ We can conclude that following Ouyang Xiu's departure in 1043, the Huafang Zhai was largely neglected and nearly abandoned until Wang Yanfu's arrival in 1049.

It is impossible to ascertain whether Wang Shuo restored the Huafang Zhai, but it is certain that Mei Zhi 梅挚 (994-1059), who served as the *zhizhou* 知州 (prefectural supervisor) of Huazhou in the first year of the Jiayou 嘉佑 period (1056) and had a close relationship with Ouyang Xiu, oversaw the restoration of this architecture. His correspondence with Ouyang Xiu reveals that during his tenure, he frequently occupied himself in the Huaifang Zhai (see 1.1.3).⁷¹

Li Chang 李常 (1027-1090), served as the *tongpan* of Huazhou in the first year of Xining 熙宁 (1070). His friend Su Zhe 苏辙 (1039-1112), a disciple of Ouyang Xiu, and his nephew Huang Tingjian 黄庭坚 (1045-1105) both wrote poems to Li, mentioning the Huafang Zhai, which suggests that Huafang Zhai was well-maintained by Li Chang (see 1.1.3).⁷²

Then it is possible that Ouyang Xian 欧阳宪, the grandson of Ouyang Xiu also undertook the restoration of the Huafang Zhai when he served as the *zhubu* 主簿 (clerk in local government) of Weicheng 韦城, a subordinate county of Huazhou in the sixth year of Yuanyou 元祐 (1091). Su Shi 苏轼 (1037-1101), another disciple of Ouyang Xiu (also the older brother of Su Zhe and an intimate friend of Huang Tingjian), composed farewell poems to Ouyang Xian, and advised him to restore the Huafang Zhai (see 1.1.3).⁷³ It is reasonable to assume that Ouyang Xian would have restored the Huafang Zhai, his grandfather's legacy, whenever the opportunity arose.

⁶⁹ See Shen Gou, "Ciyun he Wang Yanfu, Youmei Tang hui zhu nianqi," in *Xixi ji* 西溪集, vol. 2, 8b-9a. See *Wenyuange Qinding Sikuquanshu* 文渊阁钦定四库全书, comp. Ji Yun 纪昀 (Taiwan: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), photoprint of the Qing edition (1782). (The *Wenyuange Qinding Sikuquanshu* will henceforth be referred to as *SKQS*.)

⁷⁰ This date is also consistent with the information recorded in Gong Yanming 龚延明 ed., *Songdai dengke zonglu* 宋代登科总录 (Guangxi: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2014), 6740: 王说 (1028-1101), 1049年登进士第, 后以秘书省校书郎通判滑州.

⁷¹ Mei Zhi, "Oushu xiaoshi ji Yongshu neihan" 偶书小诗寄永叔内翰, in *Songshi jishi* 宋诗纪事, comp. Li E 厉鹗, vol. 12, 22a. See *SKQS*.

⁷² Su Zhe, "Ti Huazhou Huafang Zhai zeng Li Gongze xueshi" 题滑州画舫斋赠李公择学士, in *Luancheng ji* 栾城集, vol.3, 14b; Huang Tingjian, "Ciyun ji Huazhou jiushi" 次韵寄滑州舅氏, in *Shangu ji* 山谷集, vol.6, 5b-6a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁷³ Su Shi, "Song Ouyang zhubu fuguan Weicheng sishou" 送欧阳主簿赴官韦城四首, and "Meizai yishou song Weicheng zhubu Ouyang jun" 美哉一首送韦城主簿欧阳君, in *Dongpo quanji* 东坡全集, vol.19, 9a-b, and vol. 30, 20a. See *SKQSHY*.

After the Northern Song dynasty, Huazhou came under the jurisdiction of the Liao and Jin regimes during the Southern Song and Jin dynasties. Its fate of preservation or abandonment remains unknown, yet it is improbable that it was in a satisfactory condition. In the spring of the 12th year of Zhizheng 至正 period (1352), Yuan dynasty, bandits were rampant north of the Yellow River and Huazhou fell victim to their depredations. According to the local gazetteers, the local government office was annihilated by war.⁷⁴ The Huafang Zhai on its eastern side was likely razed along with it. When the state was reconstructed four years later (1356), official residences were established on both the east and west sides of the main hall,⁷⁵ leaving no space for the Huafang Zhai. This pattern persisted until the end of the Qing dynasty, as evidenced by local gazetteer maps (Fig. 1.1.2-1).

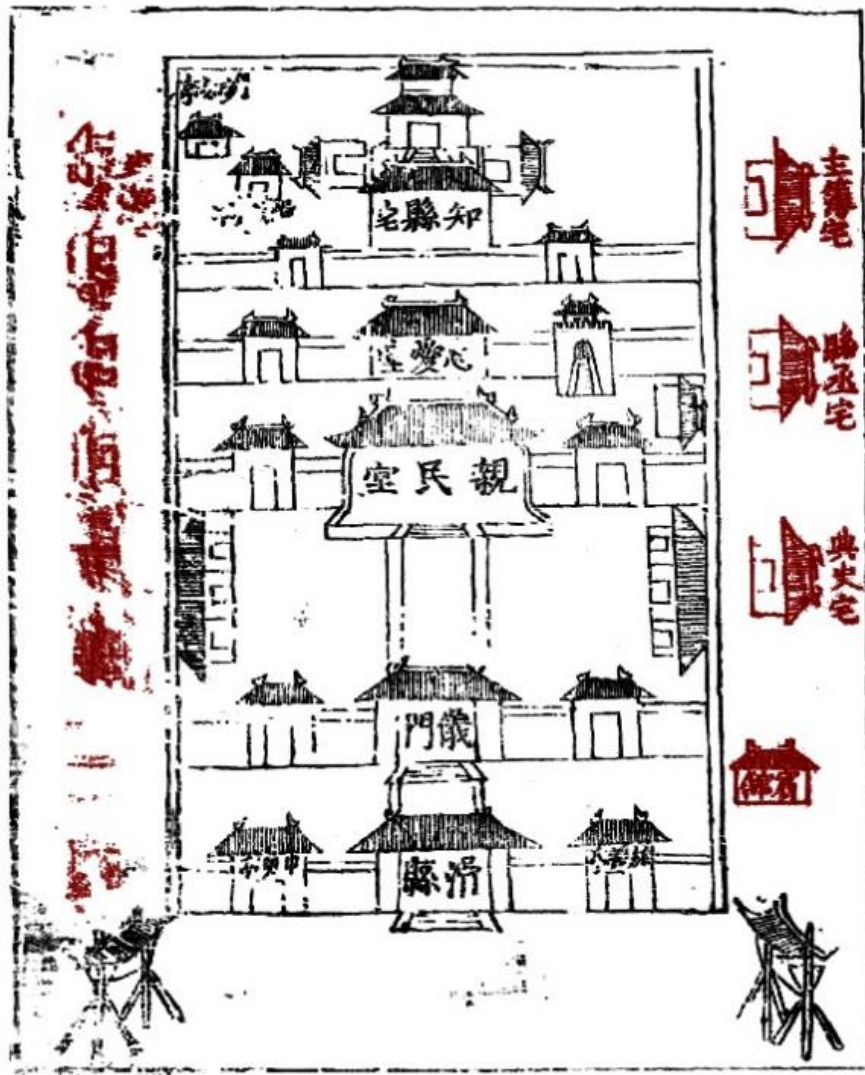


Fig. 1.1.2-1 The plan of the government building complex recorded in *KXHXZ*.

Since the Ming dynasty, Huafang Zhai has undergone multiple restorations and reconstructions, leaving behind abundant records. These documents reveal that the location of Huafang Zhai shifted from the narrow site on the east side of the local government office to a

⁷⁴ See Song Ne 宋讷, “Zhizheng shiliu nian huazhou xinjian zhoushiji” 至正十六年滑州新建州治记, in *Chongxiu Huaxian zhi* 重修滑县志, noted version, comp. Henansheng Huaxian difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 河南省滑县地方史志编纂委员会 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1993), vol.3, 617: 至正壬辰春二月, 盜起河朔, 滑亦残毀, 廡宇为之灰烬. (The *Chongxiu Huaxian zhi* will henceforth be referred to as *CXHXZ*.)

⁷⁵ See *ibid.*: 大起肺石之厅, 而厅之左右宾幕吏舍, 各以序为.

vacant land on the southeast corner of the county (Fig. 1.1.2-2), where it became an independent building complex. Furthermore, it evolved from Ouyang Xiu's former leisure place into an academy with high esteem and eventually a modern school.

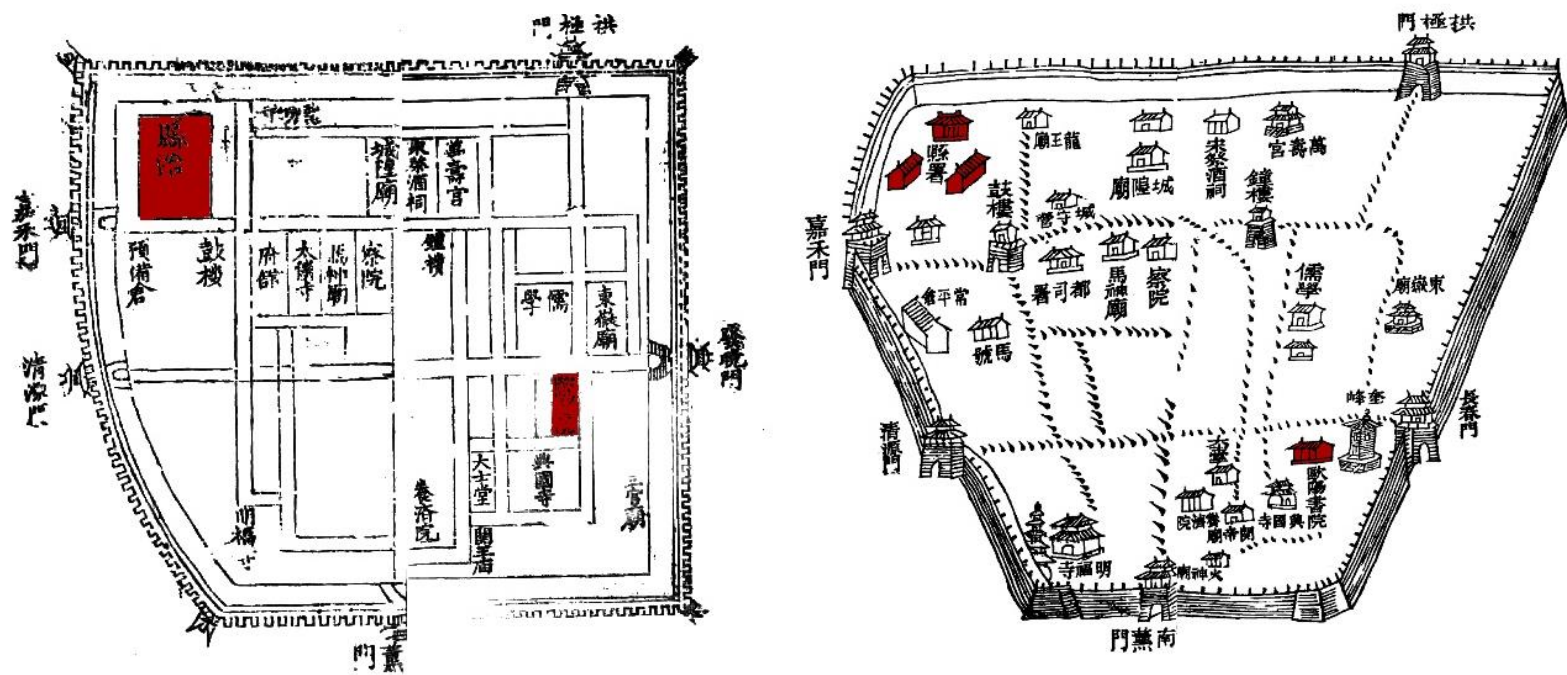


Fig. 1.1.2-2 The plan of the Hua county recorded in *KXHXZ* (left) and *TZHXZ* (right).

The earliest explicit record of its restoration dated back to the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) period of the Ming dynasty. In the “Huaxian ruxue jiaoyu Cheng jun muzhimin” 滑县儒学教谕程君墓志铭 (Epitaph of Cheng Jian, a Confucian education promoter in Hua County)⁷⁶ wrote by Zhang Han 张瀚 (1510-1593), it is mentioned that Cheng Jian 程鉴 (1490-1556), rebuilt the Huafang Zhai when he was the *jiaoyu* 教谕 (Confucian education promoter) in Hua County since the fifth year of Jiajing period (1526).⁷⁷ However, the documentation failed to record the form, configuration and scale of the reconstructed Huafang Zhai, nor did it clarify whether it was erected on its original location.

Considering the strong temporal continuity of Huafang Zhai's records in the Ming and Qing dynasties, all of which indicate its location in the southeast corner of the county rather than on the east side of the county office in the northwest corner, it is possible that it had already been relocated from its original site in (or before) this reconstruction.

This could also be corroborated in a poem of Zhang Jiayin 张佳胤 (1526-1588, 1550 *jinshi*), who served as the *zhixian* 知县 (magistrate) of Hua county from around the 30th year

⁷⁶ In the seventh year of the Hongwu 洪武 period (1374), Ming dynasty, Huazhou was degraded to Hua county.

⁷⁷ See Zhang Han 张瀚, “Huaxian ruxue jiaoyu Chengjun muzhimin” 滑县儒学教谕程君墓志铭, in *Xinang duyü* 奚囊蠹余, in *Hangzhou wenxian jicheng* 杭州文献集成 17, *Wulin wangzhe yizhu* 武林往哲遗著, vol. 4, comp. Wang Guoping 王国平 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubenshe, 2014), 537: 近斋程君者, 滑县学谕也。……君讳鉴, 字应物, 一字于民, 近斋其自号也。……弘治庚戌六月三日生。……五年, 迁滑县教谕, 至则修讲堂, 立饌会, 建岩岩亭, 日与生徒游息其中。又榜节寿堂, 嘉奖孝子; 新白云屋, 表扬先贤; 修画舫斋, 编《滑台志》。(The *Hangzhou wenxian jicheng* will henceforth be referred to as *HZWXJC*.)

of Jiaying (1552).⁷⁸ The poem described his experience of visiting the relics of the Huafang Zhai: “As I delve into history, I am in awe of the wisdom of ancient master Ouyang Xiu. Today, I stand before the lecture hall that bears his name to pay homage. Surrounding me are desolate ruins and the dilapidated pavilions, which evoke a sense of melancholy as I saw them in the last light of the sunset” 当年读史怀先哲，今日登阶拜讲堂。满目萧条余废阁，不禁凭吊倚斜阳。⁷⁹ According to the title of his poem, “Yue Huafang, Qiusheng Lou jiuzhi, yi Ouyang xiansheng” 阅画舫、秋声楼旧址，忆欧阳先生 (Viewing the Relics of the Huafang Zhai and Qiusheng Lou, Recalling Mr. Ouyang),⁸⁰ there was also an Qiusheng Lou 秋声楼 (Autumn Sound Pavilion) anear at that time. Together with Huafang Zhai, they appeared to have been utilized as “lecture halls” in conjunction. This poem also suggested a high likelihood that Huafang Zhai was not located within the original narrow site on the east side of the county office during this time period. Otherwise, there would be no available space for constructing the Qiusheng Lou.

In general, it is more likely that Cheng Jian, as the Confucian education promoter, constructed a complex of buildings for teaching and lectures on an unoccupied plot of land in the southeastern corner of the county. He deliberately selected a location directly opposite to the *wenmiao* 文庙 (the Confucius Temple, also known as Xue Gong 学宫, the education institution) and named these buildings as Huafang Zhai and Qiusheng Lou in commemoration of Ouyang Xiu.

The reconstructed building complex has been widely accepted as “authentic” since then, as it not only pays homage to Ouyang Xiu’s service in Huazhou, his establishment of the Huafang Zhai, and his literary works “Huafang Zhai ji” and “Qiusheng fu,” but also exemplified the use of Ouyang Xiu as a role model for inspiring students. So that people who made records afterwards all regarded this new location as the “authentic” site of Huafang Zhai, even though they were all familiar with the sentence in “Huafang Zhai ji”: “I converted the rooms of the eastern wing of the government offices into a place for me to spend my leisure time. I named it ‘Pleasure Boat Studio’” 即其署东偏之室，治为燕私之居，而名曰画舫斋。⁸¹

In the 29th year of Wanli 万历 (1601), Wang Tingjian 王廷谏 (1571-1652), who was appointed as a *zhixian* in Hua county, also undertook the restoration of Huafang Zhai.⁸² He

⁷⁸ See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 6, 29b: 张佳胤，四川铜梁人，进士。嘉靖三十一年任。

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 76-2a.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Ouyang Xiu, “Huafang Zhai ji,” in *Quanji*, 271.

⁸² The time of Wang Tingjian’s arrival in Hua county is 1601, which was recorded explicitly. See Wang Tingjian, “Huafang Zhai fu,” in Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 41a: 斋为欧阳文忠公所构，荒废久矣。予辛丑(1601)来蒞兹土……, and Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, vol. 14, 23a: 王廷谏，字信卿，河南项城县人，进士。万历二十九年(1601)，由内黄令调任滑县。明敏简静，兴学课士，修欧阳书院、画舫斋、秋声楼，广施教泽。以孤高被劾，改教职而去，延邑人胡巽印先生修县志，

stated that he reconstructed Huafang Zhai on the “original” location where it was built by Ouyang Xiu.⁸³ According to the local gazetteers of Hua county, Wang Tingjian enlarged the size of the building and changed it to a three-bay hall. In the meantime, he also rebuilt the Qiusheng Lou.⁸⁴ This group of buildings was utilized as an academy known as the “Qiusheng Shuyuan” 秋声书院 (Autumn Sound Academy).⁸⁵

The Ming dynasty literati possessed a clear and deliberate comprehension of the symbolism embodied by the Huafang Zhai. They were well aware that Ouyang Xiu’s intention in constructing a building modeled after a boat was to transcend the original material existence and pursue spiritual symbolism. For example, Wang Tingjian composed the “Huafang-Zhai fu” 画舫斋赋 (the Ode to Huafang Zhai) in imitation of Fan Zhongyan’s “Yueyang Lou ji,”⁸⁶ depicting the scenery and emotions experienced while sitting in Huafang Zhai. Taking Fan’s approach of governing with country’s interest in mind as a model, and drawing inspiration from Ouyang Xiu’s spirit embodied in the “Huafang Zhai ji,” he wrote:

If my path remains undetermined, I feel as though I am adrift in the tumultuous waves of uncertainty. Even within the shelter of a sturdy stone abode, my soul quivers and shakes as it is tossed about by tempestuous waters. If I am fully devoted to my path, no obstacles will impede me. Even if I were to construct my abode in the city like a boat, I would not tremble before the challenges embodied by this symbol. In the floods that inundate the mountains and spread across the hills, vessels take on a chamber-like quality while structures transform into boats. Not only can their appearances and forms shift reciprocally, but also their conceptual meanings flow metaphysically in tandem.

已成未刊. However, the time of Wang’s restoration of Huafang Zhai was not mentioned precisely. It could be that he restored it in the same year when he arrived or several years later. Lü Jiazhong recorded that Wang’s restoration was carried out in 1603, yet it could also be a mistake. See Lü Jiazhong, “Chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beiji” 重修欧阳书院碑记, in Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 357b: 万历癸卯(1603)邑令项城信卿王公夙慕公为宋代大儒, 流风余韵俱堪于古, 为之创大厅三间, 额曰“画舫斋”, 因其旧也.

⁸³ See Wang Tingjian, “Huafang Zhai fu,” in Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 41a: 按其故处再为起之, 凡数月而告成.

⁸⁴ See *ibid.*, vol. 3, 7b-8a: 项城信卿王公创建大厅三楹, 额曰“画舫”, 踵其旧也, 高楼三楹, 额曰“秋声”, 因其赋也.

⁸⁵ See Chen Hao 陈浩, “Lü gong Wenguang chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beiji” 吕公文光重修欧阳书院碑记, in Yao Kun 姚锜 and Xu Guangdi 徐光第, *Tongzhi Huxian zhi* 同治滑县志 (1867), vol. 3, 43b: 前明项城王君, 即欧阳文忠公画舫斋之遗址建制秋声书院. (The *Tongzhi Huaxian zhi* will henceforth be referred to as *TZHXZ*.)

⁸⁶ The two share a striking similarity in terms of their thematic and formal composition, with the central portion depicting various weather conditions or seasons within a given setting, culminating in an overarching reflection on the life experience.

苟吾道之未定，若汎汎于波涛。虽安居于厥室，似鲸波乎魂摇。苟吾道之已定，将何遇其能妨？移舳舻于城廓，亦何畏乎？怀襄何舟匪室，何室匪舟，岂形骸之可化，亦神志之虚游。⁸⁷

In this ode, Wang Tingjian clearly conveyed his comprehension of Ouyang Xiu's mentality. The focus of boat-architecture is not merely on the reciprocal imitation between an architecture and a boat in form, but rather in the seamless integration of their conceptual meanings. It can be argued that the ambiguous shape precisely accentuates the concept. If Huafang Zhai were to fully imitate the form of a boat, it would fail to capture this reciprocal flow of concepts and thus be unable to serve as a vehicle for the personal expression of complex emotions and ideas. Therefore, in his perspective, the inheritance of conceptual meanings between the new and old Huafang Zhai did not necessarily manifest in the authenticity of architectural form.

The emphasis on symbolism and disregard for the material entity was more accurately reflected in the Qiushen Lou, which was an interpretive design work created by later generations. This pavilion was intentionally named after Ouyang Xiu's "Qiusheng fu" 秋声赋 (the Ode to the Autumn Sound), and was considered to be the place where Ouyang Xiu studied in Huazhou. However, it was merely an eisegesis.⁸⁸ In fact, Qin Dunyuan 秦敦原 (1817 *jinshi*), the magistrate of Hua county during the Daoguang 道光 reign, had done a research on this building, and had carved his conclusion on a stone tablet in Qiusheng Lou:

Ouyang Xiu did not encounter autumn during his two terms in office in Huazhou, thus the "Qiusheng fu" should not have been peened here. However, given that this ode belongs to the category of fable which does not refer to any specific location, it is understandable if later generations named this building after the ode as a tribute to a virtuous official.

欧阳两次蒞滑，均未经秋，《秋声赋》不当作于此地。惟秋声赋本属寓言，未指何地，后人因此赋以名此楼，甘棠遗爱之意，无可厚非也。⁸⁹

Several other *zhixian* of Hua county in the Ming dynasty, such as Wutugong 武图功

⁸⁷ Wang Tingjian 王廷谏, "Huafang Zhai fu" 画舫斋赋, in Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 43b.

⁸⁸ According to Hu Ke's "Luling Ouyang Wenzhong gong nianpu," Ouyang Xiu served in Huazhou twice: from the spring of 1040 to the sixth lunar month of the same year, and from the tenth lunar month of 1042 to the third lunar month of 1043. As autumn in the Chinese lunar calendar falls between the seventh and ninth months, it can be inferred that Ouyang Xiu did not experience autumn during either service period in Huazhou. See Ouyang, *Quanji*, 5-6.

⁸⁹ Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, vol. 4, 20b.

(1557-1627),⁹⁰ Zhang Xinzhao 张新诏 (1566-1641),⁹¹ Zhang Xin 张忻 (1368-1644),⁹² Li Yan 李岩 (d. 1644),⁹³ had each contributed to the restoration and expansion of this architectural complex. However, over time it gradually fell into disrepair and ultimately collapsed, echoing the decline of the Ming dynasty.

Just like the academy was also named “Qiusheng Shuyuan,” the group of buildings centered around Qiusheng Lou in the late Ming dynasty (ca. 1582-1644). According to the poems during this period recorded in local gazetteers, gatherings between the magistrates and their friends were often held in the Qiusheng Lou, and their poems and essays often use “autumn” as the theme.⁹⁴ The silence around the name “Huafang Zhai” during this period may be attributed to the fact that its architectural form no longer resembled a boat. As both Huafang Zhai and Qiusheng Lou were constructed in honor of Ouyang Xiu, when the three-room hall of Huafang Zhai ceased to evoke memories of its original namesake, attention shifted towards Qiusheng Lou. This emphasis shifted during the Qing dynasty, but not due to architecture reverting to boat imitation. Rather, it was closely linked to alterations in the surrounding water environment.

The earliest known restoration of Huafang Zhai during the Qing dynasty was reportedly carried out by Wang Nai 王鼐 (1648 *jinshi*),⁹⁵ a *zhixian* in the ninth year of the Shunzhi 顺治 reign (1652).⁹⁶ It was also recorded that Wang Nai renamed it from “Qiusheng Shuyuan” to “Huafang Shuyuan” 画舫书院 (Pleasure Boat Academy).⁹⁷ At that time, there existed an extensive body of water to the south of the architectural complex, where the magistrate and literati frequently embarked on boats for leisurely pursuits. This aqueous expanse was named

⁹⁰ See Henansheng Huaxian difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, *CXHXZ*, vol. 3, 676: 万历三十三年 (1605)任, 三十六年 (1608)调湖广黄梅县.

⁹¹ See *ibid.*: 万历三十六年(1608)任, 癸丑(1613)擢云南道监察御史.

⁹² See *ibid.*, 677: 崇祯戊辰(1628)自河南夏邑调繁滑县, 庚午(1630)擢吏部主事.

⁹³ See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 6, 34a-b: 李岩, 山东莱阳人, 进士。庚辰(1640)自曲周调任。……未几, 转开封知府丁忧.

⁹⁴ For example, see *ibid.*, vol. 9, such as Wu Tugong 武图功, “**Qiu** huai sanshou, zai **Qiusheng Lou** zuo” 秋怀三首, 在秋声楼作 (63b); Qi Boyu, “Feng Wu mingfu **Qiusheng Lou** shi” 奉和武明府秋声楼诗 (63b-64a); Zhang Xin 张忻, “**Qiu** huai bashou” 秋怀八首 (66a-67b).

⁹⁵ See Chen Hao, “Lü gong Wenguang chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beiji,” 43b: 国初历城王君从而增修之.

⁹⁶ See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 6, 35b: 王鼐, 山东历城人, 戊子 (1648)副榜。顺治九年(1652)六月任.

⁹⁷ See Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, preface, 13b: 清顺治间历城王公鼐知滑事, 重修, 易名画舫书院.

“Wen Hu” 文湖 (the lake of writing).⁹⁸ It is highly understandable that the presence of this lake, which evoked associations with boats, would divert people’s attention away from Qiusheng Lou and towards Huafang Zhai.

Verifying the formation time of this water area poses a challenge. While Cheng Yujing 程宇静 posits in her thesis that it resulted from flood discharge during the Ming dynasty’s Yellow River course change, she fails to provide precise dates or original documentation.⁹⁹ However, since the name “Wen Hu” was not found in any poems and writings in the Ming dynasty, it is likely that this body of water was relatively inconspicuous during that time period and did not receive as much attention as the focal point building – Qiusheng Lou. On the contrary, there existed plenty of poems and articles documenting the experiences of literati and provincial graduates being invited by Wang Nai to embark on boating excursions along Wen Hu during his tenure as *zhixian*.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the naming and flourishing of Wen Hu should be originated from Wang Nai.

Moreover, under the influence of Wang Nai, the combination of Wen Hu and Hua Fang Academy gradually gave rise to the renowned “Huafang Xianji” 画舫贤迹 (The Virtuous Man’s Relic of Huafang),¹⁰¹ which became one of the 12 famous sights in Hua county (Fig 1.1.2-4). From the local gazetteers, we can see that the earliest record of “Huaxian shier jing” 滑县十二景 (The Twelve Sights in Hua County) was Wang Nai’s poem, with its sixth verse titled “Huafang xianji.” It wrote:

When Ouyang Xiu was in charge of Hua county, he left a legacy as an excellent educator. The studio was named after a pleasure boat flowing on clear water, while the pavilion was named after the ode of autumn sound, which is thought-provoking.

[On the Wen Hu,] we sit in a boat and sway oars on the still lake accompanied by a group of friends who are talented at prose writing. The outstanding charm of Ouyang Xiu never fades away. Looking upon his relics, we also aspire to follow in his footsteps.

六一先生为政时，曾垂遗爱作良师。斋名画舫流清籁，阁赋秋声发旷思。

⁹⁸ See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 3, 8a: 时院南秋水汪洋，一望无际。课士之余，泛舟于上，与绅士徜徉吟和，名其水曰“文湖”。

⁹⁹ See Cheng Yujing, “The Prosperity of the Relics Related to Ouyang Xiu,” 17.

¹⁰⁰ For example, Zhu Yinzhe 朱胤哲 (1602-1660) wrote “Wang mingfu zhao fan Wen Hu yongfu pailü shiyun” 王明府（王鼐）招汎文湖用赋排律十韵, and “Zai fan Wen Hu Wang mingfu zhao tong Yan jiabu zhujunzi yongfu pailü shiyun, shi jiuyu huqing dengzhou fuyu deyun yuzhi” 再汎文湖王明府招同阎驾部诸君子用赋排律十韵，时久雨忽晴登舟复雨得韵雨止; Wei Qingyun 魏庆云 wrote “Fan Wen Hu liujue” 汎文湖六绝. See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 74a-76a.

¹⁰¹ Later it became also known as “Huafang Chengbo” 画舫澄波 (Pleasure Boat and Clear Waves). See Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, preface, 29b-30a.

坐对停泓堪荡浆，行环多士好擒词。风流千载如存日，仰止芳踪亦欲追。¹⁰²

In addition, there were also poems composed by local literati such as Zhao Guantai 赵贯台,¹⁰³ Zhu Yinzhe 朱胤哲 (1602-1660),¹⁰⁴ etc.¹⁰⁵

During the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1662-1722), Yao Dewen 姚德闻, who was appointed as *zhixian* of the county in 1684, restored the Huafang Zhai and wrote the “Chongxiu Huafang Zhai ji” 重修画舫斋记 (The Restoration of the Huafang Zhai). The local literate, Lü Jiazhong 吕夹钟, also wrote an article for this restoration. According to these articles, prior to restoration, Huafang Academy had fallen into a state of disrepair. However, remnants of the foundation for both the three-bay Huafang Zhai and Qiusheng Lou built by Wang Tingjian were still visible.¹⁰⁶ Yao Dewen had developed a deep appreciation for Ouyang Xiu’s literary works since childhood, and had long admired the picturesque landscapes depicted in his writings.¹⁰⁷ As such, the restoration of Huafang Zhai has been a particular concern for him ever since he arrived here. However, upon his assumption of office, the Confucian Temple collapsed and the city wall was destroyed. As a result, his initial focus was on repairing these structures before turning to the reconstruction of Huafang Zhai, which he accomplished in the 27th year of Kangxi reign (1688).¹⁰⁸

Yao Dewen’s reconstruction project was of a relatively larger scale, encompassing not only the expansion of Huafang Zhai and Qiusheng Lou but also the construction of a three-bay pavilion known as “Lansheng Lou” 揽胜楼 (Scenic Viewing Pavilion) in front of the Huafang

¹⁰² See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 69a-b.

¹⁰³ Zhao Guantai 赵贯台, the sixth of the “Huaxian shi’er jing” 滑县十二景, see *ibid.*, vol. 9, 71b-72a: 公余辟画舫，游憩燕芳辰。玉署分清翰，冰堂酿晓春。全消尘浪险，不逐宦波沉。想象风流在，秋声俨有人。

¹⁰⁴ Zhu Yinzhe, the sixth of the “Qianti shi’er jue” 前题十二绝, see *ibid.*, vol. 9, 73b: 六一当年判滑时，文章吏治两相宜。秋声作赋人千古，为政风流今在兹。

¹⁰⁵ For more examples, see *ibid.*, vol. 9, 76-6a, 76-7b; and Henansheng Huaxian difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, *CXHXZ*, vol. 3, 356.

¹⁰⁶ Yao Dewen, “Chongxiu Huafang Zhai ji,” see Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 9, 246-5a-b: 惟中有堂三楹，颜之曰“画舫斋”，后数武建一楼曰“秋声楼”，云即欧公读书作赋处，而皆仅存颓壁。

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, 246-6a: 余束发读书，寝食于大家之作，不惟识其文章，且有以得其性情品行以及嗜好游历之所在，无不心馮之。而于欧文，好之尤笃，盖其问候平和，忠君爱国之意，一往而深。其登高作赋，游览记述之文，为之流连三复，以当卧游久矣。

¹⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, 246-5a: 余治滑之四年，岁在徒维执徐(1688)，时和政暇，百废俱修。乃求画舫斋之旧址于城之东南，破瓦颓垣，荒烟蔓草，非复昔日游观之所矣。于是与二三从事，暨邑之荐绅先生，谋所以鼎新之。

Zhai.¹⁰⁹ The new building complex was renamed as “Ouyang Wenzhong gong Shuyuan” 欧阳文忠公书院 (Ouyang Wenzhong gong Academy),¹¹⁰ also referred to as “Ouyang Shuyuan” 欧阳书院 (Ouyang Academy).¹¹¹ The new Huafang Zhai building was grandiose, spacious, and multifunctional. Apart from serving as a venue for lectures, it could also function as a convivial space for intellectuals to gather and feast, or serve as an ancestral hall dedicated to Ouyang Xiu.¹¹²

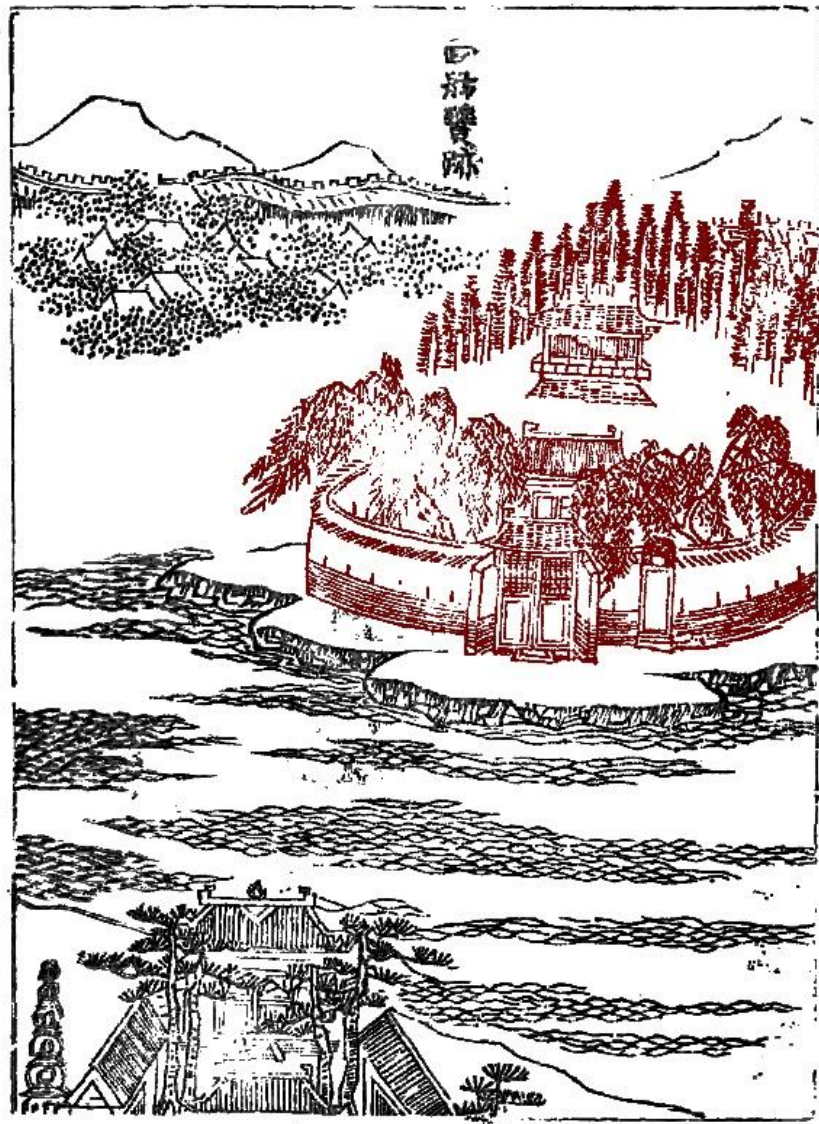


Fig. 1.1.2-3 “Huafang Xianji,” one of the 12 famous sights in Hua county.

From the articles, the county map and the illustration of “Huafang Xianji” of the 12 sights in Hua county (see Fig. 1.1.2-3), we learn that the Huafang Academy complex, following his renovation, was situated facing north towards the *panchi* 泮池 (a semicircular pool) in front

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*, 246-5b: 而又于斋之前建楼三椽，四围开牖， and Lü Jiazhong, “Chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beiji,” 358a: 复扩以揽胜楼三舍。

¹¹⁰ See Yao Dewen and Lü Jiazhong, *KXHXZ*, vol. 3, 7b: 欧阳文忠公书院在儒学前东南隅。

¹¹¹ From the local literati Lü Jiazhong’s “Chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beji,” it can be seen that this academy was also referred to as “Ouyang Shuyuan.” See Lü Jiazhong, “Chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beji,” 357a.

¹¹² See Yao Dewen, “Chongxiu Huafang Zhai ji,” 246-5b: 遂因其故址而高大之，岑楼矗云，旷望无际，其下奉欧公之位，岁时事之，不忘本也。斋中虚敞，可以清宴，可以列座赋诗，听政余闲，可以布几筵，朝夕课士。

of the Confucian Temple and southwards against Wen Hu surrounded by willow trees. To the west of it lies the pagoda of the Xingguo Temple 兴国寺, while to its east stands the Kui Lou 奎楼 (Kui Tower) erected by Yao Dewen (Fig. 1.1.2-4).¹¹³



Fig. 1.1.2-4 The plan of the educational area.

The exceptional scenery was imbued with auspicious meaning. The significance of the Confucian Temple was self-evident, while the willow trees symbolized a promising future for students. The pagoda, known as *zhuobi feng* 卓笔峰 (Excel Brush Hill), bore a resemblance to a writing brush and was believed to bestow blessings of skilled literary ability. Similarly, Kui Tower serves as a place of worship for *kuixing* 魁星, the deity of literature who has the power to bless or curse literati's essays and articles. From all of these, it is evident that Yao Dewen's design intended to create an educational space for the county people by combining cultural relics and natural landscapes.

At the beginning of Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1736-1796), Huafang Zhai once again fell into ruins.¹¹⁴ In order to prevent its complete annihilation, in the 24th year of Qianlong reign (1759), *zhixian* Lü Wenguang 吕文光 donated his salary and raised funds in the county to rebuilt it after the restoration of the Confucian Temple. Lü Wenguang planted flowers and

¹¹³ See *ibid.*: 其前一弯清水可百许亩，清澈照人眉宇，绕堤树以垂杨。而又于斋之前建楼三椽，四围开牖，倚栏长啸，则碧水澄空，绿杨如线。坐卧其上，可以永日怡情，and Lü Jiazhong, “Chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beji,” 357b-358a: 文湖荡漾于其前，泮水渊源于其后，奎峰耸峙于其左，浮图屹立于其右，诚一邑胜概，洋洋大观也。

¹¹⁴ See Chen Hao, “Lü gong Wenguang chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beji,” 43b: 风雨摧残，颓为瓦砾。

bamboos around it and changed its name back to the “Huafang Shuyuan.”¹¹⁵ He entrusted Chen Hao 陈浩 (1695-1772) with transcribing Ouyang Xiu’s renowned works “Huafang Zhai ji” and “Qiusheng fu,” while directing skilled craftsmen to intricately engrave them on stone. Additionally, he assigned Chen Hao the task of documenting this reconstruction to ensure its remembrance by future generations.¹¹⁶

In the 18th year of Jiaqing 嘉庆 reign (1813), the building complex was destroyed during the *Guiyou zhi bian* 癸酉之变 (the Eight Trigrams uprising). After suppressing the bandits, local magistrate Chen Yun 陈筠 attempted to reconstruct it, but failed due to the recent war turmoil and lack of financial and human resources.¹¹⁷ Later, during the early years of the Daoguang reign, magistrate Hu Tianpei 胡天培 initiated a restoration project,¹¹⁸ which however lacked any documentation regarding its name, form, or scope. It was likely in accordance with the practices of his predecessors. During the Daoguang and Guangxu 光绪 reign (1875-1908), it underwent successive repairs under the guidance of magistrates, who also added several auxiliary buildings such as an examination shed and backyard.¹¹⁹ Following the abolition of imperial examinations in the 29th year of Guangxu (1903), the magistrate oversaw further renovations to convert the Shuyuan into a modern school. It was first named “Ouyang Xuetaang” 欧阳学堂 (Ouyang School), later renamed “Jingxian Xuetaang” 景贤学堂 (School of Admiring the Sage). Two years later it was renamed as the “Guanli Liangdeng Xiaoxuetaang” 官立两等小学堂 (Official Second Class Primary School).¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*: 君惧其迹之遂湮也，于重修文庙后，再出官俸创修，令邑中人士共成之。栋宇既新，花竹周列，易名曰“画舫书院”以祀公。月给膏火之费，令诸生朝夕弦诵其中。

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 43b-44a: 因属余书《画舫斋记》、《秋声赋》而勒之石，并欲记其事以垂久远。

¹¹⁷ See Geng Weizong 耿蔚宗, “Hu gong Tianpei zhenxing wenjiao bei” 胡公天培振兴文教碑记, in Yao Kun and Xu Guangdi, *TZHXZ*, vol. 3, 45b: 嘉庆癸酉(1813)秋，莠民弄兵，潢池礼乐之地竟成干戈之场，而所谓欧阳书院者，遂荡然无存。遂匪甫平，山东陈公来作司牧，欲重为修葺，以与王李二公相辉映，惜有志焉，未逮也。

¹¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 46b: 公莅滑也，恤民隐，纾民困，兴利除弊，摘伏发奸，俾民得尽力畎亩。而振兴文教尤为滑人所感服，每月亲临书院严课诸生诗文外，谈论经史能发前人所未发，而于纲常伦纪之大，尤谆谆相劝励。

¹¹⁹ See Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, vol. 10, 1a-b: 三十年(1850)，知县徐士琦倡捐钱八百千，又劝城乡绅商共捐钱八千缗。光绪五年(1879)，知县张鉴堂免收李化成案银二百两十。七年，知县吕耀辅变价租田得钱五百缗，均发当生息，以为书院经费。道光二十二年，知县秦敦原倡捐廉俸建考棚于后院。光绪二十五年，知县盛元均倡捐添建考棚、过厅暨后院、住宅、欧阳书院、经费条规。

¹²⁰ See *ibid.*, preface, 13b: 至光绪二十九年(1903)，知县王公鎬奉令改书院为学堂，遂名为欧阳学堂。光绪三十二年(1906)，知县吕公相曾改修校舍，又易名为“景贤学

In the period of the republic of China, the school was initially known as the “Xianli Gaodeng Xiaoxuexiao” 县立高等小学校 (Prefectural Advanced Elementary School). It was later renamed to “Ouyang Xuexiao” 欧阳学校 (Ouyang School).¹²¹ and subsequently changed its name to the “Xianli Diyi Xiaoxuexiao” 县立第一小学校 (Prefectural First Elementary School) due to an increase in the number of schools within the county (Fig. 1.1.2-5&6).¹²² Since then, the name of this group of buildings ceased to be associated with Ouyang Xiu.

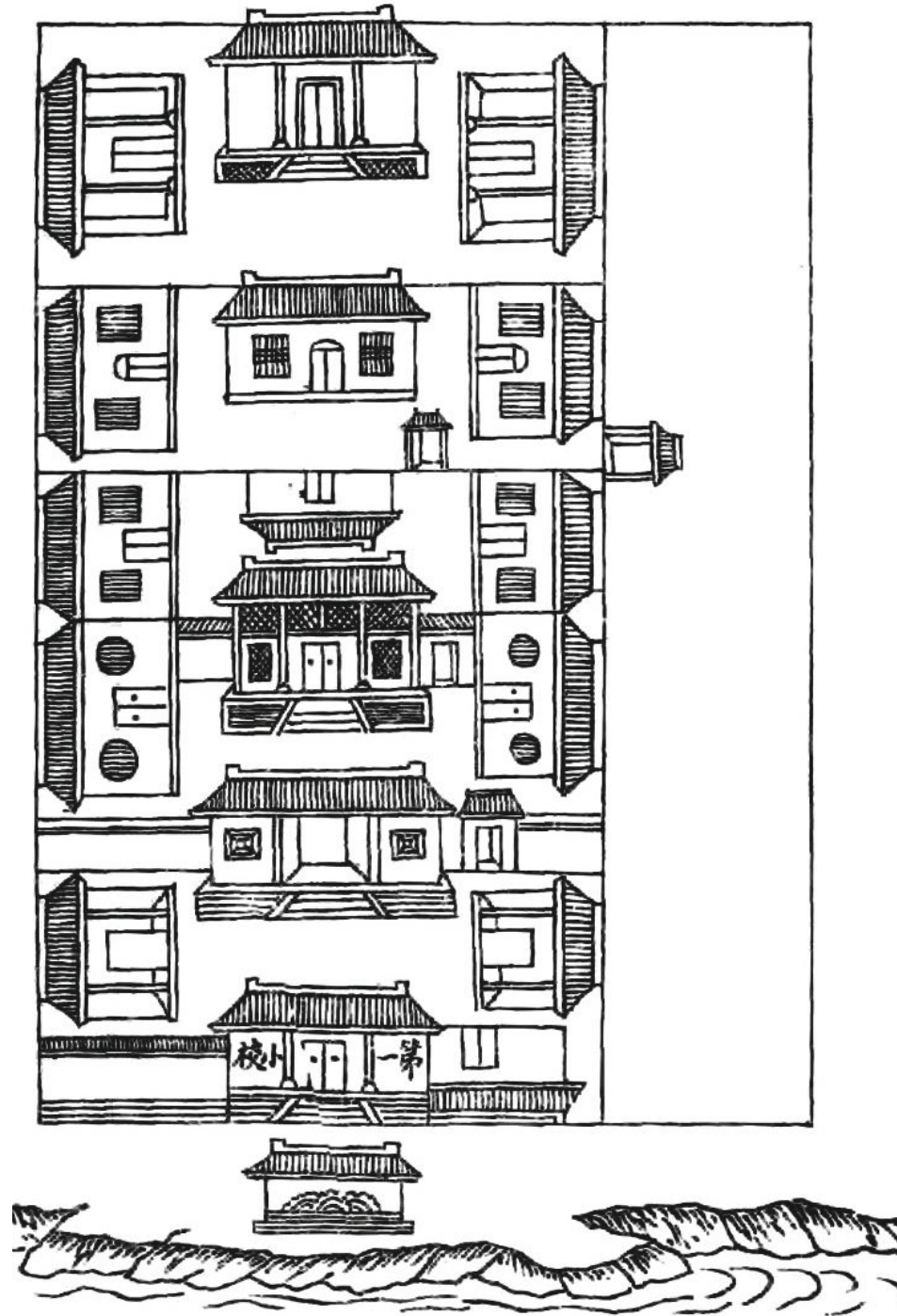


Fig. 1.1.2-5 The plan of the new Ouyang Shuyuan (Prefectural First Elementary School).

堂”。光绪三十四年(1908)，校舍东邻李姓捐助舍西隙地一段以开拓操场，又易名“官立两等小学堂”。

¹²¹ See *ibid.*, vol. 10, 14a: 民国元年，政体变更，官立易名为“县立高等小学校”。停止师范传习所，改设初级师范学校于文庙内，以明伦堂为讲堂，两庑北头六间为寝室。是岁冬，因师范学校在文庙，诸多不便，由文庙并入县立高等小校，宿舍不敷，又购操场北边民舍改修学生宿舍十六间，遂易名为“欧阳学校”。

¹²² See *ibid.*, preface, 13b: 因各乡学校林立，按次分别，又易名为“县立第一小学校”。

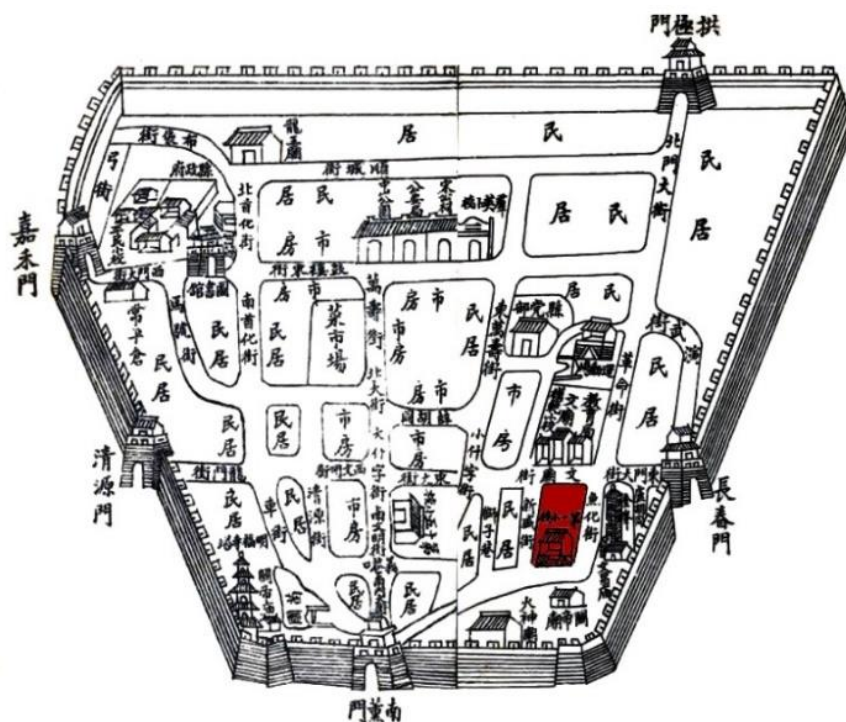


Fig. 1.1.2-6 The location of the Prefectural First Elementary School in Hua county.

However, despite the school's name being modernized and standardized, the school song still embodied the local people's collective memory of Ouyang Xiu:

“East of Mount Taihang, Wei Water murmurs. In the ancient city of White Horse, Ouyang Xiu composed the ‘Ode to Autumn Sound.’ [...] This place has been a cradle for nurturing talents.”

太行之东，卫水淙淙，白马古都，欧阳秋声……乐育群英。¹²³

1.1.3 The Reception and Dissemination of Huafang Zhai as a Cultural Symbol

Since the Northern Song dynasty, Huafang Zhai has been regarded as the nexus of Ouyang Xiu and Huazhou, reconstructed by Ouyang Xiu's associates, disciples, and relative who were appointed here as government officials. Due to Ouyang Xiu's significant influence in politics and academia, Huafang Zhai and the “Huafang Zhai ji” have consistently attracted attention. Following Ouyang Xiu's passing, its status as a former residence of an illustrious historical figure cemented its position among locals.

Despite undergoing changes in location, architectural function, form, and scale over time, the cultural and spiritual significance of Ouyang Xiu's legacy in Huazhou remains enduring at Huafang Zhai. Moreover, its multifaceted functions and rich meanings have endowed it with lasting vitality.

When successors discussed, restored, rebuilt or reproduced Huafang Zhai through words or architectural designs, they not only expressed their nostalgia for Ouyang Xiu and admiration for his literary and political achievements but also conveyed their own political

¹²³ “Huaxian cangzhe yizuo qiannian shuyuan” 滑县藏着一座千年书院, last modified March 11, 2018, https://k.sina.com.cn/article_5666929142_151c679f6027003ukr.html.

attitudes and life pursuits, thus bestowing upon Huafang Zhai a perpetually renewed significance.

1.1.3.1 The Treasured Bond of Friendship

Ouyang Xiu's friend Mei Zhi was appointed *zhizhou* of Huazhou in October 1056, approximately 13 years subsequent to Ouyang Xiu's departure. Their correspondence revealed that Huafang Zhai was considered a symbolic representation of their profound friendship.

When Mei Zhi longed for Ouyang Xiu's company, but was hindered by distance, he sensed his friend's presence through the architectural space of Huafang Zhai: "As the swallows return from their southern sojourn in spring, I yearn for your presence from afar. Thus, I frequently make my way to the eastern Huafang Zhai from my office" 南燕到后怀君远，时入楼东画舫斋。¹²⁴

The architecture was not only a manifestation of designer Ouyang Xiu's self-expression, but also bore witness to his life in Huazhou. These tangible remnants of usage have provided subsequent generations with an opportunity to immerse themselves in the lifestyle and emotions of their predecessors, thus serving as a valuable source of nostalgic sustenance. This sentiment was reflected in Ouyang Xiu's poetry:

The chrysanthemum [I planted] in front of the Huafang Zhai, [bore witness to the passage of] a decade, blooming and falling in the autumn air.

With the knowledge that you still reserve the crimson banner for me, [I perceive that you] still remember me, the gardener with white hair.

画舫斋前旧菊丛，十年开落任秋风。
知君为我留红旆，犹记栽花白发翁。¹²⁵

Huafang Zhai has become a medium for transmitting friendship and nostalgia between its constructor and subsequent users across time and space.

1.1.3.2 Encouragement and Exhortation Among Fellow Comrades

Twenty-eight years later, Li Chang was appointed to the same position that Ouyang Xiu had held in Huazhou. It was a demotion due to his opposition to Wang Anshi's *qingmiao fa* 青苗法 (Green Sprouts Law).¹²⁶ Ouyang Xiu's disciple Su Zhe composed a poem in which he

¹²⁴ Mei Zhi, "Oushu xiaoshi ji Yongshu neihan," in Li E, *Songshi jishi*, vol. 12, 22a: 酒户棋兵孰与侪，月宵曾遇六天街。南燕到后怀君远，时入楼东画舫斋。 See *SKQS*.

¹²⁵ Ouyang Xiu, "Chou Huazhou Gongyi Longtu jianji" 酬滑州公仪龙图见寄, in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, 394.

¹²⁶ See Tuotuo 脱脱, "Li Chang zhuan" 李常传, in *Songshi* 宋史, vol. 344, 7a-b: 熙宁初(1070), 为秘阁校理。王安石与之善, 以为三司条例检详官, 改右正言、知谏院。安石立新法, 常预议, 不欲青苗收息。至是, 疏言: "条例司始建, 已致中外之议。至于均输、青苗, 敛散取息, 傅会经义, 人且大骇, 何异王莽猥析《周官》片言, 以流毒天下!" 安石见之, 遣所亲密谕意, 常不为止。又言: "州县散常平钱, 实不出

employed Huafang Zhai as a symbol of his mentor, with the aim of offering him encouragement and exhortation:

The windows facing the sun emit a brilliant radiance, evoking an ambiance of boat dwelling. It feels as if a boat is gracefully gliding through the stunted shrubbery on small patches of land amidst the waters, while the tranquil and crystalline waves on either side of the bank remain undisturbed.

Relegated from the South, your life is currently in a state of transition. Especially during leisure time, it is understandable to be affected by various matters and experience restlessness. Your situation today mirrors that of Ouyang Xiu, the virtuous predecessor of yours. [Follow his path and] do not bring shame upon the name of Huafang Zhai.

窗户重重向日明，船居气味此中生。汀洲出没丛花短，波浪澄虚两岸平。
甯逐南来身未稳，安闲感物意犹惊。前贤事迹君今似，不愧当年画舫名。¹²⁷

In the poem's note, Su Zhe specifically stated that: "The studio was constructed during Ouyang gong's governance of this region from the south, and you are also exiled from the south; thus I composed in such a manner" 欧阳公南还佐是邦而为此斋，公择之谪亦徙南来，故云。¹²⁸ The purpose of this poem was to assuage Li Chang's despondency caused by his demotion, through the utilization of Ouyang Xiu's experiences, who was respected and regarded as both a mentor and friend by Su Zhe. By drawing a comparison between Li Chang's experience and that of Ouyang Xiu, Su Zhe demonstrated his high regard for Li's courageous act of speaking out against wrongs, which is comparable to the actions taken by Ouyang Xiu. Additionally, Su Zhe could not bear to see his esteemed friend succumb to despair. Therefore, he urged Li Chang to embody the principles espoused by Ouyang Xiu when he constructed Huafang Zhai and penned "Huafang Zhai ji."

Li Chang's nephew, Huang Tingjian, also composed a poem in which Huafang Zhai served as a symbol of solace:

[When sitting inside] Huafang Zhai, listening to the sounds of streams and mountains from the outside, it feels like a small piece of wonderland for those who have been relegated. I can envision you listening to the pitter-patter of raindrops against green-patterned windows in the dead of night, imagining the leaves cascading onto a riverboat amidst a gentle shower.

[I understand that you may seek] a forecast regarding the manifestation of a white horse by the ferry pavilion or two wild ducks in front of the county [to transport you back to

本，勒民出息。”神宗诘安石，安石请令常具官吏主名，常以非谏官体，落校理，通判滑州。See *SKQSHY*.

¹²⁷ Su Zhe, "Ti Huazhou Huafang Zhai zeng Li Gongze xueshi," in *Luancheng ji*, vol.3, 14b. See *SKQSHY*.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

the capital, where you can fulfill your aspirations]. [However,] as my uncle, you are well aware of my indolent disposition. I can only alleviate your distress by imparting my experiences as a humble bureaucrat [similar to yourself].

舫斋闻有小溪山，便是壶公谪处天。想听琐窗深夜雨，似看叶水上江船。
瞻相白马津亭路，寂寞双凫古县前。舅氏知甥最疏懒，折腰尘土解哀怜。¹²⁹

During that period, Huang Tingjian held the position of *xianwei* 县尉 (junior officer of the county) in Ye 叶 county. To alleviate his uncle's despondency, he frequently wrote to Li Chang and composed poetry. Idle and open-minded by nature, Huang Tingjian commenced this poem with the tranquil and delightful surroundings of Huafang Zhai. He likened it to a *hutian* 壶天 (infinity in a bottle gourd)¹³⁰ and a boat on the river, expressing his wish for his uncle, who was distanced from the power center, to follow in the footsteps of Ouyang Xiu, the designer of this studio, by enjoying leisure time after work and valuing even trivial duties.

In the case of Li Chang, Huafang Zhai acted as a metaphorical nexus linking individuals with analogous political trajectories. The prose "Huafang Zhai ji" played a crucial role in allowing successors to comprehend their predecessor's state of mind, thereby serving as an exemplar and reference point.

1.1.3.3 A Role Model in Local Politics

Fifty years after the establishment of Huafang Zhai, Ouyang Xiu's grandson, Ouyang Xian, assumed an official position in Wei county of Huazhou. By then, Ouyang Xiu had already passed away for about two decades. Su Shi, another disciple of Ouyang Xiu and the big brother of Su Zhe, composed five poems to bid farewell to Ouyang Xian. One of them mentioned: "Since the *shijun* (Huazhou *zhizhou*) has successfully recreated Ouyang Xiu's 'Bingtang Spring' wine, I would recommend that you also restore the Huafang Zhai" 使君已复冰堂酒，更劝重新画舫斋。¹³¹

Using the wine and the Huafang Zhai as the symbols of Ouyang Xiu's governance, Su Shi encouraged Ouyang Xian to continue his grandfather's legacy in local affairs by diligently managing them, regardless of whether he was in a large city or small village.

In another poem, Su Shi expressed it more explicitly:

Magnificent water, vast and boundless, I reminisce about my departed mentor (Ouyang Xiu) as I bid you farewell from the corner of the city wall. Vast and boundless, magnificent water, I accompany you [until your embarkation] on the new ferry. I yearn for Song Mountain and Luo River, where your journey leads you, gazing wistfully

¹²⁹ Huang Tingjian, "Ciyun ji Huazhou jiushi," in *Shangu ji*, vol.6, 5b-6a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹³⁰ For more information on this term, see Yu Kongjian and Peter Del Tredici, "Infinity in a Bottle Gourd: Understanding the Chinese Garden," *Arnoldia* 53, no. 1 (1993): 2-7.

¹³¹ Su Shi, "Song Ouyang zhubu fuguan Weicheng sishou," in *Dongpo quanji*, vol.19, 9a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

towards the west. Your path shall take you far away to assume your position in the ancient county of White Horse [Huazhou]. Although White Horse County boasts a long history, all the establishments therein shall be novel to you. Upon learning of the arrival of the grandson of Ouyang Xiu, the founder of Huafang Zhai, the locals must have been overcome with elation and moved to tears. They shall behold the likeness of your mouth and beard to that of your grandfather, [and ponder whether his virtue has been bequeathed unto you]. For these individuals whom my esteemed mentor once instructed, I urge you to attend to their needs and govern them with excellence.

美哉水，洋洋乎，我怀先生，送之子于城隅。洋洋乎，美哉水，送之子，至於新渡。念彼嵩雒，眷焉西顾，之子于迈，至于白马。白马旧邦，其构维新，邦人流涕，画舫之孙。相其口髯，尚克似之。先生遗民，之子往字。¹³²

With the intonation of a native from Huazhou, he conveyed his appreciation for Ouyang Xiu's governance and remarked on the striking resemblance between his grandfather and grandson. Ultimately, he implored Ouyang Xian to dutifully tend to and educate the populace residing in this region who were once under his grandfather's tutelage and still hold Ouyang Xiu in high esteem. Su Shi's words are imbued with a sense of wistfulness towards the late predecessor Ouyang Xiu as well as hopefulness for the incoming successor Ouyang Xian.

Ouyang Xiu "prioritized composure as a fundamental value over the pursuit of reputation. [...] Therefore, although he did not leave any remarkable accomplishments in the places he governed, his people were content and undisturbed" 务以镇静为本，不求声誉……故所至不见治迹，而民安其不扰。¹³³ Local people in Huazhou deeply admired him.¹³⁴ He not only served as a role model for his grandson Ouyang Xian, but also gained widespread recognition from later generations. His philosophy and practice of finding happiness in the company of the people not only resonated more easily with local residents, but also embodied the political ideals of scholar-officials who were diligent in their duties, loved the people, and enjoyed leisure time. This made him an exemplary figure for local officials to follow.

Ouyang Xiu's local relics served as the best carrier in this context. In her article discussing the cultural significance of Ouyang Xiu's relics, Cheng Yujing mentioned that the local officials in the area where the relics were located often repaired and even rebuilt them out of admiration for Ouyang Xiu.¹³⁵ and "endeavored to continue his governance and

¹³² Su Shi, "Meizai yishou song Weicheng zhubu Ouyang jun," in *ibid.*, vol. 30, 20a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹³³ Ouyang Fa 欧阳发 et al., "Shiji" 事迹, in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, 1379-1380.

¹³⁴ See Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, vol. 14, 15a: 欧阳修……庆历初，为滑州通判，秉正恤下，敷文率义，滑人德之…….

¹³⁵ See Cheng, "The Prosperity of the Relics Related to Ouyang Xiu," 14-16.

undertakings” 思以其治行续之。¹³⁶ “Even if they were unable to match Ouyang Xiu’s accomplishments, they could still learn from him and improve themselves in one or two areas beyond the level of ordinary officials” 纵不能事事如先生，而得仿佛其一二，以稍远于俗吏者之所为。¹³⁷ Qin Zhigong 秦致恭 (1568 *jinshi*) further emphasized the exemplary function of relics in his article “Chongxiu Zuiweng Ting ji” 重修醉翁亭记 (The Restoration of the Zuiweng Pavilion):

Whoever governs Chuzhou, upon visiting the Zuiweng Pavilion and reading the “Zuiweng Ting ji,” would contemplate virtuous governance of yore and compare it to present times. Is contemporary people’s well-being comparable to that of old? Are current products as abundant as before? Can nature’s beauty and leisure activities bring pleasure like they did in days gone by? [...] If they possess a sense of moral obligation and strive for self-improvement, they can measure up to Ouyang’s standards and not disappoint the people of Chuzhou.

凡官斯州、登斯亭而读斯记者，一想象厥时之休光，而以今事悬较之，民果如其康乎？物果如其阜乎？而禽鸟乐意之相关，亦有所近似乎？……中心愧而作求，然后可以庶几欧阳氏，俾滁阳之生灵不失望焉。¹³⁸

On the other hand, if the succeeding officials failed to preserve the relics, they would be deemed incompetent in governance. For example, upon a visit to Zuiweng Ting in 1420, the prominent central official Yang Shiqi 杨士奇 (1366-1444) lamented the dilapidated state of local sage relics and attributed it to the incompetence of officials: “The relics of local past sages have been abandoned and neglected to such an extent that the incompetence of officials is evident” 邦先贤之迹，弃不治如此，其政可知矣。¹³⁹

Therefore, the later generations of officials who visited Huazhou often paid homage to the relics of Huafang Zhai, rebuilt and expanded it, recited poems in praise of Ouyang Xiu’s virtuous and effective governance, while also expressing their own political ideas. For example, Yao Dewen in the “Chongxiu Huafang Zhai ji” posited that:

Even by merely reading his writings, one would endeavor to capture the essence of

¹³⁶ Nie Guangluan 聂光銮, ed. Wang Baixin 王柏心, comp. *Tongzhi Yichangfu zhi* 同治宜昌府志, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu - Huazhong difang* 中国方志丛书——华中地方, vol. 120 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970, reprinted based on the 1864 edition), 721.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 722.

¹³⁸ Wang Haoyuan 王浩远, *Langya shan shike* 琅琊山石刻 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2011), 165.

¹³⁹ Yang Shiqi 杨士奇, “Chongjian Zuiweng Ting ji” 重建醉翁亭记, in *Chuzhoushi zhi* 滁州市志, vol.2, comp. Chuzhoushi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 滁州市地方志编纂委员会 (Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe, 2013), 1635.

Ouyang Xiu's life. Not to mention visiting the relics and touching the remains, who wouldn't aspire to restore the weathered architecture and inherit his virtue and charm? Therefore, I have inscribed this on stone so that future generations may know that all officials governing this county must not allow this studio to be destroyed.

读其书，尚想见其生平，况乎亲莅斯土，抚其遗址，而不为前贤一新旧制，继其风徽也哉？既以刻诸石且以告后之贤豪，庶几守是土者则必无废斯斋也。¹⁴⁰

Emulating Ouyang and restoring Ouyang Xiu's ruins, local officials were also seeking to gain luster and protection from his legacy. As Chen Hao said in his article "Lü gong Wenguang chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beiji" 吕公文光重修欧阳书院碑记 (Tablet Inscription of Lü Wenguang's Restoration of the Ouyang Academy): "If you uphold Ouyang Xiu's original aspiration to care for the Hua people, they will also admire you as they did him. Thus, through your efforts in restoring Ouyang Xiu's relics, his legacy is carried on because of you and your own deeds will be remembered because of him" 盖君本庐陵之心，以爱滑之人士，滑之人士即以爱庐陵者爱君。则庐陵之迹以君传，君又将以庐陵传也。¹⁴¹

Although the intention was to inherit Ouyang Xiu's relics, later officials did not prioritize restoring the authentic location and structure of Huafang Zhai during its reconstruction. As they recognized, "Ouyang Xiu's conduct, articles, deeds, achievements, loyalty and filial piety, were recorded in the annals of history and deeply ingrained in people's heart. Even after thousands of years, he will continue to be remembered, admired, and revered. Does this depend solely on the existence of the Huafang Zhai" 其品行文章，事功忠孝，垂于史册，浹于人心，历千百载犹将思之慕之，景行而仰止之，岂系乎画舫斋之存与弗存耶？¹⁴²

As the "Huafang Zhai" served as a cultural symbol representing "Ouyang Xiu," its reconstruction, continuous renovation and expansion aim not to restore "authenticity" but rather to "use this studio as a means of sharing the outstanding charm of Ouyang Xiu with future generations and extolling his benevolence for all time" 藉是斋以仿佛欧公之流风余韵，传之百世，以颂公之义于无穷耳。¹⁴³

1.1.3.4 An Example for the Promotion of Local Education

Since the Ming dynasty, Huafang Zhai has gradually transformed from a private studio into a public educational institution. As mentioned in the preceding section, after Cheng Jian rebuilt Huafang Zhai during his tenure as an instructor in Huazhou from the fifth year of Jiajing (1526), it had already assumed certain functions of a lecture hall. In the 29th year of Wanli (1601), Wang Tingjian renamed it as "Qiusheng Shuyuan" during his repair work. Since then, until the Republic of China, the Huafang Zhai complex had been continuously functioning as

¹⁴⁰ Yao Dewen, "Chongxiu Huafang Zhai ji," 246-6b.

¹⁴¹ Chen Hao, "Lü gong Wenguang chongxiu Ouyang Shuyuan beiji," 44b.

¹⁴² Yao Dewen, "Chongxiu Huafang Zhai ji," 246-6b.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

an academy or school.

Although the name of the Huafang Zhai building complex has undergone changes, it is evident that its connection with Ouyang Xiu has always been inherited and even reinforced. Both the name of “Huafang Zhai” and the name of “Qiusheng Lou,” as well as the later names such as “Ouyang Shuyuan” and “Jingxian Shuyuan,” all embody the idea of commemorating Ouyang Xiu, the renowned scholar of ancient times.

The transformation of Huafang Zhai’s architectural function from a leisure studio to a cultural and educational institution reflected the establishment of Ouyang Xiu’s personal image as an exemplar of cultural and educational endeavors, as well as his influence on students who devoted themselves to imperial examinations.

Ouyang Xiu was revered as a *yidai wenzong* 一代文宗 (one master of a generation, whose writings were modelled after) in the Song dynasty not only for his outstanding literary talent and rigorous scholarship, but also for his leadership of the Northern Song poetry innovation movement, inheritance and development of Han Yu’s 韩愈 (768-824) “Ancient Prose Theory,” and promotion of Song dynasty poetry to its climax of development. Furthermore, Ouyang Xiu, despite his exceptional academic achievements, did not come from a prominent family and was orphaned at the age of four. Together with his mother, Ouyang Xiu went to live with his uncle Ouyang Ye 欧阳晔, who held the position of sub-officer in charge of litigation in Suizhou 随州. Despite all being intellectuals, Ouyang Xiu’s family members did not provide him much of wealth or privilege during his upbringing. His journey through the imperial examinations was fraught with obstacles, as he unexpectedly failed twice. However, his unwavering dedication and perseverance, coupled with his natural talents, ultimately led him to achieve such a distinguished academic status.

In the Song dynasty, with an emphasis on cultural education and anonymous imperial examinations for selecting talents regardless of family background, Ouyang Xiu’s personal achievements exemplified the perfection and advancement of the Imperial Examination System. However, during the Ming dynasty, there was a significant decline in admission rates for imperial examinations compared to their peak in the Song dynasty. At this juncture, the establishment of an image akin to that of Ouyang Xiu as a paragon of cultural and educational systems not only engendered a sense of identity among many students from humble backgrounds but also bolstered their confidence in enrolling in school and embarking on what was undoubtedly going to be a challenging path.

In addition to utilizing a role model for student motivation, the emulation of Ouyang Xiu can also serve as an effective means of encouraging educators to invest greater effort in their pedagogical pursuits. Ouyang Xiu not only achieved remarkable academic success himself, but also discovered and supported many famous scholars, such as Zeng Gong 曾巩 (1019-1083), Wang Anshi, Su Xun 苏洵 (1009-1066) as well as Su Xun’s two sons, Su Shi and Su Zhe. Among the Tang-Song *ba dajia* 唐宋八大家, a group of eight great masters recognized by literati in the Ming dynasty, six were from the Song dynasty. They were led by Ouyang Xiu, while the remaining five were all taught or guided by him. In the 22nd year of the Daoguang reign in the Qing dynasty (1822), Qin Dunyuan expounded on this point in his “Jian Ouyang Shuyuan kaopeng ji” 建欧阳书院考棚记 (the Note for Constructing the Examination Shed of

Ouyang Academy) that: “It is my sincere desire to utilize this examination hall as a means of collective motivation for all students, in order to better uphold Ouyang Xiu’s educational legacy” 是则余所愿与诸生共励之深衷，以远绍欧阳之教泽也。¹⁴⁴

Under this dual model, which emphasizes the roles of both student and teacher, despite Ouyang Xiu’s brief tenure as an official in Huazhou, the people of Hua county chose to establish “Huafang Zhai” as an academy to promote local culture and education. Repositioning the site to the opposite side of Confucian Temple, despite objective factors such as land use, was a deliberate attempt to enhance its connection with educational function. Furthermore, the expansion of Huafang Zhai building complex and shaping of surrounding urban environment are also dedicated towards revitalizing education. For example, during the Qing dynasty, Wang Nai designated the southern lake as “Wen Hu,” Yao Dewen erected the “Kui Tower” on the east side, and locals referred to the pagoda in Xingguo Temple across from the water as “Zhuobi Feng.”

Huafang Zhai, a studio imitating a boat, was initially designed as a leisure residence that embodied Ouyang Xiu’s emotions in the second year of the Qingli period and his political ideas. After its construction, its designer Ouyang Xiu became both user and appreciator. Through writing the renowned “Huafang Zhai ji,” he transformed it from a material entity into a cultural symbol that would inspire contemplation on “entering/escaping the world.” As a symbol related to “boat,” it resonated with vast historical allusions and possessed the potential for multiple interpretations due to its rich connotations.

The preservation of Huafang Zhai and its symbolism has been ensured through the continuation of repairs and writings carried out by Ouyang Xiu’s friends and admirers in later generations. Every subsequent reconstruction, article on reconstruction, people’s constant inscriptions, and the transformation of its function to academia have all contributed to this process by continuously recognizing and innovating this cultural symbol.

1.2 Shuhua Chuan, the Elegant Drifting Studio Full of Calligraphy and Paintings

The “Shuhua Chuan,”¹⁴⁵ which will be discussed in this section originally referred to a boat constructed and utilized as a floating studio by Mi Fu 米芾 (*zi* Yuanzhang 元章, 1051-1107) during the Northern Song dynasty. While not the earliest example of architecture on

¹⁴⁴ Qin Dunyuan, “Jian Ouyang Shuyuan kaopeng ji,” in Ma Zikuan and Wang Puyuan, *MGHXZ*, vol. 10, 5a.

¹⁴⁵ At present, there are few discussions on “Shuhua Chuan” in the academic circle, mainly from Fu Shen 傅申 and Lu Beirong 陆蓓容. Fu Shen authored an article examining the diverse modalities of travel, artistic creation, and aesthetic appreciation on water by literati from Jiangnan. Lu Beirong supplemented this work with additional documents and historical materials. In addition, some scholars have studied the touring and dwelling on boats of Dong Qichang and the Yuan brothers. These articles serve as valuable sources of information for this section and will be appropriately referenced when relevant.

boats, it serves as another prototype for literati seeking an elegant studio comparable to Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai.

1.2.1 Mi Fu and Others' Shuhua Chuan

Mi Fu, a renowned calligrapher of the Song dynasty, was born in Xiangyang 襄阳, Hubei province. His mother, *née* Yan 阎, had previously served as a wet nurse to Gao Taotao 高滔滔 (1032-1093), the wise Empress Xuanren 宣仁 of Emperor Yingzong of the Song dynasty 宋英宗 (Zhao Shu 赵曙, 1032-1067, r. 1063-1067). Mi Fu exhibited exceptional talent in calligraphy and connoisseurship from a young age. Due to his mother's influence, he bypassed the imperial examination and entered the imperial court as a *mishusheng jiaoshulang* (the official title normally granted to the newly selected *jinshi*, see 1.1.2) at the age of 18 (1068), thus embarking on his political career.

Perhaps due to his family's military background, including his father Mi Zuo 米佐 who also served as a military officer, Mi Fu had multiple stints in the army. For example, in 1097, he was appointed as an officer in the Fayun Si 发运司 (Dispatch Office) of the Lianshui Army 涟水军, in 1104 he assumed the *zhijun* 知军 (military governor) of Wuwei Army 无为军. When he was demoted in 1107, he was appointed as the *zhijun* of the Huaiyang Army 淮阳军. Apart from the military background, Mi Fu was highly regarded by Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty 宋徽宗 (Zhao Ji 赵佶, 1082-1135, r. 1100-1126) for his renowned calligraphy and appreciation talents. He was appointed as the *taichang boshi* 太常博士 (erudite of the Imperial Sacrifice Ritual Department) in 1103, and later designated as the sole erudite of calligraphy and paintings at the Hanlin Shuhua Yuan 翰林书画院 (Imperial Academy of Calligraphy and Painting) in 1106.¹⁴⁶

Mi Fu amassed a considerable collection of masterpieces throughout his lifetime, with a particular fondness for several rare calligraphy and paintings from the Jin 晋 dynasty (226-420) that he acquired in his later years.¹⁴⁷ After settling in Runzhou 润州 (now Zhenjiang 镇江 city, Jiangsu 江苏 province), he constructed his abode, Haiyue An 海岳庵 (the Hut of Oceans and Mountains), at the base of Beigu Mountain 北固山, and named his study as Baojin

¹⁴⁶ See "Mi Haiyue nianpu bubian" 米海岳年谱补编, in Li Yongqiang 李永强, *Xuanhe huapu zhong de quewei: Mi Fu huihua yishu wenti kao* 《宣和画谱》中的缺位：米芾绘画艺术问题考 (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2013), 104-123.

¹⁴⁷ Mi Fu, *Shu shi* 书史, 27b: 余白首收晋帖，止得谢安一帖，开元建中御府物，曾入王涯家；右军二帖，贞观御府印；子敬一帖，有褚遂良题，又有丞相王铎家印记；及有顾恺之、戴逵画净名天女、观音，遂以所居为宝晋斋。 See *SKQS*.

Zhai 宝晋斋 (the Studio of Treasuring¹⁴⁸ Jin [Masterpieces]).¹⁴⁹ He would often promptly hang up these collections from the Jin dynasty upon arriving at his study, in order to savor them.¹⁵⁰

In 1100, a fire broke out in Beigu Mountain. However, Mi Fu's Haiyue An and his collections in Baojin Zhai miraculously survived unscathed.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, due to the difficulty of extinguishing fires on mountainsides, he relocated from his original residence to Qianqiu Bridge 千秋桥 near the Cao 漕 River (the river for transporting grains) in the east of the city.¹⁵²

In 1101, Mi Fu took up the position of a subordinate official to the *Jianghuai fayunshi* 江淮发运使 (chief of the Dispatch Office of the Yangtze River and Huai River). Since 995, the headquarters of this office had been located in Zhenzhou 真州 (now Yizheng 仪征, Yangzhou 扬州 city, Jiangsu province), which was adjacent to Runzhou. The department's subordinate officials had also established separate offices along the Grand Canal.¹⁵³ Mi Fu's office, even if it were located in Zhenzhou instead of Runzhou, would still be within close proximity to his residence; however, frequent visits home may not be feasible. Due to the Dispatch Office's important responsibilities and heavy workload, Su Shi once wrote to the court in the seventh year of Yuanyou (1092) requesting that the chief designate officials for conducting inspections between Zhenzhou and the capital Bianjing. These officials should “reside on boats, patrol the waterways, and conduct thorough personnel checks to prevent any fraudulent activity” 以船为廨宇，常在道路，专切点检诸色人作弊。¹⁵⁴ As a subordinate official in this office, Mi Fu

¹⁴⁸ The word “bao” 宝 in this context can be translated either as the adjective “precious,” or as the verb “treasure.” As I will explain later, this name refers to a space where Mi Fu appreciates his valuable Jin collections. Thus, I have chosen to translate this word as a verb while incorporating “masterpieces” to preserve its inherent connotation of “precious.” The same consideration applies to the translations of the names “Baohui Tang” 宝绘堂 (later in 1.2.1) and “Baomi Xuan” 宝米轩 (see 1.2.2), wherein I perceive an element of inheritance and imitation within their nomenclature.

¹⁴⁹ See Anonymous, *Jingkou qijiu zhuan* 京口耆旧传, vol. 2, 3a: 过润，爱其江山，遂定居焉，作宝晋斋，聚法书名画其中. See *SKQS*.

¹⁵⁰ Mi Fu, *Hua shi* 画史, 23b: 盖缘数晋物，命所居宝晋斋，身到则挂之. See *SKQS*.

¹⁵¹ Yang Wanli 杨万里, *Chengzhaiji* 诚斋集, vol. 115, 14b: 润州火爇尽室庐，惟存李卫公塔、米元章庵。元章喜，题塔云：“神护卫公塔，天留米老庵”。 See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁵² Yu Xilu 俞希鲁, *Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 至顺镇江志 (1863 reprinted), vol. 12, 3b: 礼部郎中米芾宅，在千秋桥西，有轩曰“致爽”，斋曰“宝晋”。

¹⁵³ See Huang Chunyan 黄纯艳, *Songdai caizheng shi* 宋代财政史 (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2013), 683.

¹⁵⁴ See Su Shi, “Qi suiyun ehu yi dao Jing ding dianzui zhuang” 乞岁运额斛以到京定殿最状, in *Dongpo quanji*, vol. 62, 18a-b: 臣欲乞朝廷选差或令发运使举辟京朝官两员为勾当，纲运自真州至京，往来点检，逐州住不得过五日，至京及本司住不得过十日，以船为廨宇，常在道路，专切点检诸色人作弊，杖以下罪，许决，徒以上罪，送所属

was responsible for conducting thorough inspections on various boats transporting money and grain to ensure that the goods destined for the capital were not damaged or misappropriated. This required him to spend extended periods of time aboard the boat.

Perhaps it was also due to fire prevention considerations, or his profound passion for the Jin dynasty collections that caused him great sorrow when he had to live on a boat for an extended period without access to his study. Consequently, he brought along his treasured paintings and calligraphy collection onto the boat to enjoy at his leisure, thus transforming the space into a study room.

Evidently, Mi Fu was not the sole zealous connoisseur of calligraphy and painting, nor did he pioneer the practice of bringing such works onto boats. The earliest documented evidence of this practice can be traced back to Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404). Huan Xuan, a usurper in the end of Eastern Jin dynasty 东晋 (317-420), was described in historical records as possessing “a vulgar character and an affinity for rare objects, particularly treasures. He always held pearls and jade in his hands, coveted excellent calligraphy, paintings, gardens and homes of others, and attempted to claim them as his own. When he could not acquire these possessions through force, he resorted to gambling” 性贪鄙，好奇异，尤爱宝物，珠玉不离于手。人士有法书好画及佳园宅者，悉欲归己，犹难逼夺之，皆蒲博而取，¹⁵⁵ leaving a very contemptible impression on later generations. In the second year of Yuanxing 元兴 (403), Huan Xuan once brought calligraphy and paintings on board, as part of his preparations before a feigned attack on Yao Xing’s 姚兴 (366-416) army in the later Qin 后秦 (384-417). According to *Jinshu* 晋书 (Book of Jin), he “first constructed a lightweight boat and filling it with valuable garments, antiques, calligraphy, and paintings. Despite admonishments from others [regarding this decision], Xuan explained: ‘The garments, antiques, paintings and calligraphy must always be kept close at hand. Furthermore, in times of war when danger is imminent, they must be easily transportable.’ Everyone derided at him” 先使作轻舸，载服玩书画等物。或谏之，玄曰：“书画服玩既宜恒在左右，且兵凶战危，脱有不意，当使轻而易运。”众咸笑之。¹⁵⁶

The story of Huan Xuan’s boat collection of calligraphy and paintings was well-known among the Song people. Su Shi cited this example when he was commissioned by Wang Shen 王诜 (the husband of Princess Shuguo 蜀国公主, 1048-1104) to compose a prose for the latter’s newly established study, Baohui Tang 宝绘堂 (the Hall of Treasuring Precious Paintings). This study was built in the tenth year of Xining period (1077) to house Wang Shen’s treasured art collections. In order to counsel Wang Sheng that calligraphy and painting can serve as a hobby, but should not be an indulgence, Su Shi wrote that: “[The examples of] Huan Xuan’s *zouge* 走舸 (the light boat used for storing collections) and Wang Ya’s *fubi* 复壁 (two layers of walls for storing collections inside) both depicting individuals indulging in hedonistic

施行。使纲梢使臣人员等，常有所赴诉，而诸色人常有所畏忌，不敢公然作弊，以岁运到京数足，及欠折分毫为赏罚。 See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁵⁵ Fang Xuanling 房玄龄, *Jin shu* 晋书, vol.99, 13a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 11a.

pursuits, ultimately resulted in detrimental consequences for their respective nations and personal lives” 桓玄之走舸，王涯之复壁，皆以儿戏害其国，凶其身。¹⁵⁷ It reflected that the Song dynasty literati were well acquainted with Huan Xuan’s boat of calligraphy and paintings, yet they held a low estimation of it.

Mi Fu, Su Shi’s intimate friend, “represents an extreme degree of the enthusiasm for private collecting and connoisseurship that stemmed in part from Ouyang’s example a generation earlier,”¹⁵⁸ whereas Su Shi excised restraint in art collection. The history records depicted Mi Fu as a person who “would spare no effort in acquiring the ancient artifacts, calligraphy and paintings until he succeeded” 遇古器物书画则极力求取，必得乃已。¹⁵⁹ Ge Lifang 葛立方 (d. 1164) in the Song dynasty once recorded: “Mi Yuanzhang’s paintings and calligraphy were exceptional and unique. He would borrow ancient masterpieces from others, replicate them, return both the replicas and the authentic works to the owners, and let them choose which one to keep. The owners could not distinguish between them. As a result, Mi Fu acquired many ancient calligraphy and paintings through this method. Dongpo (Su Shi’s *zi*) often ridiculed him in poetry” 米元章书画奇绝，从人借古本自临搨，临竟，并与临本真本还其家，令自择其一，而其家不能辨也。以此得人古书画甚多。东坡屡有诗讥之。¹⁶⁰

As Ronald Egan pointed out, “Su Shi may take exception to Mi Fu’s extreme devotion and possessiveness, but he is a man of Mi Fu’s generation of collectors who accepted the aesthetic beauty of the works they amassed as primary and unproblematic.”¹⁶¹ Furthermore, owing to his consummate artistic proficiency and childlike naivety, Mi Fu was generally met with amicable, intimate and mildly jocular attitudes from people.

Regarding Mi Fu’s practice of bringing calligraphy and paintings on his boat, Huang Tingjian composed a poem specifically to ridicule him:

The vast expanse of water, adorned with sailboats as far as the eye can see, stretches for thousands of miles and appears to blend seamlessly into the sky. Accompanied by exquisite ink and brushwork, you dwell on board for years. When beholding a vessel on the Cang River emitting a prismatic effulgence towards the moon on a tranquil night, one shall discern it as your Mijia Shuhua Chuan 米家书画船 (Mi family’s boat that houses calligraphy and paintings).

¹⁵⁷ Su Shi, “Baohui Tang ji” 宝绘堂记, in *Dongpo quanji*, vol. 36, 10a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁵⁸ Ronald Egan, *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 236.

¹⁵⁹ See Tuotuo, *Songshi*, vol. 444, 18a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁶⁰ Ge Lifang 葛立方, *Yunyu yangqiu* 韵语阳秋, vol.14, 11a. See *SKQS*.

¹⁶¹ Egan, *The Problem of Beauty*, 236.

万里风帆水著天，麝煤鼠尾过年年。沧江静夜虹贯月，定是米家书画船。¹⁶²

The term “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” was propagated through this poetry and further expounded upon by Huang Tingjian’s disciple, Ren Yuan 任渊 (1090-1164):

[...] This [poem] incorporated [the lines from *He tu* 河图 (The River Chart), “The effulgence rising steeply toward the moon like a rainbow” 瑶光如蜺贯月], to suggest that there was treasure on board. During the Chongning period, Yuanzhang held a position in the Dispatch Office and affixed a plaque to his boat reading “Mijia Shuhua Chuan.”

……此借用，言船中有宝气。崇宁间，元章为江淮发运，揭牌于行舸之上，曰“米家书画船”云。¹⁶³

However, it is improbable that the boat was named “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” by Mi Fu himself. According to a reference in Weng Fanggang’s 翁方纲 (1733-1818) *Mi Haiyue nianpu* 米海岳年谱 (Chronicle of Mi Haiyue), the boat was actually named after Mi Fu’s study, “Baojin Zhai.” This reference is an inscription written by Mi Fu on one of his calligraphic collections, which dates consistently with the period when Mi Fu served as a subordinate official in the Dispatch Office:

Renwu Year, the first year of Chongning (1102): On the 9th day of the sixth lunar month, [I] anchored [my boat] “Baojin Zhai” near Jichuan Pavilion 济川亭 by the river. Facing the mountains of Zijin 紫金 and Fuyu 浮玉, [I] savored the refreshing breeze while reinstalling Chu Suiliang’s 褚遂良 (596-659) facsimile edition of the “Lanting xu” 兰亭序.

崇宁元年壬午（1102）：六月九日，大江济川亭舫宝晋斋舳，对紫金浮玉群山，迎快风销暑，重装褚临兰亭。¹⁶⁴

The recurrence of the “Baojin Zhai” architecture in Wuwei, Dantu 丹徒, and Runzhou suggests that this name denoted the architectural space used for housing Mi Fu’s Jin dynasty collections. Therefore, when he brought his collection on board, the architectural space in this

¹⁶² Huang Tingjian, “Xizeng Mi Yuanzhang” 戏赠米元章, in *Shangu neiji shizhu* 山谷内集诗注, annotated by Ren Yuan, vol.15, 18b. See *SKQS*.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 19a.

¹⁶⁴ Weng Fanggang 翁方纲, “Mi Haiyue nianpu” 米海岳年谱, 12a, in *Beijing Tushuguan cang zhenben nianpu congkan* 北京图书馆藏珍本年谱丛刊, vol. 20, comp. Beijing tushuguan 北京图书馆 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubenshe, 1998), 657.

boat was also referred to as “Baojin Zhai.”¹⁶⁵

It is possible that Ren Yuan’s description of the boat’s plaque, which bore the inscription “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” may have been a purely imaginative interpretation by later generations. Nonetheless, it remains appropriate to refer to Mi Fu’s boat for his collection of calligraphy and paintings as the “Mijia Shuhua Chuan.”

Although the initial purpose of storing calligraphy and painting collections on a boat may have been for practicality rather than aesthetics, it had gained an air of grace and elegance after being popularized by Huang Tingjian’s poem – owning a Shuhua Chuan would offer individuals the opportunity to indulge in their collection of books, calligraphy, paintings, and literary pursuits at any time and in any place, particularly amidst scenic natural surroundings.

It is arguably true that the distinctive charm of Mi Fu’s calligraphy and painting, coupled with Huang Tingjian’s cleverly crafted poetry, set apart “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” from Huan Xuan’s “Zou Ge,” making it a symbol of elegance rather than morbidity. As such, it was widely emulated by other literati during and beyond the Song dynasty.

The emergence of the calligraphy and painting boat, in addition to Mi Fu’s exemplary role, is also closely intertwined with the socio-economic context of the Song dynasty. Since that time, Jiangnan has experienced rapid economic and cultural development, particularly during the Southern Song dynasty when Lin’an 临安 (now Hangzhou 杭州 city) became a hub for literati activity. On the one hand, literati in the southern region naturally relied on boats for transportation due to the dense water network in the Yangtze River area. During boat trips, literati often corresponded with relatives and friends through letter writing, thus becoming accustomed to composing while afloat. On the other hand, unlike carts and horses, boats remain relatively stable even when faced with mild winds or waves; this stability allows for uninterrupted reading, writing or painting. For calligraphers and painters, there is nothing more delightful than indulging in the natural beauty of mountains and rivers while engaging in various cultural activities aboard a stable boat.

In the Southern Song dynasty, there was a member of the imperial family named Zhao Mengjian 赵孟坚 (*zi Zigu* 子固, 1199-1264) who admired the style of writing in the Six Dynasties period (222-589). He was often compared to Mi Fu by his contemporaries and he himself believed that this comparison was fitting. In the book *Qidong yeyu* 齐东野语, Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1288) wrote about Zhao Mengjian in the entry “Zigu lei Yuanzhang” 子固类元章 (Zhao Mengjian’s resemblance of Mi Fu), highlighting his proficiency in calligraphy and painting, cultivation of elegance and knowledge, as well as his extensive collection of famous inscriptions on ancient bronzes and stone tablets. During Zhao Mengjian’s boat journey through the mountains and rivers, he carried his collection on board. The boat was fully occupied with no spare space, featuring only one area designated for sitting and lying down. He could conveniently access his collections from both sides to indulge in them, rendering him too exhilarated to rest or dine. His boat, wherever it sailed, would be instantly recognized by both

¹⁶⁵ Tang Lan 唐兰 (1901-1979) also shared the same perspective in his article “Bao Jinzhai fatie duhouji” 宝晋斋法帖读后记. See Tang Lan, *Tang Lan quanji* 唐兰全集, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 1300.

acquaintances and strangers alike as a “Mijia Shuhua Chuan.”¹⁶⁶

Apart from Zhou Mi’s book, during the time of Zhao Mengjian, literati frequently referenced the “Mijia Shuhua Chuan.” They often used abbreviated forms such as “Shuhua Chuan” or “Mijia Chuan” in their poetry to indicate its conceptual significance.

Wanyan Shu 完颜璫 (1172-1232), the grandson of Emperor Shizong of the Jin dynasty 金世宗 (Wanyan Yong 完颜雍, 1123-1189, r. 1161-1189) was born in the 12th year of Dading 大定 (1172). He dedicated himself to connoisseurship, and “his personal collection of calligraphy and paintings rivaled those found within the imperial collection” 家所藏法书名画，几与中秘等。¹⁶⁷ He once composed a fishing ballad, “Yuge zi” 渔歌子, depicting the lifestyle aboard a “Shuhua Chuan”: “Upon catching a fish, [I shall] recline and peruse literature while firmly placing a gourd of wine on the prow. The picturesque scenes of willows amidst smoke and cattail leaves in the rain are ones I aspire to capture in this world.” 钓得鱼来卧看书，船头稳置一葫芦。烟际柳，雨中蒲，好与人间作画图。¹⁶⁸

In the late Southern Song dynasty, Zhang Yan 张炎 (1248-1320), a scion of nobility, resided in Lin’an and enjoyed a life of prosperity during his formative years. He referenced “Shuhua Chuan” or “Mijia Chuan” in several *ci* 词 (a type of lyric poetry) compositions. Among them, he stated in the preface of the “Taicheng lu” 台城路:

On Lu Yizhai’s birthday, we launched a boat on the Cheng River and journeyed through the mountains and waters of the Wu region (roughly Jiangnan region) for leisure, writing, and sightseeing. We allowed ourselves to be carried by the current without concern for our destination. When fatigued, we returned under the moonlight. This experience has not been enjoyed in three centuries since Li Taibai’s passing.

陆义斋寿日，自澄江放舟，清游吴山水间，散怀吟眺，一任所适所之。既倦，乘月夜归。太白去后三百年无此乐耶。¹⁶⁹

However, during the precarious Southern Song dynasty, only the royalty and aristocracy had the privilege of amassing a collection of famous paintings and calligraphy. Even the aristocratic offsprings, such as Zhang Yan, experienced a vagrant and melancholic old age following the collapse of the Southern Song dynasty. More often, the term “Shuhua Chuan” merely signified their determination to uphold their ideals during the wandering voyage.

Dai Fugu 戴复古 (1167-1248) never held an official position throughout his life,

¹⁶⁶ See Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, vol. 19, 16a: 东西薄游，必挟所有以自随。一舟横陈，仅留一席为偃息之地，随意左右取之，抚摩吟讽，至忘寝食。所至，识不识望之，而知为米家书画船也。 See *SKQS*.

¹⁶⁷ Zhu Mouyin 朱谋堙, *Huashi huiyao* 画史会要, vol. 3, 34a. See *SKQS*.

¹⁶⁸ Guo Yuanyu 郭元鈞, *Yuding quan Jin shi zengbu Zhongzhou ji* 御订全金诗增补中州集, vol. 0A, 26b. See *SKQS*.

¹⁶⁹ Zhang Yan 张炎, *Shanzhong baiyun ci* 山中白云词, vol. 6, 4a. See *SKQS*.

instead seeking employment opportunities outside of his hometown of Huangyan and spending extended periods traveling by boat. When his friend Yao Xuepeng 姚雪篷 was demoted to Hengyang 衡阳 county, Dai Fugu bid him farewell with a *ci* poem expressing well wishes: “[I shall] send word to the god of waves and convey my plea to the gulls and herons, requesting their vigilant protection over your ‘Shuhua Chuan’” 寄语波神，传言鸥鹭，稳护渠侬书画船。¹⁷⁰

Zhang Yu 张昱 (ca. 1289-1371) of the Yuan dynasty also composed a poem bidding farewell to his friend Tang Kerang 唐克让 on his journey homeward: “[I wish you] will embark on a journey of ten thousand *li*, beholding magnificent views like Sima Qian and sailing with several calligraphic and painterly works aboard the ‘Mijia Chuan’ like Mi Fu” 万里壮游司马氏，数函书画米家船。¹⁷¹ During the tumultuous late Yuan dynasty, Zhang Yu relinquished his official position and retired in Hangzhou. He frequently sailed through the heart of West Lake, imbibing wine while tapping on the boat and reciting his own poetry.¹⁷² It is conceivable that his boat might also have been a “Shuhua Chuan” adorned with calligraphy and paintings.

Gu Ying 顾瑛 (1310-1369) a prominent Kunshan 昆山 merchant in the Yuan dynasty, was renowned for his wealth and talents. He not only invested in land and commerce but also engaged in maritime trade. Familiar with sailing, he also owned a “Shuhua Chuan” and once composed a poem on it: “I adore my own Yushan Shuhua Chuan, which is propelled by the westerly winds on its swift path. Departing on the 30th day [of the eighth lunar month], I have now arrived home just after the ninth day of the ninth lunar month” 自爱玉山书画船，西风百丈大江牵。出门已是三十日，到家恰过重九天。¹⁷³

Huang Huai 黄淮 (1367-1449), upon his retirement, returned to his hometown in Wenzhou 温州, Zhejiang 浙江. Due to the dense waterways in the area, “one cannot go anywhere without a boat” 非舟不可行。¹⁷⁴ However, local boats were found to be too cramped and their bamboo canopies prone to damage. Therefore, as a gift for his 70th birthday, Huanghuai’s eldest son Huang Fei 黄斐 and his third son Huang Pan 黄槃 built a new boat for him to travel in the spring of the first year of Zhengtong 正统 (1436). The boat is shielded by wooden planks to safeguard it from the elements, and features side windows for optimal viewing. The cabin can comfortably accommodate over ten individuals, with a small bed

¹⁷⁰ Dai Fugu 戴复古, “Qinyuanchun: Song Yao Xuepeng zhi biansuo” 沁园春（送姚雪篷之贬所），in *Dai Fugu quanji* 戴复古全集, ed. Dai Funian 戴福年 (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2008), 376.

¹⁷¹ Zhang Yu, “Songbie Tang Kerang huanjia” 送别唐克让还家, in *Kexian laoren ji* 可闲老人集, vol. 4, 36b. See *SKQS*.

¹⁷² See He Shaomin 何绍忞, *Xin Yuan shi* 新元史, vol.238 (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1995), 3488: 居西湖，每放舟湖心，把酒扣舷，自歌其所为诗，笑曰：“我死，埋骨于此，题曰诗人张员外墓足矣！”。

¹⁷³ Gu Ying, “Zhou zhong zuo” 舟中作, in *Yushan jiyou* 玉山纪游, 31a-b. See *SKQS*.

¹⁷⁴ Huang Huai, “Shuhua chuan ji” 书画船记, in *Ming wen heng* 明文衡, comp. Cheng Minzheng 程敏政, vol. 35, 4a. See *SKQSHY*.

provided for rest and relaxation. Additionally, the rear cabin boasts a fully-equipped kitchenette capable of boiling water for tea or snacks.¹⁷⁵ Huang Huai's later residence, named Shouzheng An 寿征庵 in Nanliu 南柳, had a pool with a diameter of approximately 50 meters in front of its southern gate. The water was shallow enough for pedestrians to cross, hence it was called Bushui Tan 步水潭 (Step-across Pool). Huanghuai's "Shuhua Chuan" was moored on this pool that connected to the Shun'ao 舜岙 River and Chashan 茶山 River, providing convenient boat access to neighboring townships.¹⁷⁶

Huang Huai had a profound affection for this boat, as evidenced by his composition of "Shuhua Chuan ji" 书画船记 (The Record of the Shuhua Chuan) in autumn 1436. He referenced Mi Fu's Mijia Shuhua Chuan in this article, acknowledging that while he cannot compare to the master calligrapher, as a Confucianist, he too recognizes the importance of carrying calligraphy and paintings when travelling and thus named his boat after Mi Fu's "Shuhua Chuan."¹⁷⁷

Many documents from the Qing dynasty likewise contain records of the "Shuhua Chuan."

Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1704) was a learned scholar and close minister of Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (Aixin-Jueluo Xuanye 爱新觉罗·玄烨, 1654-1722, r. 1661-1722) in the Qing dynasty. He possessed exceptional skills in calligraphy and connoisseurship, with a vast collection of paintings and calligraphic works at his disposal. On one occasion, he embarked on an official journey from Pinghu 平湖, Zhejiang to Beijing, bringing along his personal treasures. During a stopover in Suzhou 苏州, Song Luo 宋荤 (1634-1713) had the privilege of being invited aboard the boat to appreciate Gao Shiqi's collection. Song Luo penned a poem describing their three-day indulgence in appreciation aboard the boat, blurring the lines between host and guest. Ultimately, Gao Shiqi even gifted Song Luo with Dong Qichang's 董其昌 (1555-1636) "Jiangshan qiujitujuan" 江山秋霁图卷 (The Scroll of The Scenery of the Rivers and Mountains After the Autumn Rain).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, 4a-b: 今年槩、盘二子以余齿高力衰，舟轻劣不足以济颠，更造新舟颇宽广，板上覆以蔽风雨，牖两傍以便观览，与客同泛，可布十余席。中设小榻，独往可以备燕息。后辟行厨，可以供茗饮。

¹⁷⁶ See Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Wenzhoushi Ouhaigu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议温州市瓯海区委员会文史资料委员会, comp., *Ouhai wenshi ziliao* 瓯海文史资料, vol.10 (Zhengxie Wenzhoushi Ouhaigu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, 2004), 294.

¹⁷⁷ See Huang Huai, "Shuhua chuan ji," 4b: 昔米元章名其行舸曰“书画船”，至今以为美谈。余与元章无能为役，然儒者出入，必以书画俱，假名自况，无乃不可乎。

¹⁷⁸ See Song Luo, "Gaojiangcun zhanshi zhou guo Wulü, de zongguan suocang shuhua. Linbie, yi Dong Wenmin 'Jiangshan qiujitujuan' jianzeng, zuoge jishi lu juanwei" 高江村詹事舟过吴閻，得纵观所藏书画。临别，以董文敏江山秋霁卷见赠，作歌纪事录卷尾, in *Xibei leigao* 西陂类稿, vol. 13, 3a-b: ……今年奉召北赴阙，书画船泊胥江滨。……三日眠食为之忘，有时大叫忘主宾。……先生好我举相赠，题识数语情弥敦……. See *SKQS*.

Hou Kaiguo 侯开国 (fl. the latter half of the 17th c.) recorded the elegant travel of taking a “Shuhua Chuan” with friends in the garden: “We navigate the Shuhua Chuan with a buoyant spirit, relishing each step as we linger in the renowned garden” 乘兴同移书画船，名园步步许流连。¹⁷⁹ Li Xianghu 李象鹄 (1799 *jinshi*) composed a poem upon opening his window to behold the bright moon while his boat was stalled by the wind. In this verse, he also referred to his boat as “Mijia Chuan”: “The weighty anchor securely fastens the Mijia Chuan, while the gusts whistle across the desolate sands and the moonlight illuminates every corner of the rivers” 重桩牢系米家船，风满空滩月满川。¹⁸⁰

With the dissemination of the cultural symbol “Shuhua Chuan,” it has not only spread widely from south to north in China, but also extended to other East Asian countries. For example, in the third year of Meiwa 明和 in Japan (1766), Kanazawa Kanemitsu’s 金沢兼光 *和漢船用集* (A collection of Japanese and Chinese Boats), recorded the entries of “書畫船” (Shuhua Chuan) and “書畫舸” (Shuhua Ge).¹⁸¹ The former referenced the anecdote of Mi Fu, which bore resemblance to Ren Yuan’s commentary, while the latter alluded to Huan Xuan’s *zouge*, which shared similarities with the *Jinshu* document.

Furthermore, not only was this symbol extended from the boat’s name to the study’s name, but it also became widely used to refer to collections of renowned artists as well as stamps and paintings. This further expansion of connotation will be discussed in the following part regarding literati activities on board.

1.2.2 The Activities Inside the Shuhua Chuan

After discussing numerous instances of “Shuhua Chuan” or “Mijia Chuan,” it becomes apparent what prompted the literati to differentiate certain boats and assign them the conceptual names that derived from Mi Fu’s boat Baojin Zhai.

1.2.2.1 Collection Storage

The most direct factor was that, like Mi Fu, the boat owner stored a collection of famous calligraphy and paintings on board.

Despite the humorous tone of Huang Tingjian’s poem, he still commended Mi Fu’s “Shuhua Chuan” for its extensive and valuable collection, likening it to a treasure that shines

¹⁷⁹ Hou Kaiguo, “Wu Tiaowen laizi Loudong tong fanzhou jingfeng yin yu Zhai Yuan xiaoge” 吴条闻来自娄东同泛舟锦峰饮于瞿园小阁, in *Qingshi biecai ji* 清诗别裁集, comp. Shen Deqian 沈德潜 (Changchun: Jilin chuban jituan gufen youxian gongsi, 2017), 259.

¹⁸⁰ Li Xianghu, “Zufengjie shoukaichuang jianyue yin cheng” 阻风界首开窗见月因成, in *Hu Xiang wenku: Yuan Xiang qijiu ji* 湖湘文库：沅湘耆旧集, vol. 5, comp. Deng Xianhe 邓显鹤 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2007), 255.

¹⁸¹ See Kanazawa Kanemitsu 金沢兼光, *Wakan senyō shō* 和漢船用集 (Ōsaka: Fujiya Tokubee 大阪：藤屋徳兵衛, 1827), vol. 3, 24a.

like a rainbow at night. Since then, the term “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” has become a symbol of calligraphy and painting collection. Any boat built by later generations that contains calligraphy and paintings, especially famous masterpieces, can be referred to as “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” or simply as “Mijia Chuan” or “Shuhua Chuan.”

There exist numerous historical documents that offer evidence of this laudatory naming practice in various instances (see 1.2.1 and 1.3.2). Additionally, some literati explicitly articulated this perspective in their writings. For example, Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648-1718) of the Qing dynasty indicated: “If there are outstanding paintings and calligraphy piled up on the table, even a small draft would be referred to as ‘Shuhua Chuan,’ evoking an elegant demeanor in those who sit by its windows with a tea cup in hand” 得妙染佳翰，充盈几案，小小划子，人亦指为书画船，顿令坐莲窗、持茶杯者，须眉顾盼皆有风度。¹⁸² In the spring of the third year of Yongzheng 雍正 reign (1725), Li E 厉鹗 (1692-1752) had the privilege of perusing the original manuscript of the *Kehang riji* 客杭日记 (Diary of the Hangzhou Sojourn) by Guo Bi 郭昉 (ca.1280-1335) of the Yuan dynasty at a friend’s place. He borrowed the manuscript to transcribe it and composed a poem specifically for this occasion, in which he wrote: “Having Guo Bi’s diary in my suitcase turns my vessel into a *cangjiang hong yue zhou* (rainbow-hued boat on the river)” 郭髯行记篋中收，便是沧江虹月舟。¹⁸³ Using the characters, *cangjiang hong yue* 沧江虹月, which were taken from the last sentence in Huang Tingjian’s poetry “**Cangjiang jingye hong guan yue**” 沧江静夜虹贯月, Li E made an apparent allusion to Mi Fu’s “Mijia Shuhua Chuan.”

In addition to serving as the appellation for their floating study rooms, literati also employed the three characters *shu hua chuan* as a seal and inscribed them onto the paintings and calligraphy they created or collected. For instance, in her article, Lu Beirong 陆蓓容 mentioned in her article that Mi Wanzhong 米万钟 (1570-1631) possessed a personal seal inscribed with the characters *shu hua chuan*, while Emperor Yongzheng (Aixin-jueluo Yinzhen 爱新觉罗·胤禛, 1678-1735, r. 1722-1735) himself owned a seal bearing the inscription *lang ying ge shu hua chuan* 朗吟阁书画船 (The Boat of Calligraphy and Paintings in the Langyin Pavilion). Du Shibai 杜世柏 (*zi* Jiaxuan 葭轩), a Jiading 嘉定 scholar who was skilled in creating seals during the Qianlong reign, compiled the *Jiaxuan yin lue* 葭轩印略 (A Collection of Seals Recorded by Jiaxuan). In this book, he also recorded a slender seal bearing three characters in relief that read *shu hua chuan*.¹⁸⁴ By utilizing these three characters on their seals, the literati symbolically incorporated their collections, which were imprinted by the seals, into an intangible “Shuhua Chuan.”

¹⁸² Kong Shangren, “Da Gong Banqian” 答龚半千, in *Huhai ji* 湖海集 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 242.

¹⁸³ Li E, “Ti Guo Yunshan riji zhenji” 题郭云山日记真迹, in “*Ke Hang riji xu*” 客杭日记序, see *HZWXJC* 3, *Wulin Zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故丛编, vol. 3 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubenshe, 2014), 46.

¹⁸⁴ See Lu Beirong, “Shuhua chuan” 书画船, in *Gong-zhan ji: Cong Wang Ximeng dao Zhao Mengfu* 宫·展记：从王希孟到赵孟頫, comp. Benshu bianweihui 本书编委会 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2017), 62.

Follow this concept, the literati would also employ the symbol of “Mijia Chuan” to extoll the excellence of the paintings they appreciated, implying that these artworks were worthy of being included in connoisseurs’ collections. For instance, calligrapher and painter Wang Shimin 王时敏 (1592-1680) of the Qing dynasty inscribed on a painting he imitated from Huang Gongwang’s 黄公望 (*hao* Dachi Daoren 大痴道人, 1269-1354) masterpiece and presented it as a gift to his friend: “Is this picturesque scenery I cut from the verdant mountain depicted by Huang Gongwang qualified to be brought into a ‘Mijia Chuan’” 割取一峰深秀色，可堪移入米家船?¹⁸⁵ Later, the calligrapher and painter Yun Shouping 恽寿平 (*hao* Nantian 南田, 1633-1690), who was also one of the “Six Masters of the Qing dynasty” like Wang Shimin, used this line in his “Ti fang Dachi shanshui zhou” 题仿大痴山水轴 (Inscription of the Scroll of Landscape Painting that Imitates the Dachi [Huang Gongwang]): “Is this picturesque scenery I cut from the verdant mountain depicted by Huang Gongwang qualified to be brought into a ‘Mijia Chuan’” 割取一峰深秀色，可能移入米家船?¹⁸⁶

The presentation of these two painters provides valuable insights into the fact that the use of the symbol “Mijia Chuan” as a means to extol art works was propagated by one artist emulating another: Wang Shimin and Yun Shouping, contemporaries who employed nearly identical phrasing (with only a single synonymous character differing), praised Huang Gongwang’s landscape paintings (and their own imitations) with this phrase.

In addition, certain compilations of art appreciation may also be referred to as “Shuhua Fang (a synonym for ‘Chuan’)” 书画舫 by the editors due to their “collection” of works from various masters.

An example of this is the *Qinghe Shuhua fang* 清河书画舫 (The Calligraphy and Painting Boat of Qinghe) by Zhang Chou 张丑 (1577-1643) in the Ming dynasty. Zhang Chou held great admiration for the connoisseurship of Mi Fu, as evidenced by his collection of Mi Fu’s *Baozhang daifang lu* 宝章待访录 (Masterpieces on the Must-See List) in the 43rd year of Wanli period (1615). In homage to Mi Fu’s nomenclature, he named his study “Baomi Xuan” 宝米轩 (the Pavilion of Treasuring Mi’s [Masterpieces]). In the next year, Zhang Chou completed *Qinghe Shuhua fang*, his own catalogue of calligraphy and paintings, which was evidently inspired by Mi Fu’s “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” as described in Huang Tingjian’s poem. The *Qinglian Fang qinya* 青莲舫琴雅 (The Records of Qin: Compiled on the Qinglian Fang) by Lin Youlin 林有麟 (1578-1647) in the Ming dynasty was a collection of the names, allusions, and verses of the *qin* 琴 (seven-string Chinese zither). According to Lin Youlin’s own preface, this book was written during the Guichou 癸丑 Year of Wanli period (1612) while he was traveling along the west of the Mao 泖 River on a boat named Qinglian Fang 青莲舫. Furthermore, he asserted that the contents of this book were sourced from his personal

¹⁸⁵ Wang Shimin, “Ti zihua zeng Guan shijun Yuan Huanzhong” 题自画赠关使君袁环中 in *Wang Shimin hualun yizhu* 王时敏画论译注, translated and annotated by Yu Feng 俞丰 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 2012), 56.

¹⁸⁶ Yun Shouping, “Ti fang Dachi shanshui zhou,” in *Lidai tihua jueju pingjian* 历代题画绝句评鉴, annotated by Wu Qiming 吴企明 and Shi Chuangxin 史创新, vol. 1 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2018), 244.

collection of documents carried in his traveling suitcases aboard the boat.¹⁸⁷ Although the reliability of the statement is questionable due to the limited storage capacity of scrolls on a boat, it can be inferred that this Qinglian Fang was Lin Youlin's "Shuhua Chuan," and the book compiled by him during his voyage was also named after this boat.

1.2.2.2 Appreciating the Collection

As these boats house masterpieces, their owners have the unique opportunity to appreciate the collection of calligraphy and paintings on board. This not only allowed them to keep their beloved collections close at hand but also provided exclusive advantages.

First, since Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) introduced the concept of *woyou* 卧游 (travel recumbently, which means to travel vicariously through books and pictures) during the Southern Dynasties (420-589),¹⁸⁸ a reciprocal relationship has been established between landscape paintings and natural landscapes. In this context, landscape paintings not only serve as a means of replicating natural scenery, but also offer the opportunity for individuals to embark on imaginary journeys through these landscapes. Therefore, the "Shuhua Chuan" allowed literati to correspondingly view both the painting and real scene while on their journey, resulting in a dual enjoyment and yield.

Dong Qichang often utilized his boats to conduct observations of both his collection of paintings and natural scenery, thereby reaping the benefits thereof. He once purchased Dong Yuan's 董源 (fl. the 10th c.) "Xiao Xiang tu" 潇湘图 (Sceneries along the Xiao 潇 and Xiang 湘 Rivers) in the sixth lunar month of the Dingyou 丁酉 Year during the Wanli period (1593). During his tour of Hunan in 1605, he scrutinized this painting and compared it with the real scene he captured from his boat on the Xiang River. He wrote in the postscript on this painting scroll:

[...] This year, I revisited Hunan to take the examination. During autumn, I embarked on a boat and beheld the rain and fog enshrouding the river. Retrieving this painting from my belongings, I juxtaposed it with reality and realized that our forefathers truly lived up to their renown. [...] On the final day preceding the ninth lunar month in the Yisi Year of the Wanli period (1605), inscribed aboard a boat navigating along the Xiang River.

……今年复以较士湖南，秋日乘风，积雨初雾，因出此图，印以真境，因知古

¹⁸⁷ See Ji Yun, comp., *Sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao* 四库全书总目提要 (Shijiazhaung: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2000), 2946: 据有麟自序，乃万历癸丑游西泠时所作，青莲舫盖其舟名。序云就行笥中书籍采录，然一舟所贮，卷轴几何，其言似未可信也。(The *Sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao* will henceforth be referred to as *SKQSTY*.)

¹⁸⁸ See Zhang Yanyuan 张彦远, *Lidai minghua ji* 历代名画记, vol. 6, 3a: (宗炳) 叹曰：“噫！老病俱至，名山恐难遍游，唯当澄怀观道，卧以游之。凡所游历，皆图于壁，坐卧向之”。 See *SKQS*.

人名不虚得。……万历乙巳（1605）九月前一日，书于湘江舟中。¹⁸⁹

On another occasion, upon seeing the clouds and mist hovering above the Xiang River, it immediately evoked in his mind the paintings of Guo Xi 郭熙 (hailed from Heyang 河阳 county, ca. 1000-1090) and Mi Fu: “The magnificent clouds over the Xiang River are as grandiose as the snow-capped mountains depicted by Guo Heyang. [...] The assertion of the ancients that GuoXi ‘painted stones like clouds’ is indeed accurate” 湘江上奇云，大是郭河阳雪山。……古人谓郭熙“画石如云”，不虚也!¹⁹⁰

Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570-1623) frequently observed the symbiotic relationship between water and mountains from a boat during his travels, in order to deepen his understanding of landscape painting. Meanwhile, his observations of nature were also heavily influenced by his appreciation for this art form, as evidenced by numerous passages in his travel notes, such as:

At noon, the black clouds hung low over the river, while a diagonal breeze and drizzle fell closely. I pushed open the window of the boat and gazed upon a picturesque scene – an ink painting on silk of the river shrouded in smoke.

午间，黑云满江，斜风细雨大作。予推篷四顾，天然一幅烟江障子。¹⁹¹

Leaving the mountain, I boarded a boat where amidst the smoke, one could faintly discern the undulating peaks – a charm reminiscent of Mi Fu’s ink paintings.

出山入舟，烟雾微见峰峦，绝似老米墨气。¹⁹²

In addition to providing a solitary space for enjoying one’s personal collection, the “Shuhua Chuan” also functioned as a mode of transportation, facilitating the sharing of collections among friends.

There is an intriguing anecdote about Mi Fu’s appreciation of paintings while on a boat with friends. In Zhenzhou, Mi Fu once paid a visit to Cai You 蔡攸 (1077-1126) on a boat, during which Cai You took out his personal collection of Wang Xizhi’s 王羲之 (ca. 303-361) “Wanglue tie” 王略帖 (the manuscript of King’s Principles) for shared appreciation with Mi

¹⁸⁹ Dong Qichang, postscript on “Xiao Xiang tu,” see Lu Fusheng 卢辅圣, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中国书画全书, vol. 8 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 896.

¹⁹⁰ Dong Qichang, postscript on “Sibai fang Guo Xi biyi bing ti” 思白仿郭熙笔意并题, see *ibid.*, vol. 7, 233.

¹⁹¹ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu* 游居柿录, annotated by Liu Ruxi 刘如溪 and Xie Wei 谢蔚 (Qingdao: Qingdao chubanshe, 2005), 11.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 24.

Fu. Impressed by the work, Mi Fu proposed an exchange with another painting in return for it, causing great reluctance from Cai You. To obtain Cai You's consent, Mi Fu resorted to a dramatic gesture by leaning over the boat's edge and feigning an intention to plunge into the river, declaring: "If you do not acquiesce with my proposal, I would rather meet my demise in this river than continue living." Consequently, Cai You promptly relinquished the manuscript to him.¹⁹³

In most cases, however, sharing personal collection with friends would not result in such a loss. Zhou Mi also documented that he once organized a gathering among his acquaintances to bring their personal collections on board and appreciate them together while cruising on the West Lake during the Dragon Boat Festival.¹⁹⁴

Friends often comment on each other's collections, and while there may be a hint of competition, it is a harmless and common social activity among the literati that serves to enhance their relationships. For example, Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578-1642) once recorded the collection competition he witnessed between Dong Qichang and Han Guzhou 韩古洲 during the peak of one summer. The trio of Dong, Han, and Shen dedicated an entire day to reviewing their extensive collections alongside a courtesan cherished by Dong. However, despite their diligent efforts to count throughout the day, there remained an overwhelming surplus.¹⁹⁵

Li Rihua 李日华 (1565-1635) recorded his appreciation of art works in his *Weishui Xuan riji* 味水轩日记 (the Diary of the Weishui Pavilion). He also recounted experiencing famous artworks and antiques aboard "boats of calligraphy and paintings" belonging to both friends and strangers, such as:

On the 15th, a gentleman surnamed Sun from Wuxi 无锡 city docked his vessel in front of my residence. Ma Chiman 马吃漫 and I embarked upon his boat. This man expressed his pleasure [at our visit] and presented us with a diverse array of his collections, [...]

十五日，无锡孙姓者一舫泊余门首，余与马吃漫登其舫，客喜，出观诸种……¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ See Ye Mengde 叶梦得, *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕语 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 227: 米芾谈譎好奇，在真州，尝诣蔡太保攸于舟中，攸出所藏右军《王略帖》示之。芾惊叹，求以他画换易。攸意以为难，芾曰：“公若不见从，某不复生，即投此江死矣。”因大呼，据船舷欲坠，攸遽与之。

¹⁹⁴ Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu*, vol. 19, 16a: 庚申岁，客辇下，会菖蒲节，余偕一时好事者邀子固，各携所藏，买舟湖上，相与评赏. See *SKQS*.

¹⁹⁵ See Shen Defu 沈德符, *Wanli yehuo bian* 万历野获编, collated by Li Xin 黎欣 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1998), 701: 董太史玄宰，初以外转，予告归至吴门，移其书画船至虎丘，与韩胄君古洲，各出所携相角。时正盛夏，惟余与董韩，及董所昵一吴姬四人，披阅竟日，真不减武库。

¹⁹⁶ Li Rihua, *Weishui Xuan riji* (Jiaye Tang, reprinted based on the Ming dynasty edition), vol. 4, 40a.

On the 22nd, Ma Xuanzhou 马玄洲 from the Wujiang 吴江 county and Ye Shaoyuan 叶少源 from Changshu 常熟 county sailed their “Shuhua Fang” to visit me, presenting me with small landscape paintings by Ni Yunlin. [...]

二十二日，吴江马玄洲常熟叶少源移书画舫就余，出观倪雲林小幅山水……¹⁹⁷

1.2.2.3 Creating Art Works

In addition to appreciation, the creation of paintings and calligraphy on board was also a familiar practice among literati. It is evident from numerous documents that literati have long been accustomed to composing literary works during boat trips, as evidenced by their diaries and frequent correspondence with relatives and friends in such settings, which is exemplified by Ouyang Xiu’s *Yuyi zhi* (see 1.1.1).

Mi Fu himself was known to engage in the art of calligraphy on board. During his journey along the canal to Bianjing 汴京 (Kaifeng) in 1106, he also brought with him a collection of calligraphic and artistic works on his boat.¹⁹⁸ While passing through Hong 虹 county (now Si 泗 county, Anhui 安徽 province), he composed two poems, and wrote the renowned running script calligraphy, “Hongxian shi juan” 虹县诗卷 (The Scroll of Hong County Poem) on the boat (Fig. 1.2.2-1). Moreover, his “Tiaoxi shitie” 苕溪诗帖 (The Manuscript of Tiao River Poem) also indicated that it was created on a boat, as evidenced by the line “But to cherish the moon so bright, that illuminates the floating boat in all sight” 却怜皎皎月，依旧满船行。¹⁹⁹



Fig. 1.2.2-1 “The Scroll of Hong County Poem” by Mi Fu.

Su Shi specifically recorded his experience of making calligraphy aboard a boat:

When the boat approached the Qu River, it became stranded and tilted on a shallow beach. Over ten individuals were shoving the boats, their poles clattering loudly against stones amidst the sound of waves crashing from all sides. Despite those around me visibly paling, I continued to write without being affected. Why? The turbulence I have encountered in my life has been significant. Even if I were to stop my brush, there would be no resolution. Therefore, it seems more fitting for me to continue writing.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 88a.

¹⁹⁸ See Mi Fu, “Hongxian jiuti” 虹县旧题, in Zhang Chou, *Zhenji rilu* 真迹目录, vol. 4, 12a: 满船书画同明月。十日隋花窈窕中. See *SKQS*.

¹⁹⁹ See, Mi Fu, “Tiaoxi shitie,” from the collections of the Palace Museum in Beijing.

将至曲江，船上滩欹侧，撑者百指，篙声石声萃然，四顾皆涛濑，士无人色，而吾作字不少衰，何也？吾更变亦多矣，置笔而起，终不能一事，孰与且作字乎？²⁰⁰

This text was composed during Su Shi's voyage to Shaozhou 韶州 in the third year of Yuanfu 元符 (1100) when he, having been exiled to Hainan for an extended period, was finally permitted to return northward. As he noted, having experienced numerous vicissitudes in officialdom, the river's undulations posed no threat. So long as one's inner tranquility remained unshaken, calligraphy could be executed without disturbance.

Yet, the majority of creative activities aboard the boat still occurred during periods of stable navigation or mooring. Therefore, the words such as *zhouci* 舟次 and *zhoubo* 舟泊 (meaning "mooring/anchoring") were frequently used in inscriptions on paintings, along with *dai fangzhai* 待放闸 (waiting for the sluice gate to be opened to release the water).

The "Lanting shisan ba" 兰亭十三跋 (Thirteen Postscripts of the Lanting Manuscript) by Zhao Mengfu 赵孟頫 (1254-1322) in the Yuan dynasty is a typical work created on a "Shuhua Chuan." In the beginning, he stated that he was carrying the manuscript of "Lanting" on his boat en route to the north in order to relish it during his voyage. In the end, he concluded by saying: "I traveled for 32 days towards the north, while a southerly wind blew between autumn and winter, and the windows of my boat were bathed in warm sunlight. I frequently appreciate 'Lanting' and relished it with immense joy" 余北行三十二日，秋冬之间而多南风，船窗晴暖，时对兰亭，信可乐也，"Thirty-two days [spent appreciating the 'Lanting'] in front of the boat window have yielded ample benefits" 船窗中三十二日，得意甚多. Many texts in between clearly show that Zhao Mengfu often wrote on the boat, such as "postscripted by Mengfu on a boat on the 5th day of the ninth lunar month in the third year of Zhida period (1310)" 至大三年九月五日，孟頫跋于舟中，"postscripted again when the boat was mooring in Baoying county on the 16th day of the ninth lunar month in the third year of Zhida period" 至大三年九月十六日，舟次宝应重题，"postscripted on the 28th when waiting for the sluice gate to open in southern Jizhou" 廿八日，济州南待闸题，"postscripted on the third day when the boat was mooring and waiting for the sluice gate to open in Hupi" 三日，泊舟虎陂待放闸书，etc.²⁰¹

To illustrate the concept of literati in boats, Fu Shen 傅申, a renowned art historian and director of the Chinese Art Department of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, provided an abundance of exemplary works.²⁰² He also pointed out:

²⁰⁰ Su Shi, "Shu zhouzhong zuozi" 书舟中作字, see Su Shi, *Su Dongpo quanji* 苏东坡全集, compiled and collated by Deng Lixun 邓立勋 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1997), 487.

²⁰¹ For all citations, see Zhao Mengfu, *Zhao Mengfu ji* 赵孟頫集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2016), 302-304.

²⁰² For more examples, see Fu Shen, "Shuhua chuan: Gudai shuhuajia shuishang xinglü yu chuanguo jianshang guanxi" 书画船——古代书画家水上行旅与创作鉴赏关系, *Zhongguo shufa* 中国书法 271, no. 11 (2015): 96-103.

During the Sui and Tang dynasties, there were relatively fewer calligraphers and painters in the southern regions compared to those in the Yellow River Basin located in the north. However, during the Ming dynasty, these artists were primarily concentrated within the Taihu Lake Basin and its surrounding areas while few being present in Fujian 福建, Guangdong 广东, and northern regions. Therefore, during the Ming dynasty, calligraphers and painters primarily relied on boats for transportation, allowing them to have the experience of enjoying the scenery while boating. It was common practice for everyone to bring along their collection of calligraphy and paintings on these boat trips, providing ample opportunity for artists to create and admire artistic work.

隋唐时期，可以看到南方书画家较少，北方黄河流域较多。明代书画家多集中在太湖流域及周边地区，福建、广东和北方也有一些。所以明代书画家的交通主要依靠船只，每个人都有行船、看风景的经验，每人都在船上带些书画，更有不少书画家曾在船上写字、作画及鉴赏。²⁰³

The calligrapher and painter Yao Shou 姚绶 (*zi* Gongshou 公绶, *hao* Yundong Yishi 云东逸史, 1422-1495) of the Ming dynasty had a boat named **Cangjiang Hongyue** 沧江虹月 (the rainbow-hued boat on the river), which was an allusion to Huang Tingjian's poem (see 1.2.1). In *Ming shi zong* 明诗综 (Collections of the Ming Dynasty Poems), it is recorded that Yao Shou once "sailed on the boat Cangjiang Hongyue, which was adorned with pink windows and green curtains while music played from multiple instruments. The onlookers mistook him for a water deity" 出乘沧江虹月之舟，粉窗翠幕，吹竹弹丝，望者以为水仙。²⁰⁴ He once drew a painting, "Zizhi tuzhou" 紫芝图轴 (the Hanging Scroll of Purple Ganoderma), with an inscription that reads: "The painting of Purple Ganoderma. In the ninth lunar month in the Gengxu Year (1490), Yundong Yishi, Yao Gongshou painted in the **Cangjiang Hongyue** boat" 紫芝图。庚戌九月云东逸史姚公绶画于沧江虹月舟。²⁰⁵

The scenery observed during the boat tour is of significant importance in enhancing the level of painting creation. Guo Xi proposed the painting theory of *baoyou wokan* 饱游沃看 (engaged in extensive travel and fully immersed in sightseeing) in "Shanshui xun" 山水训 (Training of the Landscape Paintings) of *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致. After describing various splendid landscapes and sceneries, he wrote:

[...] To capture the essence of magnificent nature, one must rely on their passion and hard work to guide them towards excellence and mastery. By observing the world in its entirety, individuals can increase their knowledge and skill. With each natural scenery vividly displayed in my heart, I forget about paper with my eyes and ink with my hands;

²⁰³ Ibid., 98.

²⁰⁴ Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Ming shi zong* 明诗综, vol. 26, 43b. See *SKQSHY*.

²⁰⁵ Tian Hong 田洪, ed., *Wang Nanping's collection of ancient Chinese paintings* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2015), 48.

whether it is a grand landscape or a distant misty image, they can all be transformed into my paintings.

……欲夺其造化，则莫神于好，莫精于勤，莫大于饱游沃看，历历罗列胸中，而目不见绢素，手不知笔墨，磊磊落落，杳杳漠漠，莫非吾画。²⁰⁶

Dong Qichang expressed a similar perspective in his *Huachan Shi suibi* 画禅室随笔 (Essays of the Huachan Room): “A painter seeks instruction from heaven and earth, followed by mountains and rivers, and then the ancients. Thus arises the adage ‘One cannot paint unless he has read thousands of books and traveled thousands of miles’” 画家以天地为师，其次以山川为师，其次以古人为师，故有“不读万卷书，不行千里路，不可为画”之语。²⁰⁷ This could partially account for the abundance of works he produced while on board, which were sorted out in great detail by Fu Shen.²⁰⁸

In addition to the painting theory of *baoyou woka*, the profound impact of on-board creation activities on calligraphy and painting also involves media and painting techniques. Tang Shuyu 汤漱玉 (1796-1855) recorded an anecdote in *Yutai huashi* 玉台画史 (Painting History of Jade Platform):

The Noble Dowager had a penchant for drawing, but the silks she carried were impractical to unfold in the cramped confines of a boat. Instead, she opted for several fans and created miniature paintings of landscapes. She remarked, “This style of painting is more suited to Huangquan and Zhao Chang’s tastes than my own. However, what other choice do I have on such a diminutive boat?”

太夫人性耽绘事，所携绢素，蓬窗不便展舒，乃取箒数握，随手作小景，谓余曰：“此黄筌、赵昌辈能事也，吾不耐为此，如舟次狭小何？”²⁰⁹

Fu Shen also noted in his article that there is evidence to suggest that Wang Duo 王铎 (1592-1652) believed the limited space on board of boats was inconvenient to produce hanging

²⁰⁶ Guo Xi and Guo Si 郭思, “Linqan gaozhi” 林泉高致, see Yu Jianhua 俞剑华, *Zhongguo gudai hualun leibian* 中国古代画论类编 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2007), 636.

²⁰⁷ Dong Qichang, “Ziti huafu” 自题画幅, see Zheng Wei 郑威, *Dong Qichang nianpu* 董其昌年谱 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1989), 62.

²⁰⁸ The frequency of Dong Qichang’s creative activities in the “Shuhua Chuan” is staggering. See, Fu Shen, “Shuhua chuan: Zhongguo wenren de liudong huashi” 书画船——中国文人的流动画室, *Art Panorama* 387, no. 3 (2020): 49-53.

²⁰⁹ Yu Anlan 于安澜, ed., *Yutai huashi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), 50.

scroll works, resulting in a greater prevalence of hand scrolls and albums.²¹⁰ These findings indicate that the spatial constraints on board have exerted a significant influence on individuals' media selection for painting and calligraphy. In addition to spatial limitations, the movement of the boat with the current also induces a shift in perspective. The continuous alteration of viewpoint naturally transforms the painter's mental landscape into a layout resembling that of hand scroll works.

Furthermore, despite the inherent instability of painting in a boat, it provides distinct advantages by allowing artists to capture scenes directly before their eyes. Zong Bing 宗炳 of the Southern Dynasties once proposed a distinctive approach to framing a painting in his "Hua shanshui xu" 画山水序 (Preface to Painting Landscape): "By looking through the stretched, thin fabric, one can enclose the shape of mountains within a mere square inch" 今张绡素以远映, 则昆、阆之形, 可围于方寸之内.²¹¹ The optimal execution of this painting technique can only be achieved from a vantage point on a boat – capturing expansive natural landscapes, such as mountains and waters, within an urban environment proves unattainable, while obtaining a panoramic view from mountainous terrain requires reaching its summit.

Mi Fu was among the most influential landscape painters who were known for their direct tracing of scenes observed during boat trips. Although there are scarce surviving paintings attributed to Mi Fu, his son Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074-1151), who was also a renowned calligrapher and painter, has left behind a few works that have been passed down. Mi Youren's "Xiaoxiang qiguan tu" 潇湘奇观图 (The Painting of the Wonderful Sceneries along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers) and "Yunshan moxi tu" 云山墨戏图 (The Painting of the Ink Play of the Clouds and Mountains),²¹² among others, showcase the artistic charm of *Mishi yunshan* 米氏云山 (Mi family's unique way of depicting clouds and mountains), allowing viewers to appreciate its beauty (Fig. 1.2.2-2&3). Mi Youren's other painting, "Yuanxiu qingyun tu" 远岫晴云图 (The Painting of the Clear Clouds in the Far Mountains) (Fig. 1.2.2-4), has a horizontal paper attached on top of it, with the inscription: "This small piece of painting was painted as an entertainment on the day before the Yuanxi 元夕 (the Spring Lantern Festival) of the Jiayin Year of the Shaoxing 绍兴 period (1134), when I came to the capital to attend a court meeting from Xinchang 新昌 county by boat, and lived in the Qibao Mountain in Lin'an" 绍兴甲寅元夕前一日, 自新昌泛舟来赴朝参, 居临安七宝山戏作小卷.²¹³ Based on the picture of this painting, it is highly probable that the depicted landscape was a view seen from water, as argued by Fu Shen.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Fu Shen, "Shuhua chuan: Gudai shuhua jia," 97.

²¹¹ Zong Bing, "Hua shanshui xu," in Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, vol. 6, 4a. See SKQS.

²¹² Both these two painting belong to the collections of the Palace Museum in Beijing.

²¹³ See Mi Youren, "Yuanxiu qingyun tu," in Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijyutsukan 大阪市立美術館.

²¹⁴ Fu Shen, "Shuhua chuan: Gudai shuhua jia," 97.

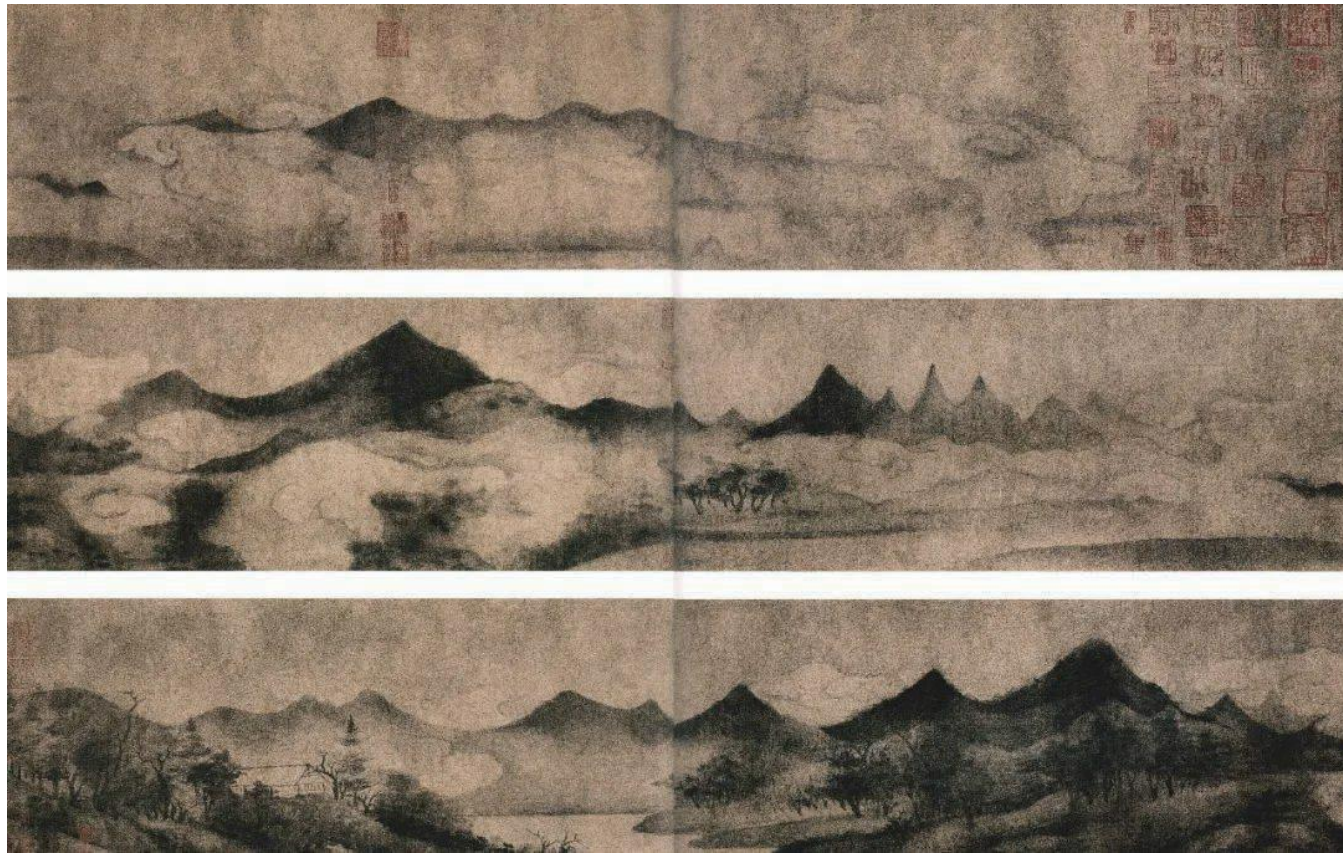


Fig. 1.2.2-2 “The Painting of the Wonderful Sceneries along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” by Mi Youren.

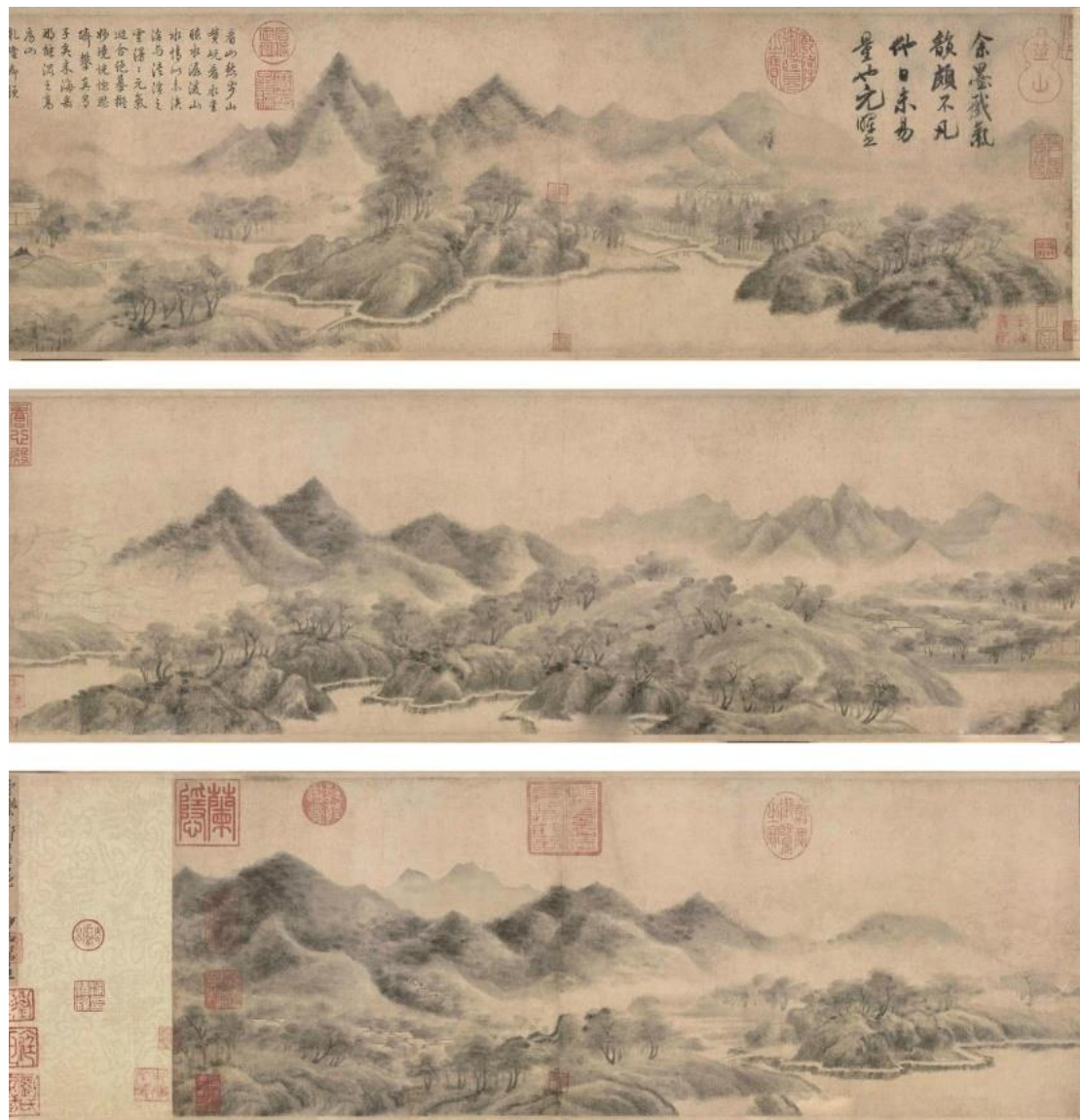


Fig. 1.2.2-3 “The Painting of the Ink Play of the Clouds and Mountains” by Mi Youren.

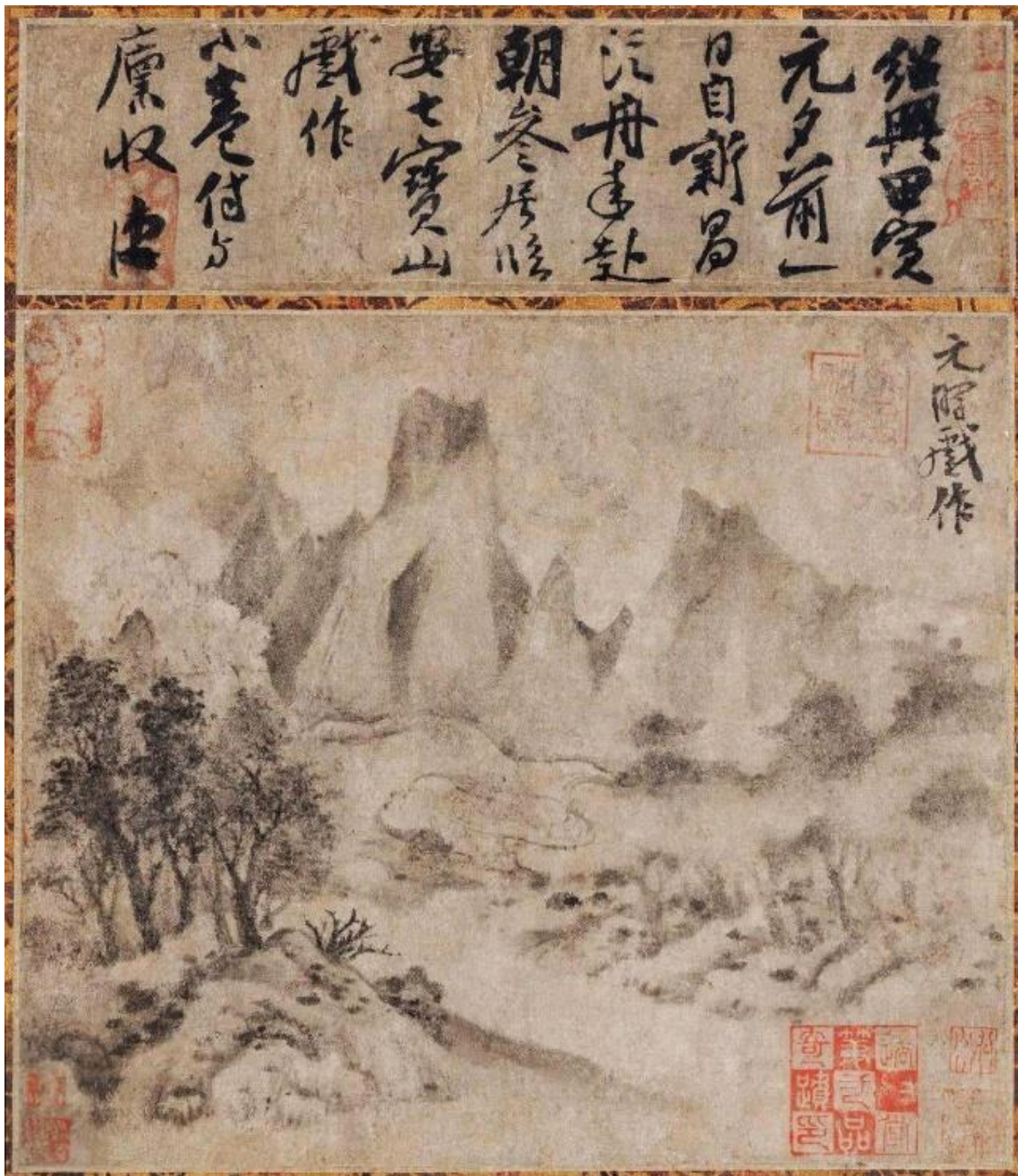


Fig. 1.2.2-4 “The Painting of the Clear Clouds in the Far Mountains” by Mi Youren.

In Dong Qichang's theory of landscape painting, Mi Fu and Mi Youren played a significant role between Dong Yuan, Ju Ran 巨然 in the Five Dynasties (907-979) period and the four masters (Wu Zhen 吴镇, 1280-1354, Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan 倪瓚, 1301-1374, and Wang Meng 王蒙, 1308-1385) in the Yuan dynasty in history of landscape paintings.²¹⁵ Perhaps it is precisely due to the remarkable accomplishments of the Mi family in landscape painting that future generations also employed the term "Mijia Chuan" to describe the beauty of nature scenery.

For example, Liu Shiyong 刘时颖 (1693 *juren* 举人, a successful candidate in the township examination) wrote in a poem "Fengqi Ting" 凤栖亭 (Fengqi Pavilion): "Shrouded in a veil of sunlight after the rain, the scene bears an uncanny resemblance to the landscape paintings from the collection on the Mijia Chuan" 数点晴光疏雨后, 分明一幅米家船.²¹⁶ Qin Shuying 覃树英 (a female poet in the late Qing dynasty) wrote in "Zhou guo Luluo Feng" 舟过绿萝峰 (Boating Pass the Luluo Mountain): "Shrouded in a misty veil as the sun set, the mountain suddenly emerged before us. It appears as though we have stepped into a landscape painting by Mi Fu, but please let us not be mistaken for one of the painting collections in the Mijia Chuan [and become trapped within the paper]" 夕阳一片绿萝烟, 如此峰峦忽眼前。人在南宫图画里, 莫叫认作米家船.²¹⁷

1.2.2.4 Selling Art Works

Besides the boats utilized by literati for collecting, appreciating and creating artworks, the terms "Shuhua Chuan" and "Mijia Chuan" were also employed by some art vendors' boats to enhance the value of their merchandise.

Lu Beirong stated that since the late Ming dynasty, collectors in Jiangnan area referred to merchant boats carrying calligraphy and paintings as "Shuhua Chuan." As she noted, Zhang Dayong 张大镛 (1770-1838) of the Qing dynasty once documented Yun Shouping's "Tianchi shibi" 天池石壁 (Stone Cliff of Tianchi) in his book. Zhang Dayong recorded that this painting was put up for sale on a "Shuhua Chuan" in the Wuzi 戊子 Year (1828), and he bought it for "40,000 coins" 青蚨四万.²¹⁸

From another example she provided, it can be inferred that the term "Shuhua Chuan" might also refer to onshore art shops. In the tenth lunar month of the third year of Guangxu reign (1877), Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904) took a leave from the imperial court and traveled to Shanghai. One day after buying a book, he proceeded to the "seller Chang's 'Shuhua Chuan' on the Second Road" 二马路书画船常卖家 and acquired several pieces of artwork for

²¹⁵ Dong Qichang, *Huachan Shi suibi* 画禅室随笔 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2016), 62: "南宗" 则王摩诘始用渲淡, 一变钩斫之法, 其传为张璪、荆(浩)、关(仝)、郭忠恕、董(源)、巨(然)、米家父子, 以至元之四大家。

²¹⁶ Liu Shiyong, "Fengqi Ting," in *Chaozhou shicui* 潮州诗萃, comp. Wen Tingjing 温廷敬, collated by Wu Erchi 吴二持 and Cai Qixian 蔡启贤 (Shantou: Shantou daxue chubanshe, 2001), 559.

²¹⁷ Qin Shuying, "Zhou guo Luluo Feng," in *Hu Xiang wenku*, vol. 6, 364.

²¹⁸ Lu Beirong, "Shuhua chuan," 62.

44 *yuan*. The following day, he revisited the “Shuhua Chuan” and purchased another painting by Wu Li 吴历 (1632-1718) for 22 *yuan*, claiming this experience to be “extremely arduous” 极费力矣.²¹⁹ As the seller Chang’s shop, “Shuhua Chuan,” was located on the Second Road, it can be considered as an onshore establishment.²²⁰

Additionally, there is a shop in Fuzhou 福州 that specializes in the mounting of calligraphy and paintings, known as “Mijia Chuan” 米家舫.²²¹ It was founded in the Tongzhi 同治 reign (1862-1874) and has been passed down to nowadays. According to folklore, the name of this shop was bestowed by a local *juren* He Zhendai 何振岱 for its exceptional craftsmanship. This might well constitute a continuation of the narrative concerning Mi Fu’s reinmounting of a manuscript in his Baojin Zhai (see 1.2.1).

By naming the space that followed the presence of his Jin dynasty collections as “Baojin Zhai,” Mi Fu abstracted it from a specific building and elevated it to a cultural concept for artistic appreciation or creation, transcending its mere physical existence. This conceptual abstraction implies that the literati’s definition of space was no longer confined to physical dimensions and structures, but encompassed the objects and activities that occur within it. It is on this basis that Mi Fu’s “Baojin Zhai” was further abstracted into a general reference to the concept of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” which later evolved into the more generalized terms “Mijia Chuan” or “Shuhua Chuan” in subsequent generations of literati.

Through the practice of boat-architectures, literati have linked all activities related to calligraphy and paintings – including collecting, appreciating, creating, selling – as well as landscape painting or the landscape itself with the concept of “Shuhua Chuan.” This has enriched both the connotation and form of this concept, gradually transforming it into cultural symbols with abundant references and referents.

1.2.3 Spatial Characteristics of Shuhua Chuan

When the literati’s activities related to “Mijia Chuan” or “Shuhua Chuan” are discussed, it remains a matter of curiosity as to what specific advantages the boat’s interior space offers for these pursuits.

Compared to typical residential buildings, the interior space of a boat is relatively more confined. After Mi Fu was demoted in his later years, he once “corresponded with Cai

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Lu Beirong believes that this shop was a boat on the water because the location “Er Malu” (the Second Road) was facing the Huangpu River. However, whether it was an actual boat or not would not diminish its symbolic significance, as the two prototypes of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” and “Huafang Zhai” had undergone a confluence, which will be discussed in 1.3.2.

²²¹ For more information, see “Nanhoujie 32 hao Mijiachuan biaobeidian” 南后街 32 号米家船裱褙店, last modified October 09, 2017, <https://www.fzcuo.com/index.php?doc-view-1489.html>.

Jing 蔡京 (a powerful yet treacherous prime minister in the late Northern Song dynasty, 1047-1126), lamenting his dire financial situation. Despite having ten family members on board, they only had access to a small vessel upon arriving in Chenliu 陈留 county. [To illustrate this point,] he included a drawing of a tiny boat within his letter. Cai Jing found amusement [in his expression]” 一日以书抵公，诉其流落。且言举室百指，行至陈留，独得一舟如许大，遂画一艇于行间，鲁公笑焉。²²² The exaggerated joke serves to demonstrate that, unless it is an exceptionally luxurious vessel, the space on board a boat is typically quite limited.

This letter was subsequently regarded as a piece of calligraphy by Mi Fu and was collected and recorded by Cai Tao 蔡絛 (1096-1162), the son of Cai Jing. Along with the “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” it became an anecdote about Mi Fu that later generations of literati discussed with great interest. For example, Shen Jiazhe 沈嘉辙 (fl. the early half of the 18th c.) of the Qing dynasty composed a poem that praised the West Lake boat: “Opening a scroll [on this tiny Shuhua Chuan] evokes the feeling that Mi Fu himself penned it and that the boat depicted therein has magically come to life” 卷开好是米颠书，画出一舟如许大。²²³ It is apparent that subsequent generations, when making reference to the narrowness of lake boats through this anecdote as an allusion, intentionally overlooked Mi Fu’s discontent and instead lauded it as a manifestation of refinement.

This narrowness may not be advantageous for residency, but it perfectly caters to the literati’s preference for a *xiaoshi* 小室 (literally translated as “small chamber,” which means a compact living space) when constructing a study room.

In Confucian culture, *xiaoshi* represents a state of contentment in poverty, prioritization of spiritual devotion over materialism, and adherence to moral integrity. This preference can be traced back to the book, *Li ji* 礼记 (the Book of Rites). It is recorded that when Confucius responded to Ai-gong of the Lu Kingdom 鲁哀公 (Ji Jiang 姬将, reigned 494-468 BCE, d. 468 BCE) regarding the conduct and residence of a Confucian, he stated that: “The Confucian’s residence encompasses one *mu* 亩 (a hundred paces in its perimeter, which equates to ten paces squared), with a chamber enclosed by four *du* 堵” 儒者有一亩之宫，环堵之室。²²⁴ The term *du* refers to an earthen wall molded by mold boards, with a length of six *chi* 尺 (about 23 cm in the Spring and Autumn period, 770-476 BCE). Therefore, *huandu zhishi* 环堵之室 (a chamber enclosed by four *du*), which is also abbreviated as *huandu* 环堵 denotes a compact space of approximately 1.38 square meters.

In the Eastern Jin dynasty, Tao Qian 陶潜 (*zi* Yuanming 渊明, 365-427) elevated the practice of *huandu* into an aesthetic pursuit of *rongxi* 容膝 (literally translated as “accommodating the knees,” which exaggerate the narrowness of a space, which can only allow one person to sit in a kneeling position). It was revealed through his writings, such as “I rest against the southern window with immense satisfaction, observing that the small

²²² Cai Tao 蔡絛, *Tiewei shan congfan* 铁围山丛谈, vol.4, 8a. See *SKQS*.

²²³ Shen Jiazhe’s poem, see *HZWXJC*, vol. 3, *Wulin Zhanggu congbian*, vol. 3, 754.

²²⁴ Zheng Xuan 郑玄, *Li ji zhushu* 礼记注疏, vol. 59, 9a. See *SKQSHY*.

space of *rongxi* is sufficiently cozy for perambulation” 倚南窗以寄傲，审容膝之易安，²²⁵ and “his abode of *huandu* offers scant protection from the elements, be it rain, wind or scorching sun. His cotton garb is threadbare and sustenance remains a constant struggle. Yet he bears all with stoic composure” 环堵萧然，不蔽风日，短褐穿结，箪瓢屡空，晏如也。²²⁶ He consistently exhibited a sense of ease and content when inhabiting compact living spaces.

In the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-907), Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 (772-842) also connected the quality of a space with the virtue of its resident in his renowned piece “Loushi ming” 陋室铭 (An Epigraph in Praise of My Humble Home): “My home is humble, but it enjoys the fame of virtue so long as I am living in it.” 斯是陋室，惟吾德馨。²²⁷ At the end of the article, he posed a rhetorical question: “How can we call a room humble [as long as there is a virtuous man in it]” 何陋之有？²²⁸ By extolling his humble home, Liu Yuxi conveyed his integrity and commitment to a modest and virtuous existence.

In the Northern Song dynasty, Su Shi, who highly admired Tao Yuanming, not only made great efforts to promote Tao Yuanming’s poems and prose, but also disseminated his aesthetic taste and lifestyle. He constructed a tiny pavilion and declared that, taking inspiration from Tao Yuanming’s phrase “Shen *rongxi zhi yi’an*” 审容膝之易安 (observing that the small space of *rongxi* is sufficiently cozy for perambulation), he had always harbored a desire to construct such a petite structure, naming it “**Rong’an**” 容安, by extracting the two characters from Tao’s verse.²²⁹ At that time, scholars and officials, regardless of their wealth or status, who cherished their literary reputations, all exhibited an aesthetic appreciation for this way of life. For example, Sima Guang 司马光 (1019-1086) wrote a poem: “A space of *rongxi* would suffice for one to live contentedly. Why should anything else be deemed necessary” 所安容膝地，何必更多余，²³⁰ Lü Benzhong 吕本中 (1084-1145) also wrote: “You are well acquainted with the contentment of residing in a small hut of *rongxi*, and thus have no need for enchantment to transform its limited space into a immortal’s wonderland” 一庵容膝君所知，不用芥子藏须弥。²³¹ Lu You 陆游 (1125-1210), a prominent figure in the Southern Song

²²⁵ Tao Qian, “Guiqu laixi ci” 归去来兮辞, in *Tao Yuanming ji* 陶渊明集, vol. 5, 6a. See *SKQS*.

²²⁶ Tao Qian, “Wuliu xiansheng zhuan” 五柳先生传, in *ibid.*, 8b. See *SKQS*.

²²⁷ Liu Yuxi, “Loushi min,” in Wang Tingzhen 王霆震, *Guwen jicheng* 古文集成, vol. 48, 4b. See *SKQS*.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ See Su Shi, *Dongpo zhilin* 东坡志林, vol. 1, 9a: 陶靖节云：“倚南窗以寄傲，审容膝之易安。” 故常欲作小轩，以容安名之。 See *SKQS*.

²³⁰ Sima Guang, “He Zhang Wenyu chuhan” 和张文裕初寒, in *Chuanjia ji* 传家集, vol. 10, 16a. See *SKQS*.

²³¹ Lü Benzhong, “Mao Yanmo Rongxi Xuan” 毛彦谟容膝轩, in *Donglai shiji* 东莱诗集, vol. 5, 4b. See *SKQS*.

dynasty, had a strong affinity for the practice of *xiaoshi*. He not only constructed structures dedicated to this space form but also composed numerous poems on the subject, with at least nine titles bearing the term *xiaoshi*.²³²

The benefits of a small study are twofold: firstly, it has spiritual advantages as the smaller the space, the more it can constrain individuals' desires and enable them to concentrate on their studies. There was a poem by Su Zhe describing the newly repaired Chuan Zhai 船斋 (the Boat Studio) in the Qun An 困庵 (the Barn Hut) of his friend Mao Weizhan 毛维瞻 (1011-1084), in which there were sentences saying:

The studio is comparable to a small boat that barely accommodates one's dwelling, and the interior space resembles an empty granary indicative of its owner's integrity in not being greedy. [...] Paintings and books are stacked from the tables to the windows, while medicine pouches and drinking vessels hang in baskets on the wall.

斋如小舫才容住，室类空困定不贪。……画囊书帙堆窗案，药裹瓢樽挂壁蓝。
233

Furthermore, small size does not necessarily equate to simplicity, but rather denotes a heightened level of accessibility on a physical scale. All items are situated within arm's reach, allowing for effortless retrieval without the need to stand up. Writing utensils such as pens and inkwells, as well as paper and inkstones are all conveniently located nearby. Such an environment fosters feelings of convenience, relaxation, security and contentment.

Apart from its limited size, the space on board possesses an irreplaceable quality due to the water surface upon which the boat rests, imbuing it with a distinct interest that diverges from terrestrial buildings. Compared to land, water prohibits pedestrian access. Therefore, when a boat floats on the water, it often creates an atmosphere of isolation without external disturbance. Especially during early morning and evening hours when the sky appears to merge with the water's surface due to flowing rosy clouds and reflections or in winter when snowfall blankets the surroundings, boats on the water seem integrated with nature and isolated from worldly distractions.

The ethereal sensation of isolation aboard a vessel has been documented in numerous historical records. As early as the Tang dynasty, Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) had a poem depicting

²³² See, Lu You, *Jiannan shigao* 剑南诗稿, vol. 21, 25b: “Xiaoshi wanzhuo” 小室晚酌; vol. 26, 23a: “Xiaoshi” 小室; vol. 48, 16b: “Tangdong xiaoshi shenzhang maoban zhi xizuo” 堂东小室，深丈袤半之戏作; vol. 64, 11b: “Xinkai xiaoshi” 新开小室; vol. 69, 14b: “Xiaoshi” 小室; vol. 72, 7b: “Dongpian xiaoshi quri zuiyuan mei wei taoshu zhi di xizuo wuzi” 东偏小室，去日最远，每为避暑之地，戏作五字; vol. 72, 11a: “Xiaoshi taoshu” 小室避暑; vol. 77, 21a: “Xiaoshi” 小室; vol. 84, 21a: “Xiaoshi” 小室. See *SKQS*.

²³³ Su Zhe, “He Maojun xinqi Qun An Chuan Zhai” 和毛君新葺困庵船斋, in *Luancheng ji*, vol.11, 1a. See *SKQSHY*.

“Aboard a boat sailing on spring water is akin to sitting in the heavens” 春水船如天上坐。²³⁴ In the Song dynasty, Lu You also left a poem of “Boating on the mirror-like lake, beholding the beauty of two skies above and below. The boat glides like a leaf upon ten thousand hectares of water that glistens like glass” 镜湖俯仰两青天，万顷玻璃一叶船。²³⁵ Yuan Zhongdao of the Ming dynasty once depicted the scenery of morning glow he witnessed while on a boat in the early hours:

By pushing the window and gazing at the seamless blend of sky and water, one is left in awe by the boundless horizon that stretches ten thousand miles. The resplendent sun gradually ascends, casting its radiance upon the closely clustered mountains of Wuchang and Hanyang that emerge like shimmering fish scales into view, drawing ever closer to the eyes. The rosy clouds at dawn resemble a resplendent brocade, reflected on the water’s surface, evoking feelings of tranquility and relaxation.

推篷望天水相接，一望无涯，殊可骇异。旭日渐升，见水上小山鳞次，武昌、汉阳之山，相逼而来。晓霞如异锦绚烂，盖水上霞也，又洒然神怡矣。²³⁶

There is a similar depiction found in Zhang Dai’s 张岱 (1597-1689) “Huxin Ting kanxue” 湖心亭看雪 (Looking at the Snow in the Pavilion in the Lake). In the last lunar month of the fifth year of the Chongzhen 崇禎 period (January 1633), Hangzhou was hit by heavy snow for three consecutive days. The tourists and birds on West Lake disappeared without a trace. He recorded his boating experience on the lake with poetic language:

The curling mist and fogs over the lake, mingling with fluttering flakes, rendered the sky, clouds, hills and waters all white in a grandeur of high and low. Only shadows of the long causeway were reflected as a belt; those of Mid-Lake Pavilion appeared as dots; my boat was but a leaf while men aboard resembled rice grains.

雾凇沆砀，天与云与山与水，上下一白。湖上影子，惟长堤一痕、湖心亭一点，与余舟一芥、舟中人两三粒而已。²³⁷

This sense of isolation engenders a spiritual purity that is akin to the *xiaoshi*, which serves to curb one’s distracting thoughts and corporeal desires, thereby enabling one to

²³⁴ Du Fu, “Xiao hanshi zhouzhong zuo” 小寒食舟中作, in *Jiujia jizhu Du shi* 九家集注杜诗, vol. 36, 26b. See *SKQS*.

²³⁵ See, Lu You, “Dengxia du Xuanzhenzi yuge, yin huai shanyin guyin, zhuini” 灯下读玄真子渔歌，因怀山阴故隐，追拟, in *Jiannan shigao* 剑南诗稿, vol. 19, 26b. See *SKQS*.

²³⁶ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 146-147.

²³⁷ Zhang Dai, “Huxin Ting kanxue” 湖心亭看雪, in Zhang Dai, *Tao An mengyi – Xihu mengxun* 陶庵梦忆 西湖梦寻 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016), 40.

concentrate on spiritual pursuits. For example, Yuan Zhongdao once wrote:

Every time I reside in an urban area, I experience the aridity and warmth as scorching; however, when I embark on a vessel, I feel refreshed. While reading at home, my eyes fail to fixate on even a single word; yet while aboard a boat, I immerse myself in studying and researching thoroughly to comprehend the essence. Alternatively, despite intermittent periods of literary stagnation that may persist for six months or more, once aboard the vessel of inspiration, verse flows freely.

凡居城市，则炎炎如炙，独登舟即洒然。居家读书，一字不入眼；在舟中，则沉酣研究，极其变化。或半年不作诗，一入舟，则诗思泉涌。²³⁸

Perhaps it is precisely due to the unique spatial characteristics of a boat that Gu Ruopu 顾若璞 (1592-1681), a Ming dynasty poetess, built a “Dushu Chuan” 读书船 (boat for study) for her son. In the preface to her poem “Xiu Dushu Chuan” 修读书船 (Constructing the Boat for Study) written for this waterborne study, we can also discern its sense of detachment from the world:

In the autumn, I constructed a Dushu Chuan for Can'er and moored it beneath an acacia tree by the Broken Bridge in the West Lake. The mountains towered majestically in the rain, while the water shimmered with clarity and freshness. Above, the sky was as blue as fine *qing* porcelain, while below, mist enshrouded verdant foliage that rose and fell with elusive waves. The sudden penetration of breeze and sunlight through the greenish-black mass of clouds brings a sense of calm and relaxation, as if all worries from the mundane world have dissipated. However, this picturesque scene raises doubts in my mind, prompting me to compose a poem as a warning.

秋日为灿儿修读书船，泊断桥合欢树下。雨山峭蒨，空水澄鲜，断烧留青，乱烟笼翠，与波上下，倏有倏无。忽焉晴光爽气激射于丛云堆黛之中，令人心旷神怡，不复知有人间世矣。览物兴思，为诗以戒。²³⁹

Although this “Dushu Chuan” was a later generation reproduction of the “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” Gu Ruopu’s poem “Xiu Dushu Chuan” intriguingly suggested that she viewed her son’s “Dushu Chuan” as diametrically opposed to the “Mijia Chuan”:

It is said that a devoted mother would assist her son in his education. The prime location near the Broken Bridge was selected after careful consideration. The moonlight filters

²³⁸ Yuan Zhongdao, *Kexue Zhai jinji* 珂雪斋近集, vol. 1-2 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1982), 126.

²³⁹ Hu Xiaoming 胡晓明, Peng Guozhong 彭国忠 and Yang Xun 杨焄, ed., *Jiangnan nüxing bieji* 江南女性别集, vol. 5 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2019), 133-134.

through the sparse branches of ancient, towering trees. The waves gently swirl with a blue haze.

Take Yang Xiong as an exemplar, who dedicated himself to solitary scholarship without any disturbance. Disregard those who label this boat “Mijia Chuan” from a distance. It evokes the elegance of the “Fumei Jian” crafted by your grandfather. You should study diligently enough to exhaust the candles and scrutinize his annotations preserved within the leather.

闻道和熊阿母贤，翻来选胜断桥边。亭亭古树流疏月，漾漾轻裊泛碧烟。
且自独居扬子宅，任他遥指米家船。高风还忆浮梅槛，短烛长吟理旧毡。²⁴⁰

The poem illustrates that the purpose of constructing “Dushu Chuan” was to establish a conducive learning environment for her son, achieved through the seclusion on board, similar to Yang Xiong’s 扬雄 (53-18 BCE) residence in Han dynasty where he could study without disturbance from guests. However, a hint of concern crept into her thoughts, as boats such as Huan Xuan’s *zouge* and Mi Fu’s Shuhua Chuan were primarily the pastimes of collectors who indulged in calligraphy and paintings rather than devoted themselves to scholarly pursuits. Therefore, she composed this poem as a cautionary measure, urging her son to refrain from indulging in the allure of scenic beauty and collections of calligraphy and paintings.

The Huang family, into which Gu Ruopu married, possessed a hereditary skill in boat-building and were renowned for their expertise in flood-prevention measures.²⁴¹ The “Fumei Jian” 浮梅槛 mentioned in the last two lines of this poem was the name of a special boat made by her father-in-law Huang Ruheng 黄汝亨 (1558-1626), which is used here as a symbol of Gu Ruopu’s hope that her son would become a scholar like his grandfather. The term *jian* 槛 referred to a type of boat enclosed by planks on all four sides, whereas in this instance it pertains to a bamboo raft that is surrounded by railings and curtains.

Huang Ruheng himself once penned a “Fumei Jian ji” 浮梅槛记 (The Record of the Raft of Fumei), which expounds on the cause and process behind constructing this bamboo raft. This bamboo raft was named “Fumei” 浮梅 (Floating Plum Blossom) after a tale recorded in *Dili zhi* 地理志 (Records of Geography). The story recounts how someone once fashioned a

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 134.

²⁴¹ According to Yang Guodong’s 杨国栋 research, the Huang family has a long-standing tradition of studying river management and flood prevention. Shipbuilding is also a skill that runs in their family. Huang Can 黄灿, the son of Gu Ruopu, constructed a boat named “Polang” 破浪 (breaking waves). Furthermore, their descendant Huang Shugu 黄树谷 not only authored a book titled *Hefang siyi* 河防私议 (river defense private discussion), but also invented a tool called “Qinghe long” 清河龙 (clear river dragon) for dredging silt from rivers. Continuing this legacy, Huang Shugu’s son Huang Yi 黄易 worked in the River Management Department of Shandong. See Yang Guodong, *Huang Yi nianpu chubian* 黄易年谱初编 (Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2017), 27-28.

raft from plum trees, which subsequently sank into a lake and periodically resurfaced. Despite being severed and transformed into a raft, the plum trees continued to bloom in springtime and drift across the water's surface.²⁴² In his prose, Huang Ruheng vividly depicted the raft he constructed as “adorned with red railings and green curtains on all sides, seamlessly blending into the smoke, water, clouds and mists of West Lake, creating a pure and ethereal ambiance” 朱栏青幕，四披之，竟与烟水云霞通为一席，泠泠如也。²⁴³ Huang Ruheng also documented that “on every moonlit night and when the snow glistened on the dark side of the mountain” 每花月夜，及澄雪山阴，²⁴⁴ he and *yunren channa* 韵人禅衲 (men of refined taste and monks) would take this raft to tour between the Six Bridges of West Lake. “The onlookers congregated like walls, all extolling this as an elegant occasion of unparalleled grandeur in West Lake's history, surpassing even the likes of Su Shi and Bai Juyi” 观者如堵，具叹西湖千载以来未有，当时苏、白风流，意想不及。²⁴⁵

After Gu Ruopu's marriage into the Huang family, she regarded Huang Ruheng as her mentor. In her poetry collection, *Woyue Xuan gao* 卧月轩稿 (the Draft of the Woyue Pavilion), there is a poem titled “Tong fuzi zuo Fumei Jian” 同夫子坐浮梅槛 (Sitting on the Fumei Jian with My Mentor), which indicates that she had firsthand experience of the space provided by this refined raft.²⁴⁶ Chen Yun's 陈芸 (1763-1803) annotation of her poem in the *Xiaodai Xuan lunshi shi* 小黛轩论诗诗 (the Poems of Xiaodai Xuan – Commenting Poems on Their Part), which comments on Gu Ruopu, states that: “Her father-in-law once constructed a bamboo raft with railings and curtains to float on West Lake, naming it ‘Fumei Jian.’ She later renovated it for her son (Huang) Can to live in and called it ‘Dushu Chuan’” 其先世尝用竹筏施阑幕，浮西湖上，曰浮梅槛，因修之使子灿居之，曰读书船。²⁴⁷ This annotation posits that the “Fumei Jian” served as a precursor to the “Dushu Chuan”. While this perspective lacks corroboration from other historical sources, it remains plausible that Gu Ruopu's conception of constructing a study boat for her son was partially influenced by the “pure and ethereal ambiance” experienced on board the Fumei Jian.

Around the same time in Beijing, Li Wei 李伟 (1510-1583) built a Qinghua 清华 Garden spanning ten miles with two large lakes situated at its front and rear. According to documentary records, he often:

²⁴² Huang Ruheng, “Fumei Jian ji,” in Mingdai sanwen xuanzhu 明代散文选注, selected and annotated by Zhu Dingmin 祝鼎民 and Yu Cuiling 于翠玲 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1998), 360-361: 按《地理志》云：“有梅湖者，昔人以梅为筏，沉于此湖，有时浮出。至春则开花流满湖面”。

²⁴³ Ibid., 360.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 361.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Gu Ruopu, “Tong fuzi zuo Fumei Jian,” in Hu Xiaoming et al., *Jiangnan nüxing bieji*, 107.

²⁴⁷ Chen Yun, *Xiaodai Xuan lunshi shi* (1911, collection of Harvard-Yenching Library), vol. 1, 3a.

[...] constructed ice boats by connecting wooden trunks after snowfall. He then installed railings and curtains above the boat, enclosing a furnace to stoke the fire. With the combined effort of ten or 20 individuals, it glided across the ice with remarkable ease. The snow resembled a shimmering body of water and the boat appeared to be navigating through midstream waves, causing one's clothing to flutter in the wind. It remained uncertain whether the celestial paradise of Yaochi Yuyu 瑶池玉宇 can rival this scene.

雪后联木为冰船，上施轩幕，围炉其中，引觞割炙，以一二十人挽船走冰上若飞，视雪如银浪，放乎中流，令人襟袂凌越，未知瑶池玉宇又何如尔！²⁴⁸

The design of the ice boat and the sensation of navigating it post-snowfall bore a striking resemblance to that of the “Fumei Jian.” Huang Ruheng’s “Fumei Jian ji” was written in the 39th year of Wanli period (1616), and Li Wei’s garden was constructed after the Shao 勺 Garden, which was built between 1611-1613 (see 1.3.2). The implication is that Li Wei’s ice boat was likely modeled after Huang Ruheng’s Fumei Jian, but was adapted for use in the northern region.

The Qu Garden 曲园 built by Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) in Suzhou city of Qing dynasty housed a boat named “Xiao Fumei Jian” 小浮梅槛 (Little Fumei Jian), which was so petite that it could hardly accommodate two persons without their knees touching each other. In the scorching summer, the water surrounding the boat not only offers a refreshing respite but also affords uninterrupted seclusion. As such, Yu Yue frequently sought refuge here with his wife. During their conversations, he occasionally transcribed those rumors that could be verified to varying degrees in their informal discussions. These notes were later compiled into a book titled *Xiao Fumei xianhua* 小浮梅闲话 (Little Fumei Gossip).²⁴⁹ It can be observed that Huang Ruheng’s “Fumei Jian” has undergone a similar evolution to Mi Fu’s “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” in later generations, indicating the inheritance of a common artistic tradition.

Despite intentionally inheriting the sense of isolation from the “Fumei Jian,” it was not Gu Ruopu who creatively used a boat as a place for children to study. Based on the timeline, her decision was likely influenced by *fangke* 舫课 (Boat Class, refers to the classes conducted on boats) on West Lake.

It is worth noting that during the Ming dynasty, similar to Huafang Zhai in Huazhou transforming into an academic institution, the floating study room derived from “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” also evolved into a unique pedagogical (and examination) format on West Lake known

²⁴⁸ Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao* 钦定日下旧闻考, vol. 79, 17a. See *SKQS*.

²⁴⁹ Yu Yue, “*Xiao Fumei xianhua xu*” 小浮梅闲话序, in *Chunzai Tang suibi* 春在堂随笔. See Jinbu shuju 进步书局, comp., *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 笔记小说大观, vol. 26 (Jiangsu: Guangling guji keyinshe, 1983), 65: 余曲园之中，有曲池焉。曲池之中，有“小浮梅槛”，仅容二人促膝。夏日，余与内子坐其中，因录其闲话稍有依据者，为一编云。

as the *fangke* due to its spatial characteristics.

The West Lake *fangke* was established by the Chongwen Shuyuan 崇文书院 (Chongwen Academy) in Hangzhou in the 28th year of the Wanli period (1600) of the Ming dynasty. During the Wanli period (1573-1620), many salt merchants from Anhui province migrated to Hangzhou with their families after accumulating wealth. However, during that time, government regulations prohibited children without household registration from enrolling in Hangzhou Fu Xue 府学 (Government-run educational institutions in Hangzhou) to study, let alone participating in the *xiangshi* 乡试 (Township Examination). Despite their family wealth, the offspring of Anhui salt merchants were unable to pursue official careers due to household registration issues. Therefore, in order to mollify the Zhejiang merchants, who “mostly hailing from their ancestral home along the Xin’an River” 多藉新安,²⁵⁰ Ye Yongsheng 叶永盛 (1580 *jinshi*), a *xunyan yushi* 巡盐御史 (Salt Censor) born in Jing 泾 county (which is also located in Anhui province), petitioned the court to provide salt merchants with separate trading registration equivalent to household registration. Additionally, he established Chongwen Academy and personally instructed the children of salt merchants so that they could study nearby and take imperial examinations.²⁵¹

According to historical records, the Chongwen Academy was situated in the southern region of Qixia Hill 栖霞岭, adjacent to West Lake. Perhaps due to insufficient building space for centralized teaching, Ye Yongsheng devised a method whereby students could attend classes on their boats in West Lake, which became known as *fangke*. At that time, most Hui merchants in Hangzhou possessed boats for business or personal use owing to the fact that “Xin’an River and West Lake are contiguous sections of the same river” 新安、武林一水相原委者.²⁵² Therefore, Ye Yongsheng instructed his students to gather by boat on the west side of Kuahong Bridge 跨虹桥 on West Lake and provided them with test questions. Subsequently, the boats dispersed and the pupils composed and responded to inquiries within their respective boats. Upon completion of the allotted time, a signal was sounded to convene once more, at which point each submission was collected for personal evaluation by the instructor.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Wangtong 王同, “Kangxi jiunian chongxiu Ziyang Chongwen Shuyuan beiji” 康熙九年重修紫阳崇文书院碑记, in *Hangzhou san shuyuan jilue* 杭州三书院纪略, vol. 2, in Zhao Suosheng 赵所生 and Xue Zhengxing 薛正兴, ed., *Zhongguo lidai shuyuan zhi* 中国历代书院志, vol. 9 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 29-30.

²⁵¹ See *ibid.*

²⁵² Xu Xuling 徐旭龄, “Congwen huilu xu” 崇文会录序, in *Ziyang Chongwen huilu* 紫阳崇文会录, preface, see Wang Qingyuan 汪庆元, “Huixue yanjiu yaoji xulu” 徽学研究要籍叙录, in *Huixue* 徽学, vol. 2, comp. Anhui daxue huixue yanjiu zhongxin 安徽大学徽学研究中心 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2002), 359.

²⁵³ See Gong Jiajun 龚嘉隽, ed. Li He 李榕, comp. *Hangzhoufu zhi* 杭州府志, vol.16, 6a, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu - Huazhong difang*, vol. 199 (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1974, reprinted based on the 1922 edition), 475: 崇文书院, 在钱塘栖霞岭之阳, 明万历中建。旧为吏部尚书张瀚别业, 明巡盐御史叶永盛视鹺之余, 集内商子弟于西湖跨虹桥

Using small boats as mobile classrooms was a practical solution for conducting exams. By utilizing the vast water surface of West Lake, the lack of space in academy buildings could be compensated for. Additionally, cheating would be minimized due to the dispersed nature of the boats. Although initially a response to limited land-based construction space, the practice of using boats on West Lake for classes not only reflects the cultural symbol of “Shuhua Chuan,” but also imbues its process with a strong sense of ritual, earning high praise from literati and gradually evolving into a literary event known as *fanghui* 舫会 (boat gatherings), which centered around boat gatherings that attracts numerous participants.²⁵⁴

For the literati mentioned above who possessed their own “Shuhua-Chuan,” gathering on boats to appreciate each other’s collections of calligraphy and paintings was itself an activity of boat gathering. Naturally, they were not students and there was no need for them to submit test papers. If they gathered on the lake by boat, they would not be bound by prescribed days or methods. In their leisure time, accompanied by friends and companions, they could each embark on a boat, convene for a while or disperse for a while, chant or sing. With the mobility of boats on water, they could discover a way that made it seem as though everyone lived in close proximity to one another and relished articles and philosophical discussions together.²⁵⁵

It is evident from the popularity of West Lake *fangke* and boat gatherings that, in contrast to stationary studios on land, the boat space exhibits a distinct characteristic of flexible mobility. Moreover, this mobility is not merely limited to physical movement or the ability to disperse and gather at will, but rather embodies an unrestrained free spirit.

Zhuangzi 庄子 (Zhuang Zhou 庄周, 369-286 BCE) employed the metaphor of a boat without constraints, *buxi zhi zhou* 不系之舟, to illustrate the freedom from material desires in a life of “escaping the world”: “Those who are skillful labor but wise worry, while those who are incompetent seek nothing. They are epicureans and voyagers in boundless expanse, unfettered like a drifting vessel without boundaries or destinations” 巧者劳而智者忧，无能者无所求，饱食而遨游，泛若不系之舟，虚而遨游者也。²⁵⁶ The image of an unbridled boat has thus become a familiar emblem of the spirit of freedom for subsequent generations of

西，授以题，命各舫中属文，舫皆散去。少焉，画角一声，群舫毕集，各以文进，面定甲乙，名曰舫课。

²⁵⁴ Wangtong, “Shunzhi jian chongding Chongwen huigui huiwen zhi yue” 顺治间重订崇文会规会文之约, in *Hangzhou san shuyuan jilue* 杭州三书院纪略, vol. 2, in Zhao Suosheng and Xue Zhengxing, ed., *Zhongguo lidai shuyuan zhi*, vol. 9, 32.

²⁵⁵ See Wen Qixiang 闻启祥, “Xihu Dachuan qi” 西湖打船启, in *HZWXJC*, vol. 3, *Wulin Zhanggu congbian*, vol. 3, 777: ……便可人主一舟，忽焉云合，忽焉鸟散，于焉寤叹，于焉歌咏望衡对宇之欢，赏文析义之乐，不在陆而在水，不在屋而在舟，岂非稀有胜事哉。

²⁵⁶ Zhuang Zhou, “Lie yu kou” 列御寇, see, Chen Guying 陈鼓应, translated and annotated, *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 庄子今注今译 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 305.

literati. Simultaneously, it has popularized the activity of boating, *fanzhou* 泛舟 (the word is derived from the phrase “**F**an ruo buxi zhi **z**hou” 泛若不系之舟), as a favored pastime among literati.

The character *fan* 泛 of *fanzhou* connotes “drifting on water,” signifying aimless wandering of a boat. The absence of clear direction and fixed perspective precisely unveils the aesthetic or exploratory opportunities that nature inadvertently presents, without being overlooked.

When traveling by carriage or horse, it is imperative to carefully assess the feasibility of reaching the next city or post station each night. Neglecting this crucial step may compromise both safety and quality of accommodation. Furthermore, strict adherence to designated routes is paramount as deviating from them could lead to getting lost or encountering hazardous terrain and wildlife. Therefore, successful carriage and horse travel requires a strong sense of purpose and meticulous planning. Boating, however, is not subject to such constraints. The boat’s versatility for rest and sleep allows for greater flexibility in travel time. With most waterways available for sailing or brief docking, boating is rarely restricted by predetermined routes of travel, and adding stops along the way poses little inconvenience. Additionally, equipping the boat with musicians and performers enriches entertainment activities during the journey. All of these factors contribute to a more relaxed and focused journey experience that prioritizes the process over the destination.

The freedom provided by boat travel is not limited by utilitarian concerns, a benefit highly valued by the literati as Yuan Zhongdao explained to his uncle Gong Jingting when listing the advantages of such travel:

The primary aim of long-distance travel is to evade the pressures of fame and wealth, rendering water transportation a more expedient option. The optimal approach for traversing waterways involves procuring a personal vessel and stocking it with provisions, thereby enabling unrestricted travel regardless of distance or velocity. Upon encountering beautiful scenery and meeting good friends, one can savor a prolonged stay, relishing the pleasure of lingering and wandering without being rushed by boatmen.

远游原不为名利事所迫，不若从水为便。然水道又不若自买一舟，载糗粮其上，不论迟速远近，庶几遇好山水，好友朋，可以久淹其间，极登涉盘桓之趣，不为长年辈所促。²⁵⁷

Chen Jiru 陈继儒 (1558-1639) also documented in his “Yanqi youshi” 岩栖幽事 (Mountain Trivia) that he possessed a “Shuhua Chuan.” Similar to the “Fumei Jian,” this boat was adorned with “red railings and green curtains” 朱栏碧幄.²⁵⁸ Like the “Mijia Chuan,” it

²⁵⁷ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 2.

²⁵⁸ Chen Jiru, “Yanqi youshi,” in *Qingyan xiaopin jinghua* 清言小品菁华, comp. Qing Wanglong 秦望龙 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2013), 125.

housed “paintings, history books and bronze wares” 图史鼎彝.²⁵⁹ For him, the advantage of traveling on this boat is:

With the favorable wind conditions and easily accessible waterways, when visiting old acquaintances and receiving an invitation to stay, one may opt for a brief evening of conversation or an extended ten-day indulgence in inebriation. When encountering the magnificent scenery, or the secluded abodes of monks and hermits, whether shrouded in bamboo and trees or veiled by grass and flowers, one may approach in a calm manner while maintaining an undisturbed attire and grooming.

风利道便，移访故人，有见留者，不妨一夜话、十日饮。遇佳山水处，或高僧野人之庐，竹树蒙茸，草花映带，幅巾杖履，相对夷然。²⁶⁰

The literati’s reluctance to conform to a specific purpose or preference for arbitrary pleasure is rooted in their admiration of the *minshi* 名士 (celebrated scholar with a free and unruly character) of Wei 魏 and Jin dynasties (220-420). During that time, according to the records in the *Shishuo xinyu* 世说新语 (A New Account of Tales of the World), Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (338-386) took his enjoyment of boating to an extreme level:

When Wang Huizhi resided in Shanyin 山阴 county, heavy snowfall occurred during the night. Upon awakening, he opened his window and instructed his servant to serve wine. The entire view was blanketed in white. He then ambled leisurely while reciting Zuo Si’s 左思 (250-305) “Zhaoyin shi” 招隐诗 (Poems of Inviting Recluses), when suddenly he was reminded of Dai Andao 戴安道 (Dai Kui 戴逵, zi Andao, 326-396). At that moment, Dai was situated in Shan 剡 county (located upstream along the Cao’e 曹娥 River. Therefore, Wang Huizhi embarked on an overnight boat journey to reach him. After arriving at Dai Kui’s house the next morning, he turned back without meeting him. When asked why he did so, he replied: “I arrive with exuberance and depart with contentment. Why must I encounter Dai?”

王子猷居山阴，夜大雪，眠觉，开室命酌酒，四望皎然。因起彷徨，咏左思《招隐诗》。忽忆戴安道。时戴在剡，即便夜乘小舟就之。经宿方至，造门不前而返。人问其故，王曰：“吾本乘兴而行，兴尽而返，何必见戴？”²⁶¹

In general, the three primary spatial characteristics of narrowness, isolation, and mobility constitute the material foundation of “Shuhua Chuan” as a floating study or even

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Liu Yiqing 刘义庆, *Shishuo xinyu* 世说新语, vol. 5, 56b. See *SKQSHY*.

academy. Furthermore, as evidenced by previous cases, in specific activity scenes, these spatial characteristics are not mutually exclusive but often interwoven. The literati's preference for the narrowness of the boat's interior space obviates the need to pursue a larger form, thereby enhancing its mobility. The mobility of a boat enables the literati to arrange their study rooms on lakes and rivers, blending in with the beautiful natural surroundings, thereby facilitating isolation from the secular world.²⁶²

Under the influence of the cultural symbol of “Shuhua Chuan,” the image of the boat and study became intertwined, facilitating a mutual integration of spatial characteristics between structures atop the boat and studies. As another prototype, “Shuhua Chuan” contributed to a more comprehensive concept of boat-architecture, particularly when it was integrated with the “Huafang Zhai” prototype. This will be further elaborated in subsequent sections from two pertinent and even “intertextual” perspectives: the *fang* architectures in literati's private gardens and the pleasure boats (*huafang*) on water referred to as floating gardens.

1.3 *Fang* in Literati's Private Gardens: The Application and Development of the Two Prototypes

As a result of Ouyang Xiu's symbolic representation of “Huafang Zhai,” this type of boat-architecture has been widely regarded as a cultural symbol for “entering/escaping the world.” Consequently, with the introduction of the cultural symbol “Shuhua Chuan,” an increasing number of literati have gradually adopted this innovative architectural style in their gardens. The emulation of boats through architecture in literati gardens has been repeatedly employed and refined over time.

Besides “Huafang Zhai” and “Fang Zhai,” the *Yongle dadian* 永乐大典 (The Yongle Canon) of the Ming dynasty showcases numerous names of *zhai* 斋 (a leisure studio or study room) related to boats.²⁶³ In the Jiangnan gardens of the Qing dynasty, this type of architecture was commonly constructed and gradually evolved into a mature garden architectural paradigm known as *shifang* or *hanchuan*; they are collectively referred to as *fang* architectures (see I.1).

This section primarily delves into the construction of *fang* architectures in private gardens by literati, with a particular emphasis on the application and evolution of two boat-architecture prototypes since the Northern Song dynasty. Given the extensive scholarly attention devoted to existing *fang* architectures in Qing gardens,²⁶⁴ this section will concentrate

²⁶² This would be further demonstrated in 1.4.

²⁶³ Other names include: Chuan Zhai 船斋, Qiufang Zhai 秋舫斋, Jiufang Zhai 旧舫斋, Anfang Zhai 安舫斋, Ting Zhai 艇斋, Yanting Zhai 烟艇斋, Hang Zhai 航斋, Ling Zhai 舫斋, Xuzhou Zhai 虚舟斋, Xueyezhou Zhai 雪夜舟斋, Shanxuezhou Zhai 剡雪舟斋, Xuepeng Zhai 雪蓬斋, Ding Zhai 碇斋 and Yi Zhai 舫斋. See Xie Jin 解缙, ed., *Yongle dadian* 永乐大典, new collated edition, vol. 3 (Beijing: Dazhong wenyi chubanshe, 2009), 1004, 1007-15, 1017, 1022. (The *Yongle dadian* will henceforth be referred to as *YLDD*.)

²⁶⁴ See the literature review in Introduction.

on presenting cases that have received comparatively less coverage.

Additionally, it is worth noting that this section exclusively focuses on the architectural design that imitates a boat. Yet it must not be overlooked that there is the other aspect of boat-architecture – the architectural space on a boat. Therefore, special attention will be paid to the influence of literati’s experience and perceptions of boat spaces on their construction activities in private gardens, particularly when exploring the intersections between these two prototypes.

1.3.1 Entering/escaping the World: The Spread and Development of Huafang Zhai’s Cultural Symbol in Song Dynasty Literati Gardens

This type of architecture has garnered the attention of contemporary scholars due to its distinctive boat-shaped appearance and profound cultural significance. In current scholarship, many have observed a correlation between boat-inspired architecture and Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai, with the latter being regarded as its architectural prototype. However, the majority of research on boat-shaped garden buildings has focused solely on existing structures found in Ming and Qing gardens, neglecting to trace their origins back to the Northern Song dynasty during Ouyang Xiu’s lifetime and to follow their evolution through to the Ming and Qing dynasties.

To gain a deeper understanding of how Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai, along with its symbolic representation of “entering/escaping the world,” was transmitted to future generations, it is necessary to bridge this gap. Through the examination of historical documents, particularly in the study of Song dynasty records, we can observe how later generations’ boat-shaped garden buildings not only echoed Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai, but also further reinforced its symbolic significance while inheriting it.

When discussing the *fang* built under the influence of Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai, it is necessary to mention a specific category separately – the “Huafang Zhai” or “Fang Zhai,” which were located near the prefecture or county government offices (see Table 1.3.1-1). The construction of this type persisted from the Song dynasty through to the Ming and Qing dynasties, representing a direct continuation of Ouyang Xiu’s original Huafang Zhai. The structure not only inherited the intention to mimic a boat, but also replicated its relative position with the official office during initial construction: situated near the county government, in proximity to the official hall or within the county garden. Thus, it demonstrated that the builders had inherited – or at least claimed to have adopted – Ouyang Xiu’s cultural legacy, from his attitudes towards “entering/ escaping” society to his diligence and care for local people.

Table 1.3.1-1

time	location	builder	name	source
1068-1077, 1089 annexed	Fuzhou city, Fujian province 福建省福州市	Lin Ji 林积 (1021-1091)	Fang Zhai 舫斋 Yi Ge 舫阁	<i>Chunxi sanshin zhi</i>

				淳熙三山志 ²⁶⁵
ca. 1098	Deqing county, Zhejiang province 浙江省德清县	Maobang 毛滂 (1056-1124)	Huafang Zhai 画舫斋	<i>Wukang xian zhi</i> 武康县志 ²⁶⁶
1120	Fuzhou city, Fujian province	/	Fang Zhai 舫斋	<i>Chunxi sanshin zhi</i> ²⁶⁷
1182	Lishui county, Zhejiang province 浙江省丽水县	Wang Xiaoyan 王孝严 ^严 (1172 <i>jinshi</i>)	Fang Zhai 舫斋	<i>Chuzhou fu zhi</i> 处州府志 ²⁶⁸
1190-1194	Yangzhou city, Jiangsu province 江苏省扬州市	/	Fang Zhai 舫斋	<i>Yizhen zhi</i> 仪真志 ²⁶⁹
1221 ca.	Luzhou city, Sichuan province 四川省泸州市	/	Chuan Zhai 船斋	<i>Jiangyang pu</i> 江阳谱 ²⁷⁰
1224-1225	He county, Anhui province 安徽省和县	/	Fang Zhai 舫斋	<i>Yudi jisheng</i> 舆地纪胜 ²⁷¹
Yuan dynasty	Fang county, Hubei province 湖北省房县	/	Fang Zhai 舫斋	<i>Yuan Yitong zhi</i> 元·一统志 ²⁷²
Ming dynasty	Xiangtan county, Hunan province 湖南省湘潭县	/	Guifan/Ruoji 归帆/若济	<i>Xiangtan zhi</i> 湘潭志 ²⁷³
Qing dynasty	Beijing city 北京	叶氏 Ye Family	Huafang Zhai 画舫斋	<i>Ge Tao Ge Yun shiji</i> 戈涛戈浚诗集 ²⁷⁴

²⁶⁵ See Liang Kejia 梁克家, *Sanshanzhi* 三山志, comp. Fuzhoushi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 福州市地方志编纂委员会 (Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe, 2000), vol. 7, 69: 堂之西庑有舫斋, 元祐四年, 林中散积作舫阁其上。

²⁶⁶ See *YLDD*, 1011: 画舫斋在武康县圃西池中, 毛滂为斋, 名画舫。

²⁶⁷ See Liang Kejia, *Sanshanzhi*, 109: 宣和二年, 创便坐厅事之旁曰静轩、曰舫斋、曰阳春亭、曰飞舄堂。

²⁶⁸ See *YLDD*, 1008: 舫斋在旧推官厅, 宋淳熙九年, 推官王孝严建……。

²⁶⁹ See *ibid.*: 舫斋在真州郡治, 颇深广。

²⁷⁰ See *ibid.*, 1007: 船斋, 在厅后, 深五楹, 斋外两傍各置栏槛通往来。栏外植竹, 竹外各为书室, 翼之翠稍掩冉, 窗扉互映, 悠闲可爱。

²⁷¹ See *ibid.*, 1008: 在和州设厅之后。

²⁷² See *ibid.*: 舫斋在襄阳府, 房州 (湖北房县) 治, 今废。

²⁷³ See *ibid.*: 舫斋在湘潭县。舫斋旧名“归帆”, 在县圃花间, 今孙嗣庆谓置非其所, 殆若罔水行舟, 乃徙之东池, 与清风阁通冠, 以新名曰“若济”, 取“若济巨川”义。

²⁷⁴ Ge Yun 戈浚, “Huafang Zhai shi wei juting Ye guancha fu” 画舫斋诗为居停叶观察赋, in *Ge Tao Ge Yun shiji* 戈涛戈浚诗集, comp. Liu Qingsong 刘青松 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2017), 93: ……作斋名画舫, 式自欧阳传。面面开绮窗, 如泛平流

In addition to this particular category, the construction activities of literati/officials in their private gardens during the Song dynasty played a significant role in consolidating and disseminating “Huafang Zhai” as a cultural symbol. The relationships, connections, and shared life experiences among these builders are crucial for understanding their lineage to the construction activities of *fang* architectures. Therefore, it is imperative to contextualize these cases within historical frameworks to conduct a comprehensive analysis.

Among them, an earlier example is Ding Zhai 疇齋 built by Zhang Shunmin 张舜民 (1065 *jinshi*) in the Northern Song dynasty. Zhang Shunmin was bold in remonstrating. This was a perfect precondition for his promotion by Emperor Huizong to the position of *you jianyi daifu* 右谏议大夫 (the senior chief of the Remonstrance Bureau). During the beginning seven days of his tenure, he had already submitted 60 remonstrations. However, he was later convicted on framed charges of alleged involvement in the *Yuanyou dangzheng* 元祐党争 (the party strife in Yuanyou 元祐 period) and subsequently punished.²⁷⁵ He once paid visits to Ouyang Xiu, Sima Guang and other renowned literati officials in the capital. While most of them imparted poetry and articles to him, only Ouyang Xiu frequently instructed him on government affairs. When questioned, Ouyang Xiu emphasized the significance of official affairs, highlighting that literature can merely bring personal recognition while political matters have the potential to impact others and events. Ouyang Xiu cited his own experience of investigating old cases that were unjust, false and wrong during his demotion to Yiling as a cautionary tale for the official (see 1.1.1), emphasizing the importance of diligence in handling political affairs. The mention of it in a letter to a friend serves as evidence of Zhang Shunmin's profound appreciation for the teachings of Ouyang Xiu.²⁷⁶

Meanwhile, Zhang Shunmin also befriended the Su Shi and Su Zhe brothers, who were students of Ouyang Xiu. In Volume 7-8 of his book *Huaman ji* 画墁集, titled “Chen xing lu” 郴行录 (The Travel Diary of Chenzhou City), he documented his experience of traveling with Su Shi on a boat in Wuchang 武昌 during the fifth year of Yuanfeng 元丰 period (1082).

船。掩映碧玻璃，曲曲朱栏穿。前与家塾邻，后与厅事联。退朝闻履声，倚闾情宁牵。宵窗闻诵声，快若瓶泻泉。既慰颐养志，自齐松乔年。……

²⁷⁵ See Tuotuo, *Songshi*, vol. 347, 13a: 擢右谏议大夫，居职才七日，所上事已六十章。……坐元祐党，谪楚州团练副使……。 See *SKQSHY*.

²⁷⁶ See Hong Mai 洪迈, “Zhang Fuxiu shu” 张浮休书, in *Rongzhai suibi* 容斋随笔, vol. 4, 1a-b: 顷游京师，求谒先达之门，每听欧阳文忠公、司马温公、王荆公之论，于行义文史为多，唯欧阳公多谈吏事。既久之，不免有请：“大凡学者之见先生，莫不以道德文章为欲闻者，今先生多教人以吏事，所未谕也。”公曰：“不然。吾子皆时才，异日临事，当自知之。大抵文学止于润身，政事可以及物。吾昔贬官夷陵，方壮年，未厌学，欲求《史》、《汉》一观，公私无有也。无以遣日，因取架阁陈年公案，反覆观之，见其枉直乖错不可胜数，以无为有，以枉为直，违法徇情，灭亲害义，无所不有。且夷陵荒远褊小，尚如此，天下固可知也。当时仰天誓心曰：‘自尔遇事不敢忽也。’”是时苏明允父子亦在焉，尝闻此语。 See *SKQS*.

The style of “Chen xing lu” pays homage to Ouyang Xiu’s *Yu yi zhi*.²⁷⁷ Given Zhang Shunmin’s exposure to and admiration for Ouyang Xiu’s teachings, it is evident that he devoted considerable attention to the latter’s works, including “Huafang Zhai ji,” as well as the construction of Huafang Zhai. Zhang Shunmin named his building *Ding zhai* due to its resemblance to *zhou zhi xia ding* 舟之下碇 (a boat moored on the shore, while the character *ding* 碇 refers to the rock that sinks to the bottom for stabilizing the hull when mooring).²⁷⁸ The influence of Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai can be observed in this building due to its similar appearance and nomenclature. Zhang Shunmin held a great appreciation for this building, as evidenced by the inclusion of two poems referencing Ding Zhai in his *Huaman ji*,²⁷⁹ and even adopting the moniker of Dingzhai for himself.²⁸⁰

Zhao Ding 赵鼎 (1085-1147), who served as prime minister twice but died on a hunger strike due to persecution by Qin Hui 秦桧 (1090-1155), once wrote a poem for Zhang Shunmin’s Ding Zhai, in which he said: “If one knows how to temporarily retreat in the face of rapids, even flood dragons and alligators can only covet with anger but cannot harm him” 但向急流能暂止，从他蛟鳄怒垂涎。²⁸¹ The influence of Ouyang Xiu’s term *jiaotuo* 蛟鼉 (flood dragons and alligators)²⁸² in the “Huafang Zhai ji” can be easily observed in his word choice of *jiao’e* 蛟鳄 (flood dragons and alligators), which also suggests that Zhang Shunmin and his friends shared a mutual understanding of using Ding Zhai as a continuation of Ouyang Xiu’s practice in constructing Huafang Zhai.

Similar to Zhao Ding, Li Gang 李纲 (1083-1140), a former prime minister during the Southern and Northern Song dynasties, was also persecuted by Qin Hui due to his unwavering resistance against the Jurchen invasion of the Jin dynasty. In his private garden, Liangxi Ju 梁溪居 (The Abode by the Liangxi River), he constructed a Fang Zhai between the third to fifth year of the Xuanhe 宣和 period (1121-1123).

Li Gang’s Fang Zhai was one of the main buildings in this garden, and the poems inscribed upon it were documented in the “Liangxi bayong” 梁溪八咏 (Eight Poems of Liangxi)

²⁷⁷ See *SKQSTY*, 3995: 其《郴行录》乃谪盐酒税时纪行之书，体例颇与欧阳修《于役志》相似。

²⁷⁸ Zhao Ding 赵鼎, “Ding Zhai” 碇斋, in *Zhongzhengdewen ji* 忠正德文集, vol. 6, 6b: 河上张芸叟命名，如舟之下碇也。See *SKQS*.

²⁷⁹ According to the sequence of poems in the collection, it can be inferred that these two poems were composed prior to Su Shi’s elegy (1101), indicating that Ding Zhai was likely constructed before 1101. See Zhang Shunmin, “Dongxing bie Ding Zhai” 东行别碇斋, “Ding Zhai duhuai xiongdi” 碇斋独怀兄弟, in *Huaman ji*, vol. 2, 1b; and “Su Zizhan aici” 苏子瞻哀辞, in vol. 2, 6a. See *SKQS*.

²⁸⁰ See *SKQSTY*, 3589: 舜民字芸叟，自号浮休居士，又号碇斋……。

²⁸¹ Zhao Ding, “Ding Zhai,” in *Zhongzhengdewen ji* 忠正德文集, vol. 6, 7a: 长波浩渺拍青山，细雨蓬窗一觉眠。但向急流能暂止，从他蛟鳄怒垂涎。See *SKQS*.

²⁸² Ouyang Xiu, “Huafang zhai ji,” 271.

by him. As with most gardens, the poem “Fang Zhai” in the “Liangxi bayong” embodies the designer’s philosophy on life and self-awareness through this building. However, what sets this particular chanting “Fang Zhai” apart is that it was actually Li Gang’s earlier work, written during his first demotion to Sha 沙 county, Fujian province between 1119 and 1120. Li Gang’s original concept for building Liangxi Ju also stemmed from this demotion.

Directly quoting the old piece as a poem representing a scene in his private garden demonstrates that Li Gang’s intention in building the latter was precisely aligned with his mood when he composed the former. While it would be inaccurate to consider Li Gang’s Fang Zhai a mere replica of the boat-shaped building he visited in Sha county, it is evident that he recognized and reproduced its symbolic essence. Fortunately, this Fang Zhai in Sha county had obtained poems written by several literati in Li Gang’s social circle at that time, which enables us to observe the symbolic comprehension and expression of a boat-shaped building through the lens of different intellectuals.

Li Gang commenced his official career in the second year of the Zhenghe 政和 period (1112). Three years later, he was appointed as the *jiancha yushi* 监察御史 (Investigating Censor) and also served as the *dianzhong shiyushi* 殿中侍御史 (Attendant Censor in the Palace). However, due to his criticism of the imperial government’s negligence, he was dismissed and subsequently reassigned to the *bibu yuanwailang* 比部员外郎 (the vice director of the Ministry of Justice), and then to *qijulang* 起居郎 (the official in charge of recording the emperor’s words and deeds and in his daily life). In the first year of the Xuanhe period (1119), during the capital’s flooding, Li Gang observed that the reason for the dilapidation of water conservancy projects in and around the capital was due to “years of hasty government affairs handled by the imperial court. The escort guards were thinly spread out for selective inspections across various regions, while the imperial reserves were depleted during transportation back and forth” 比年以来，玩习苟简，护卫之卒，散于抽查，备御之储，耗于转易。²⁸³ This incensed Emperor Huizong, who was attempting to maintain a facade of peace and prosperity by appointing the treacherous officials to oversee the construction of Genyue 艮岳, a lavish imperial garden project that spanned from 1117 to 1122. Consequently, Li Gang was demoted to censor the taxation of Sha county in Nanjianzhou 南剑州 (present-day Nanping 南平 city in northern Fujian province).²⁸⁴

At the conclusion of the Xuanhe period’s inaugural year (1119), Li Gang arrived in Sha county and remained there until October of the ensuing year (1120). During his stay, he developed a close friendship with Chen Guan 陈瓘 (1057-1124), a celebrated local scholar, as well as his family. Like Li Gang, Chen Guan’s forthright and meticulous advice also made him incongruous with the court during that time. In addition, in February of his second year residing there, Li Gang made the acquaintance of Deng Su 邓肃 (1091-1132), who returned to his hometown during *dingyou* 丁忧 (the mourning period after the parent died). Deng Su used to

²⁸³ Li Gang, “Lunshui bianyi liushi zouzhuang” 论水便宜六事奏状, in *Liangxi ji* 梁溪集, vol. 40, 6b. See *SKQS*.

²⁸⁴ See Bai Xiaoxia 白晓霞, *Nansong chunian mingxiang yanjiu* 南宋初年名相研究 (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 12.

be a student at the Tai Xue 太学 (the Imperial College) in the capital Bianjing during Emperor Huizong's reign. In 1119, the same year as Li Gang's demotion, he authored the "Huashi shi shiyizhang bing xu" 花石诗十一章并序 (The Eleven Poems and the Preface on the *Huashi*) to deride sycophants who profited from court favor by actively participating in the *huashi gang* 花石纲 (transporting flowers and stones for imperial garden projects). Consequently, he was expelled from Tai Xue. Out of the recognition for Deng Su's political stance and the appreciation for his literary talent and demeanor, Li Gang developed a close friendship with him, despite being much senior in age.²⁸⁵ They frequently socialized together, indulging in poetry and wine.

Several months later, in the early autumn, Li Gang and Deng Su paid a visit to Fang Zhai, which was built by Chen Gongxu 陈公叙, another member of the Chen family.²⁸⁶ They both left their respective poems there. Among them were two poems written by Li Gang, one of which was exactly the inscription of Fang Zhai that he later reused in his Liangxi Ju:

[The Fang Zhai] resembles a painted pleasure boat moored by the river, open on all four sides. The verdant windows allow for breezes to waft in and out. I have recently come to comprehend the essence of *xuzhou* 虚舟, which holds great significance in navigating the tumultuous waters of [officialdom's] rivers and lakes.

画舫临流四面通，绿窗面面有清风。年来始会虚舟意，正在江湖波浪中。²⁸⁷

In his poem, he referred to this building as a *huafang*, mentioned its location by the river and its interface form with windows on all sides, and conveys his attitude towards official disturbance through an allusion to Zhuangzi's *xuzhou* (empty boat).²⁸⁸ Considering that he

²⁸⁵ See Li Gang, "Shu Deng Nanfu jiwen hou" 书邓南夫祭文后, in *Liangxi ji*, vol. 162, 5a: 予来沙阳时，南夫已死，不及识。识其子肃，俊美而力学。 See *SKQS*.

²⁸⁶ The title of Chen Yuan's 陈渊 poem, "Ti Gongxu shu Fang Zhai" 题公叙叔舫斋 referred to Chen Gongxu as Chen Yuan's uncle. See Chen Yuan, *Motang ji* 默堂集, vol. 5, 8a-b, in *SKQS*. Meanwhile, the title of Chen Guan's poem, "Jiti Zhenglun zhi Fang Zhai" 寄题正伦侄舫斋 referred to Chen Gongxu as Chen Guan's nephew. See *YLDD*, 1011. Therefore, it can be inferred that Chen Gongxu belonged to the middle generation between Chen Guan and Chen Yuan in the Chen family.

²⁸⁷ Li Gang, the second one of "Ti Cheng Gongxu Fang Zhai" 题陈公叙舫斋, see *YLDD*, 1009; and "Fang Zhai" 舫斋, in *Liangxi ji*, vol. 21, 10a. See *SKQS*.

²⁸⁸ The term *xuzhou* metaphorically refers to an unmanned boat drifting aimlessly. Consequently, even when it collides with another vessel, regardless of the irritable disposition of the latter's owner, no anger will arise. See Zhuang Zhou, *Zhuangzi*, vol. 7, 15b-16a: 方舟而济於河，有虚船来触舟，虽有偏心之人不怒。有一人在其上，则呼张歛之；一呼而不闻，再呼而不闻，於是三呼邪，则必以恶声随之。向也不怒而今也怒，向也虚而今也实。人能虚己以游世，其孰能害之。 See *SKQSHY*. For better understanding, the brief translation is also given here: "When a boat is crossing a river and suddenly collides with an

conceived the idea of constructing Liangxi Ju as a retreat during this period, it can be inferred that his poems conveyed his disillusionment with the imperial court and yearning for seclusion from society.

Chen Guan, who experienced the bitterness of life throughout his career, also noted in his poem that this building was named “Huafang,” expressing a similar sentiment to Li Gang’s desire for seclusion. He asserted that leading a solitary life should not be used as a pretext for indolence, and the pursuit of comfort could be equally as lethal as ingesting poison. Nevertheless, he harbored doubts regarding the feasibility of taking action. The numerous sincere admonitions had no positive impact on the country, but instead exacerbated the already bitter turmoil in his official career. Since “[...] it is not yet possible to ‘escape from the world by sailing at sea’ [as Confucius once suggested], the only thing to do was ‘drinking wines in a painted pleasure boat’ to relieve the sorrow [as described in Ouyang Xiu’s poem]. If one sincerely wishes to benefit the world, seeking advice from Mariner Vaira²⁸⁹ [in the *Avatamsaka Sutra*] may be necessary” ……未便乘桴去，惟同载酒过。济川如有意，南去问施罗。²⁹⁰

By contrast, while Deng Su, the young and energetic friend of Li Gang, suffered a setback when he was expelled from Tai Xue, he still maintained a positive attitude towards “entering the world” in his poetry. He wrote that despite the enchanting scenery of Fang Zhai, if “everyone were to solely pursue leisurely pleasures, there would be no one left to provide assistance to those in distress.” 纷纷逐末流，谁援沉迷苦，²⁹¹ advising Li Gang that “Our enterprise is to benefit the world; hence, we should never contemplate seeking refuge in the Five Lakes” 吾事在济川，慎勿五湖去。²⁹²

After leaving Sha county, Li Gang constructed the Liangxi Ju and inscribed his own Fang Zhai with the poem he composed with Deng Su. Perhaps he disregarded Deng Su’s counsel, or more likely, he internalized it and used the reenactment of their collaborative poetry as a commemoration. Regardless, we know that in the first year of Jingkang 靖康 period (1126), when confronted with Jin soldiers’ invasion of the capital city, Li Gang shouldered the weighty

empty vessel, even the most narrow-minded individual would not be provoked to anger. However, if there is a person aboard the approaching boat, those on the other boat will immediately shout for it to change course. Shouting twice without response, when they call out for the third time, their frustration will definitely erupt into a barrage of vicious insults. In the previous scenario, the ill-tempered individual had managed to maintain their composure because there is no one controlling the empty boat; however, in the latter situation, people will be filled with rage and righteous indignation as they perceive that someone should take charge of the latter boat. If one can perceive environmental elements as mere illusions and navigate through life unintentionally and freely, what could possibly harm them?”

²⁸⁹ For more information on Mariner Vaira, see “39. Entry into the Realm of Reality,” in Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Boston & London: Shambhala Publications, Inc, 1993), 1260-1263.

²⁹⁰ Chen Guan, “Jiti Zhenglun zhi Fang Zhai,” see *YLDD*, 1011.

²⁹¹ Deng Su, “Fang Zhai” 舫斋, in *Binglü ji* 拼榈集, vol.10, 3a-b. See *SKQS*.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 3b.

responsibility – holding positions as both the *binbu shilang* 兵部侍郎 (the vice director of the Ministry of War) and the *shangshu youcheng* 尚书右丞 (the senior councilor of the Department of State Affairs) – successfully repelling the Jin army’s attack. He also did not forget Deng Su and recommended him to the court as an official.

After the Song court fled south, Li Gang was appointed the Prime Minister by Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (Zhao Gou 赵构, 1107-1187, r. 1127-1162) in the first year of the Jianyan 建炎 period (1127). He strongly advocated for a Northern Expedition to reclaim the Central Plains from Jin. However, he was dismissed after only 75 days due to false accusations made by the capitulators. Deng Su was also deposed to Suzhou for redressing the injustice of Li Gang and passed away five years later.

Zhang Yuangan 张元干 (1091-1161), born in the same year as Deng Su, served as another official under Li Gang’s command during the defense of the capital in the first year of Jingkan. He used to be a valiant warrior who resolutely fought against the Jin and suffered persecution from Qin Hui and other traitorous officials. In his youth, he composed numerous passionate poems to inspire resistance against Jin, celebrate victory, and condemn treacherous bureaucrats. Perhaps due to his disillusionment with the Southern Song court, he constructed a Fang Zhai in his later years and composed a poem:

There are tumultuous ups and downs in the world every day. What can one do but be an unmoored *xuzhou*? I have relinquished my once noble aspirations for societal betterment, instead followed the footsteps of my reclusive forebears.

人间日日有风波，不系虚舟奈若何。袖取平生济川手，行藏终与祖同科。²⁹³

Zhang Yuangan’s first two sentences paid homage to the Fang Zhai poems penned by Li Gang, his former superior and comrade-in-arms, while the latter two express his helplessness and inability to contribute to the country, stating that he ultimately followed in Zhang Zhihe’s 张志和 (732-774) footsteps and withdrew from secular society.²⁹⁴

Despite the overwhelmingly negative tone of the poem, this building was bestowed with the name “Yuhuang Zhai” 舫舡斋, evocative of the ancient majestic warship *Yuhuang* 舫舡 and perhaps emblematic of the final stand of a patriotic literatus.

²⁹³ Zhang Yuangan, “Yuhuang Zhai,” in *Luchuan guilai ji* 芦川归来集, vol. 4, 8a. See *SKQS*.

²⁹⁴ Zhang Zhihe was a recluse who regarded his boat as a *fujia fanzhai* 浮家泛宅 (floating abode and drifting residence). See Ouyang Xiu, *Tang shu* 唐书, vol. 196, 18b: 颜真卿为湖州刺史，志和来谒。真卿以舟敝漏，请更之。志和曰：“愿为浮家泛宅，往来苕霅间”。 See *SKQSHY*. For better understanding, the brief translation is also given here: “Zhang Zhihe once came to visit Yan Zhenqing, who was the prefectural governor in Huzhou. Considering that Zhang Zhihe resided in a cramped and poorly sheltered boat, Yan Zhenqing proposed to relocate him. Zhang Zhihe responded: ‘I would like to make home on the floating abode and drifting residence, travelling back and forth along the Tiao and Zha River.’”

One year following the passing of Zhang Yuangan, Emperor Xiaozong of the Song dynasty 宋孝宗 (Zhao Shen 赵昚, 1127-1194, r. 1162-1189) of the Southern Song dynasty ascended the throne and initiated the era known as *Xiaozong zhongxing* 孝宗中兴, marking the restoration of the Southern Song dynasty. Emperor Xiaozong aspired to achieve reform and proactive advancement in governance, genuinely striving to reverse the country's situation. Beginning with the rehabilitation of Yue Fei 岳飞 (1103-1142), a renowned anti-Jin general who was unjustly executed due to Qin Hui's persecution, the emperor enlisted officials who resolutely opposed aggression. During this period, the majority of patriotic literati demonstrated a proactive eagerness to "entering (and benefiting) the world" through their *fang* architectures.

For example, Cao Xun 曹勋 (1098-1174) recorded two poems in his *Songyin ji* 松隐集 (The Collection of Pine Reclusion) regarding a "Fang Zhai" and a "Hang Zhai" 航斋 constructed by his friends, the "Ti ren Fang Zhai" 题人舫斋 (A Poem on One's Studio of Boat) and "Jiti Zhu mijiao Hang Zhai shi" 寄题祝秘校航斋诗 (A Poem Sent to Zhu Mijiao on His Studio of Sailing).²⁹⁵ These two poems both exhibited an exceedingly affirmative attitude towards "entering the world" by using the allusion of *zhouji jichuan*.²⁹⁶

The poem written by Yuan Shuoyou 袁说友 (*hao* Dongtang Jushi 东塘居士, 1140-1204) in his *Dongtang ji* 东塘集 (The Collection of Dongtang) for Fang Zhai built by a General named Wang Chunfu 王醇父, also manifested a strong entrepreneurial spirit:

The general's loyalty and bravery are renowned among all families, particularly in his exceptional leadership of 100,000 soldiers from the Yangtze River Water Army. Having vowed long ago to annihilate the rebels and reclaim lost lands, it is safe to assume that he would consider "Fang Zhai" too trivial a name to embody his aspirations.

将军忠勇贯家声，独擅长江十万兵。早誓中流夸击楫，料公犹小舫斋名。²⁹⁷

However, at this stage, Hong Kuo 洪适 (1117-1184) evinced a voluntary inclination towards "escaping the world" by naming his Fang Zhai. Hong Kuo's father, Hong Hao 洪皓 (1088-1155), lived during the pivotal period marking the transition from Southern to Northern Song dynasties. Hong Hao embarked on his political career at a young age of 27. He served as an unwavering envoy to the northern territories under the Jin dynasty for 15 years, earning high praise as the "Su Wu 苏武 (140-60 BCE)²⁹⁸ of the Song dynasty." Despite his great passion

²⁹⁵ Cao Xun, "Ti ren Fang Zhai," and "Jiti Zhu mijiao Hang Zhai shi," in *Songyin ji*, vol.12, 8b-9a; and 9a-b. See *SKQS*.

²⁹⁶ Regarding the allusion of *zhouji jichuan*, see 1.1.1.

²⁹⁷ Yuan Shuoyou, "Wang Chunfu tongshuai Fang Zhai" 王醇父统帅舫斋, in *Dongtang ji* 东塘集, vol.7, 12a. See *SKQS*.

²⁹⁸ Su Wu 苏武 was an outstanding diplomat and national hero in the Western Han dynasty. In the first year of the Tianhan 天汉 period (100 BCE) under the reign of Emperor Wu of Han 汉武帝, he was sent on a mission to Huns and was detained. The nobles of the

and talents, Hong Hao never attained a significant position throughout his lifetime due to his outspoken words that offended the party groupings led by Qin Hui, resulting in repeated depositions. When he was finally recalled from the remote and impoverished Yingzhou 英州 (present-day Yingde 英德 city, Guangdong province), he had already become a tormented old man. He passed away *en route*, just one day prior to the demise of Qin Hui, never witnessing the collapse and liquidation of Qin Hui.

Hong Hao's sons²⁹⁹ were born during turbulent times but reached middle age during the Restoration of the Southern Song, which was characterized by *Qianchun zhi zhi* 乾淳之治 (Emperor Xiaozong's reign in the Qianchun 乾淳 period).³⁰⁰ Although there were some promising political and military developments, the Song government hastily pursued peace, resulting in the failure to recover their northern territory or ultimately defeat foreign enemies. Nevertheless, this brief period of peace and prosperity provided literati officials with more options.

In the 12th year of the Shaoxing period (1142), Hong Kuo and his second younger brother Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120-1174) entered the court of Emperor Gaozong. During the final decade of Qin Hui's dictatorship, Hong Kuo personally witnessed the plight of the underprivileged and the malfeasance rampant within officialdom, which instilled in him a subtle sense of skepticism towards the court. After Emperor Xiaozong ascended the throne, Hong Kuo was highly esteemed and entrusted with military and political affairs. In the second year of Longxing 隆兴 (1164), the Southern Song dynasty achieved victory over Jin troops, compelling their retreat to the north. However, due to prevailing forces within the imperial court content with maintaining status quo, plans for further northern campaigns were not implemented.

After the Jin dynasty proposed a truce as an alliance and invited the Southern Song court to send an envoy to participate in Emperor Wanyan Yong's birthday celebration, Emperor Xiaozong graciously accepted the invitation. Following in his father's footsteps, Hong Kuo was dispatched as an envoy to travel to Jin territory. Although his journey was much safer than that of his father's, he still felt heartbroken when faced with the loss of great rivers and mountains, especially upon entering the old West Capital Luoyang 洛阳 and witnessing all the discernible yet changed scenery. Thus, he employed geographical and cultural signifiers that evoked the former opulence of the Northern Song dynasty, lamenting: "Even the dust in

Huns tried to make him surrender by threats and inducements. Later, he was moved to Beihai to herd sheep, being told that he would not be released until his flock, which did not have a single ewe, produced a lamb. Su Wu went through all the hardships, staying in foreign land for 19 years, unyielding, and was not rescued until the sixth year of Shiyuan 始元 period (81 BCE) under the reign of Emperor Zhao of Han 汉昭帝.

²⁹⁹ Hong Hao had eight sons, among whom the eldest son Hong Kuo, the second son Hong Zun and the third son Hong Mai were more renowned. Together with their father, they are collectively referred to as "the Four Hong's."

³⁰⁰ The *qianchun zhi zhi* 乾淳之治 refers to the reign of Emperor Xiaozong who brought back the peace and prosperity to the Southern Song dynasty.

Chang'an sighs at the fact that these once-renowned gardens now belong to those households of dogs and sheeps" 西洛尘埃长太息，名园今属犬羊家。³⁰¹

In the first year of the Qiandao 乾道 (1165), Hong Kuo was promoted to the position of *canzhi zhengshi* 参知政事 (the executive official participant in determining governmental matters). He was then further elevated to *tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中书门下平章事 (the jointly manager of affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery) while concurrently serving as *shumi shi* 枢密使 (the commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs). In effect, he assumed the significant position of Prime Minister. However, his experiences convinced him that the fate of the dynasty appeared irreversibly sealed. He had in mind his father's stories, carried with him his own encounters with corrupt officials during his time as a local official, and finally realized the court's weakness when he served as an envoy to Jin. All of these factors contributed to his realization that the decline of the Southern Song dynasty was all but inevitable. He served as prime minister only for three months. Afterwards, he returned to his hometown of Boyang 波阳 county in Jiangxi 江西 province in the second year. He chose a plot of land approximately 500 meters north of the city to construct Pan Zhou 盘洲 (the Isle of Lingering), a garden intended for his retirement. He never resumed official duties thereafter.

According to the "Pan Zhou ji" 盘洲记 (The Record of Pan Zhou) written in 1172 during the Qiandao period, this garden was in a ravine flanked by Zhi Hill 芝岭 to the east and Niushou 牛首 Mountain to the west.³⁰² The presence of two streams within this ravine gave its main building the name Shuangxi Tang 双溪堂 (the Hall of Two Streams). When Hong Kuo erected a *fang* architecture behind Shuangxi Tang and named it Yi Zhai 舣斋 (the Moored Boat Studio), he intended to evoke the allusion of *hezhou* 壑舟 (hiding the boat in a ravine)³⁰³ from *Zhuangzi*.

Hong Kuo once wrote "Pan Zhou zayong" 盘洲杂咏 (the Miscellaneous Poems on Pan Zhou) to capture the beauty of this garden, and his poem on Yi Zhai expressed a desire to emulate Zhang Zhihe's experience of living in a "floating residence" as a means of "escaping

³⁰¹ Hong Kuo, "Liang Zizheng youshi xie mudan ji juxianhua ci qi yun" 梁子正有诗谢牡丹及聚仙花次其韵, in *Quan Songshi* 全宋诗, comp. Beijing daxue guwenxian yanjiusuo 北京大学古文献研究所 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), 23475.

³⁰² Hong Kuo, "Pan Zhou ji," in *Pan Zhou wenji* 盘州文集, vol. 32, 9b: ……东偏，堂曰“双溪”。波间一壑，于藏舟为宜，作舣斋于檐后. See *SKQSHY*.

³⁰³ This allusion functions as a metaphorical representation of the imperative nature of embracing and honoring the principle of perpetual transformation. See Zhuang Zhou, *Zhuangzi*, vol. 3, 7a-b: 夫藏舟於壑，藏山於泽，谓之固矣。然而夜半有力者负之而走，昧者不知也。藏小大有宜，犹有所遁。若夫藏天下于天下而不得所遁，是恒物之大情也. See *SKQSHY*. For better understanding, the brief translation is also given here: "When concealing the boat in a ravine and camouflaging the mountain amidst deep waters, it can be deemed as secure. However, mighty beings could potentially relocate them during the night, leaving the unaware individuals oblivious to what transpired while they were asleep. It is prudent to conceal small objects within vast spaces; nevertheless, their eventual loss remains inevitable. Only when entrusting the world unto itself can absolute preservation be ensured; this embodies the fundamental principle governing all things."

the world”:

With the current, a floating abode can be navigated; in a ravine, a boat can be concealed.
Devoid of ropes and oars, I remain anchored here, impervious to the winds that buffet
my head.

随波堪泛宅，因壑遂藏舟。坐稳无维楫，任他风打头。³⁰⁴

Moreover, Hong Kuo also wrote two quatrains on Yi Zhai,³⁰⁵ in which he reiterated that this building imitated a solitary boat on land and extolled its picturesque environs as evocative of a virtual sojourn to San Xia 三峡 (the Three Gorges) without any danger of turmoil. Thus, he stated that as he had retired here, there was no need of taking an actual boat to wander among the Five Lakes like Fan Li.³⁰⁶

The “Ciyun xiangxiong Hang Zhai shi ershou” 次韵相兄航斋诗二首 (Two Poems Following the Same Tune for Brother’s Hang Zhai Poems) written by Hong Zun, also demonstrate his inclination towards seclusion.³⁰⁷

It is noteworthy that Hong Zun and the youngest brother Hong Mai 洪迈 (1123-1202) also constructed gardens in close proximity to the Pan Zhou of Hong Kuo, namely “Xiao Yin” 小隐 (the Little Seclusion) and “Ye chu” 野处 (the Wilderness Place). Unlike their eldest brother, they did re-enter the court as officials in their later years, despite having been demoted multiple times and after having experienced various setbacks.

Behind all these cases, it can be observed that the Song dynasty from Ouyang Xiu in the Northern Song to later Southern Song was persistently plagued by invasions of northern nomadic enemies. When Ouyang Xiu established his Huafang Zhai, the Northern Song dynasty had recently suffered three military defeats against the Tungusen Regime – the battle of Sanchuankou 三川口, Haoshuichuan 好水川 and Dingchuanzhai 定川寨, and had initiated *Qingli heyi* 庆历和议 (the Peace Talks in the Qingli Period). After exposing its military vulnerability, the Northern Song lost its ability to deter other covetous races. Among them, the

³⁰⁴ Hong Kuo, “Yi Zhai,” in *Pan Zhou wenji*, vol. 8, 4a. See *SKQSHY*.

³⁰⁵ See Hong Kuo, “Yi Zhai er jueju” 舫斋二绝句, in *ibid.*, vol. 6, 9a-b: 野色山光列画图，坐看渔子入菰蒲。恰如放鹞穿三峡，何事航家问五湖；青翰不动柳阴多，桂棹无声鸟语和。有此孤舟寄丘壑，谁能平地起风波。 See *SKQSHY*.

³⁰⁶ The allusion of Fan Li’s is to advocate for avoiding involvement in conflicts and instead seeking refuge amidst the picturesque landscapes of rivers and lakes. The term, *wuhu chuan* 五湖船, refers to the boat Fan Li utilized for drifting on the Five Lakes after his retirement. See Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, *Guo yu* 国语, annotated by Wei Zhao 韦昭, vol. 21, 11a: 范蠡辞于王……遂乘轻舟以浮于五湖，莫知其所终极。 See *SKQSHY*.

³⁰⁷ Hong Zun, “Ciyun xiangxiong Fang Zhai shi ershou” 次韵相兄舫斋诗二首, see *YLDD*, 1010: 长年三老漫良图，何用西风十幅蒲。四壁烟光长在眼，公知杖屦有江湖；浮家泛宅古无多，只有高人张志和。心似虚舟元不系，泊然聊与世同波。

Khitan, driven by their unrestrained ambition for expansion, began to display their aggressive nature and became the most pressing concern for intellectuals during the late Northern Song dynasty. Subsequently, officials of the Song dynasty were confronted with invasions from Jurchen and Mongolian forces following the transition from Northern to Southern Song. Moreover, the recurrent political turmoil of the Song dynasty and their susceptibility to foreign aggression resulted in disillusionment and suffering among patriotic officials. Those who attempted reforms or led military campaigns were frequently marginalized or even exiled for daring to criticize the government's inadequacies. This predicament prompted them to contemplate the concept of "entering/escaping the world." When they followed in the footsteps of Ouyang Xiu, a worthy role model, and consistently applied this mindset to the boat-shaped structures, the practice of constructing *fang* architecture was further symbolized and passed down to later generations.

Broadly speaking, in the records of studios intentionally designed to resemble boats, no construction predated that of Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai. Furthermore, numerous poems in later generations unambiguously suggested that this architectural style had its origins in or was influenced by Huafang Zhai in various ways.

For example, Dong Ying 董颖 (1124 *jinshi*) in the Song dynasty clearly mentioned "the outstanding building style of 'Huafang [Zhai]' was attributed to the old man of *liu yi*³⁰⁸ (Ouyang Xiu)" 画舫风流六一翁.³⁰⁹ The influence of Ouyang Xiu's "Huafang Zhai ji" is also evident in Wang Ao's 王鳌 (1450-1524) "Hezhou ji" 壑舟记 (The Record of the Hezhou Garden) during the Ming dynasty.³¹⁰ Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (Aixin-Jueluo Hongli 爱新觉罗·弘历, 1711-1799, r. 1736-1796) of the Qing dynasty once expressed in a poem: "[...]. The name of 'Huafang [Zhai]' has been handed down from ancient times to the present. I would like to imitate the style of Ouyang's studio, [...]" ……画舫名自古今。爱仿欧阳室趣…….³¹¹ Ge Yun 戈澍 (1780 *juren*) also mentioned in his poem: "Constructing a studio and naming it with the name 'Huafang [Zhai],' this practice was passed down from Ouyang [Xiu]" 作斋名画舫，式自欧阳传。³¹² The plaque "Fang Zhai laiyou xiao xishan" 舫斋籟有小溪山 in the Huafang Zhai of Yi Garden 怡园 built in Guangxu reign of the Qing dynasty, clearly borrowed

³⁰⁸ Ouyang Xiu called himself the man of "six ONES" in "Liuyi jushi zhuan" 六一居士传 (The Biography of the Man of "Six ONES"). In this article, Ouyang Xiu mentioned the "six ONES" are: ONE *wan* 万 (ten thousand) volumes of books; ONE thousand volumes of documents from the three dynasties of Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周; ONE *qin* 琴 (an instrument), ONE set of the game of *go*; ONE pot of wine; plus himself as ONE old man. See, Ouyang Xiu, "Liuyi jushi zhuan," in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, 305.

³⁰⁹ Dong Ying, "Ti Zhao Zhifu Ting Zhai" 题赵质夫艇斋, see *YLDD*, 1013.

³¹⁰ Wang Ao, "Hezhou ji," in *Zhenze ji* 震泽集, vol. 17, 9a: 昔者，吾尝泛舟涉江湖，傲然枕席之上，一日千里，固自以为适也。See *SKQSHY*.

³¹¹ Aixin-Jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai" 画舫斋, in *Yuzhi shi sanji* 御制诗三集, vol. 69, 28b. See *SKQSHY*.

³¹² Ge Yun, "Huafang Zhai shi wei juting Ye guancha fu," in *Ge Tao Ge Yun shiji*, 93.

from Huang Tingjian's poem on Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai, which reads "Fang Zhai wenyou xiao xishan" 舫斋闻有小溪山 (see, 1.1.3.2).

Though there were individuals residing in boats prior to Ouyang Xiu's construction of Huafang Zhai, we can infer that his architectural creation marked the beginning of a cultural phenomenon wherein boat-architectures were built and used as symbols of "entering/escaping the world."

It is also worth noting that while Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai served as the prototype for boat-architecture, it would be remiss to assume that literati were limited by his example when constructing *fang* architectures. In fact, Ouyang Xiu himself traced the symbolism of boat-architecture back to the pre-Qin 先秦 (the period preceding the establishment of the Qin dynasty in 221 BCE) period in his "Huafang Zhai ji," drawing inspiration from the *Yijing* and ancient hermits who sought refuge from society (See 1.1.1). Similarly, literati frequently incorporate allusions and examples predating Ouyang Xiu's time into their poems on boat-architecture, imbuing them with richer connotations.³¹³

Although the allusions still revolve around the contradiction between "entering the world" and "escaping the world," their tendencies can vary greatly. Builders and users can select from among these allusions during construction or inscription to express different attitudes towards this eternal paradox, thereby enriching the complexity and richness of ideas embodied by boat-architectures:

When faced with the harsh reality or retirement, these poets often employ allusions of "escaping the world" in their works for self-deprecation or consolation. The above-mentioned Zhang Yuangan used the term *xuzhou* as a metaphor of "escaping the world" in his poem on Yuhuang Zhai. He Huo'an 何夔庵 of the Ming dynasty used the term *haifu* 海桴 taken from Confucius's word of "drifting on a raft in the sea" (see 1.1.1). In this way he conveyed his reclusive intention when composing a poem for Qiufang Zhai – a *fang* architecture built by his friend.³¹⁴

On the contrary, when expressing a positive entrepreneurial spirit or encouraging their acquaintances, individuals tend to employ the allusions of "entering the world." As previously mentioned, Deng Su employed the term *jichuan* as a symbol of "benefiting the world" in his poem to encourage Li Gang. In another case, an individual deliberately relocated his *fang* architecture from the grassland to the pool and renamed it from "Gui Fan" 归帆 (a sailing boat on its way home) to "Ruo Ji" 若济 (about to cross a river), demonstrating a reversal of meaning from its original connotation of "escaping the world" to its new intention of "entering the world" (see Table 1.3.1-1, *Xiangtan zhi*).

The most common scenario occurs when individuals encounter a dilemma or conflict between these two opposing attitudes, resulting in more ambiguous expressions. Some may write that despite their admiration for the life of seclusion, they still feel compelled to care about important matters of the country, such as "Even during enjoying leisurely seclusion, one's

³¹³ More examples would be discussed in 1.3.3.

³¹⁴ He Huo'an, "Ti Xiaoshi Keqin Qiufang Zhai" 题萧氏克钦秋舫斋, see *YLDD*, 1012: 海桴同逸志, 垒空玩轻沔.

heart remains devoted to state affairs” 正尔沧洲趣，难忘魏阙心。³¹⁵ Conversely, some assert that despite their service in the court, they harbor a longing for the rivers and seas within their hearts – “Though serving as an official in the court, my heart remains captivated by the allure of seclusion amidst rivers” 身居魏阙之下，而心不忘乎江海之上。³¹⁶

Perhaps the most eloquent way to depict their mindset towards *fang* architecture is: they have orchestrated a multitude of cultural allusions inherited from their predecessors on an axis ranging from “entering the world” to “escaping the world,” and situated themselves in accordance with their present circumstances. The boat-architecture, derived from Ouyang Xiu’s *Huafang Zhai*, resembles a “boat” that floats flexibly along the river of the coordinate axis, with all poems and articles related to it throughout history providing different “anchor points” for this vessel. Once these new boat-architectures are produced and recorded, they also become new scales in the eyes of future generations.

1.3.2 The Confluence of *Shuhua Chuan* and *Huafang Zhai*

In addition to the influence of Ouyang Xiu’s *Huafang Zhai*, there were also some boat-architectures recorded in the literature that clearly demonstrate the influence of the “*Mijia Shuhua Chuan*.” As an element and interpretation subsequently incorporated into the “*Huafang Zhai*,” “*Mijia Shuhua Chuan*” further reinforced the correlation between boats and architectures from a different perspective – that of a “studio floating on the water.”

It is worth noting that “*Mijia Shuhua Chuan*” should be regarded as a coordinate prototype, similar to “*Huafang Zhai*,” due to its strong character and influence on the construction of *fang* architectures. It should not be considered as a subordinate connotation integrated into the cultural symbol of Ouyang Xiu’s *Huafang Zhai*. These two prototypes gradually merged in architectural expressions and together shaped the *fang* architectures in later generations.

From the discussion in 1.2, it is evident that the “*Mijia Shuhua Chuan*” symbolizes a boat containing renowned artists’ artworks. Due to its association with “calligraphy and painting collections,” this emblem has been extensively employed to name other related items such as art appreciation anthologies, calligraphers’ and painters’ stamps, among others. Under such a connection, it is not difficult to envision that certain land-based study rooms were also referred to as “*Shuhua Chuan*” or related names due to the presence of art collections.

At the turn of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, Tang Zhida 唐志大 (*zi* Bogang 伯刚) was a calligrapher renowned for his mastery of running script and an art collector who amassed numerous ancient masterpieces of calligraphy and painting in his residence.³¹⁷ The study he constructed was named “**Guanyue Xuan**” 贯月轩 (*Guanyue Pavilion*). Quite obviously the

³¹⁵ Zhu Xi, “*Chuan Zhai*” 船斋, in *Hui’an ji* 晦庵集, vol. 3, 1a. See *SKQS*.

³¹⁶ “*Xueyezhou Zhai ji*” 雪夜舟斋记, see *YLDD*, 1014.

³¹⁷ Tao Zongyi 陶宗仪, *Shushi huiyao* 书史会要, vol. 7, 16b-17a: 唐志大，字伯刚，如皋人，多蓄古法画，行草落笔峻激，略无滞思。See *SKQS*.

name can again be traced to Huang Tingjian's poem "Cangjiang jingye hong **guan yue**" 沧江静夜虹贯月 (see 1.2.1). This appellation not only extolled the worth of the owner's collection of calligraphy and paintings, but also suggested that the architectural design itself was imbued with a similar aesthetic to "Mijia Shuhua Chuan."

While the name of his study only implied its connection with "Mijia Shuhua Chuan," the poem written by his friend Zhu Jing 邾经 (around 1360) for this building explicitly expressed this relationship, stating that "The newly constructed study on Fenglin Isle resembles the 'Mijia Chuan' that is used for storing calligraphy and paintings" 新构凤麟洲上屋，恰如书画米家船.³¹⁸ Although the poem does not expressly state that the building was designed to resemble a boat, its location on an isle surrounded by water likely evoked a sense of boating on the water.

In the Qing dynasty, Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817) recorded an entry of "Taohua An" 桃花庵 (Peach Blossom Temple) in volume 2 of *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 (The Record of Boating in Yangzhou):

Monk Shizhuang 石庄 received painting instruction from the renowned Zha Erzhan 查二瞻, and his circle of acquaintances consists solely of esteemed art masters. However, he does not possess a talent for calligraphy; thus, all inscriptions adorning his paintings are penned by his illustrious calligrapher friends. As a result, the monk's humble abode has been transformed into a "Shuhua Fang."

石庄（和尚）画以查二瞻为师，所与交皆名家，惟不善作书，故凡题识皆所交书家代作，于是僧窝而为书画舫矣。³¹⁹

It is evident that Li Dou referred to the shed of Monk Shizhuang in Taohua An as a "Shuhua Chuan" due to its collection of renowned artworks including the monk's own paintings and his friends' calligraphic inscriptions.

In his account of Pan Shi'en's 潘世恩 (1770-1854) new residence in Lindun Li 临顿里, Suzhou, Shi Yunyu 石韞玉 (1756-1837) noted that: "[Pan Shi'en] constructed a waterside building to store famous calligraphy and paintings inside, naming it 'Yanbo Huachuan' 烟波画船 (Painted Boat on Smoky Waves)" 枕水作屋，中贮法书名画，曰：“烟波画船”。³²⁰ Likewise, Shi Shijie 施士洁 (1856-1922) once wrote a poem, which said: "The small three-rafter hut stores ten thousands of books, and thus earning the name 'Mijia Chuan'" 小屋三椽

³¹⁸ Zhu Jing, "Ti Tang Bogang Guanyue Xuan" 题唐伯刚贯月轩, in Mu Ang 沐昂, *Canghai yizhu* 沧海遗珠, vol. 1, 3a. See *SKQS*.

³¹⁹ Li Dou, *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录, annotated by Zhou Chundong 周春东 (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2001), 44-45.

³²⁰ Shi Yunyu, "Lindun xinju tu ji" 临顿新居图记, in *Suzhou yuanlin lidai wenchao* 苏州园林历代文钞, comp. Yi Xueling 衣学领, annotated by Wang Juju 王稼句 (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2008), 97.

书万轴，此中合署米家船。³²¹

These records indicate that a building on land, regardless of whether it imitates a boat or not, can establish a connection with the cultural symbols of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” as long as it shelters a rich collection of artworks and books. This connection further rationalized the intentions or motives for imitating a boat in designing study rooms in gardens, serving as the most direct bridge for transmitting the cultural symbol of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” from real boats to *fang* architectures.

Another type of practice driving this transition was carried out by literati who owned calligraphy and painting boats and were accustomed to living on boats. Not only did they endeavor to construct gardens in the city that recreate mountainous and forested environments, but they also strived to build boat-shaped structures within these gardens to evoke the pleasure of boating in nature.

Gu Ying (see 1.2.1), who owned a “Yushan Shuhua Chuan” 玉山书画船, bequeathed his wealth to his sons or sons-in-law after reaching 40 years of age and turned to the pursuit of literature and art. He constructed a garden located in the western countryside of Kunshan city.

Since the eighth year of the Zhizheng period (1348), he initiated the expansion of his residence, “Yushan Caotang” 玉山草堂 (the Thatched Hall of the Jade Mountain), and completed the project two years later (1350), incorporating over 30 new scenic spots. He also hosted the “Yushan Yaji” 玉山雅集 (the elegant gathering of the Jade Mountain) here, invited talented celebrities for banquets and poetries.³²² Among these landscapes, the design concept of a building named “Shuhua Fang” was evidently inspired by the idea of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” and the personal experience gained from his “Yushan Shuhua Chuan.”

Besides serving as a study room for collecting calligraphy and paintings, this building also functioned as a venue for Gu Ying and his companions to convene for banquets. Upon the establishment of the Shuhua Fang, he commissioned his friend Yang Weizhen 杨维桢 (1296-1370) to compose the “Shuhua Fang ji” 书画舫记 (The Record of the Shuhua Fang). The opening lines of the essay read:

The recluse Gu Ying resides by the Lou 娄 River, where he diverts its waters into his western garden and named it “Taohua Xi” (The Peach Blossom Stream). Adjacent to the stream lies a pavilion upheld by four pillars, each standing at a height of less than 1.8 meters. The ceilings are constructed from bamboo splits, while the floors consist of wooden boards. The side windows resemble those found on boats and can be opened

³²¹ Shi Shijie, “Qishan Tingtao Lou he zhuren Lin Xingyuan yun” 旗山听涛楼和主人林惺园韵, in *Housukan heji* 后苏龛合集, see Chen Qingyuan 陈庆元 and Xiao Qingwei 萧庆伟, eds., *Taiwan guji congbian* 台湾古籍丛编, vol. 10 (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2017), 52.

³²² The gatherings and poetry were recorded in detail in Gu Ying’s *Yushan mingsheng ji* 玉山名胜集. See SKQSTY, 5151: 其所居池馆之盛，甲於东南，一时胜流，多从之游宴，因哀其诗文为此集，各以地名为纲……每一地各先载其题额之人，次载瑛所自作春题，而以序记、诗词之类各分系其后。元季知名之士，列其间者十之八九。

like wings. When guests recline or sit within, envisioning themselves adrift with the waves, they perceive this pavilion as a boat in motion guided by a tether. Once, while intoxicated, I played the iron flute and the guests sang songs of the “Small Sea.” This scene was no different than that which occurs aboard a boat. Inside, there is nothing but instruments, stationery, and an abundance of exquisite calligraphy and paintings. Therefore, he named it “Shuhua Fang” after Mi Fu’s “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” and entrusted me with the task of recording it.

隐君顾仲瑛氏居娄江之上，引娄之水入其居之西小墅，为桃花溪。厕水之亭四楹，高不踰墙仞，上篷下板，旁棂翼然似舰窗，客坐卧其中，梦与波动荡，若有缆而走者。予尝醉吹铁笛，其所客和小海之歌，不异扣舷者之为。中无他长物，唯琴瑟笔砚，多者书与画耳。遂以米芾氏所名书画舫命之，而请志于余。

323

During that time, many literati guests of Gu Ying composed poems for the “Shuhua Fang,” which also clearly conveyed its relationship with Mi Fu’s “Shuhua Chuan” and its emulation of a boat’s interior space.³²⁴

Coincidentally, Yang Weizhen himself constructed a building similar to Gu Ying’s “Shuhua Fang,” known as the “Shuhuachuan Ting” 书画船亭 (the Pavillion of Shuhua Chuan). Zheng Yuanyou 郑元祐 (1292-1364), who frequently visited Gu Ying’s Yushan Yaji, composed a poem for it.³²⁵ Although it cannot be confirmed which came first, Yang Weizhen’s “Shuhua Chuan Ting” or Gu Ying’s “Shuhua Fang,” it can be concluded that by the latest in the Yuan dynasty, the concept of “Shuhua Chuan” had evolved from its original reference to real boats on water into a form of waterside leisure architecture that was widely known among literati through famous gatherings hosted by Gu Ying and Yang Weizhen.

Bei Qiong 贝琼 (1312-1379) was a student of poetry under Yang Weizhen and, like his teacher, also constructed a *fang* architecture. However, unlike his teacher’s “Shuhua Chuan Ting,” Bei Qiong named it “Anhang Zhai” 安航斋 (the Study of Safe Sailing). Xu Youren 许有壬 (1286-1364) wrote a poem on it, which clearly expressed the meaning of “entering/escaping the world.”³²⁶ When the concept of “Shuhua Chuan” was introduced as an

³²³ Yang Weizhen, “Shuhua Fang ji,” in *Yushan mingsheng ji*, vol. 7, 1a-2b. See *SKQS*.

³²⁴ See *Yushan mingsheng ji*, vol. 7, 2b-14a.

³²⁵ Zheng Yuanyou, “Yang Tiewa xinju Shuhuachuan Ting” 杨铁崖新居书画船亭, in *Qiaowu ji* 侨吴集, vol. 5, 14a: 草玄心苦思如何? 舣岸舟轻不动波。听雨夜篷烧烛短, 截云湘竹喷愁多。赋成犹梦横江鹤, 书罢应笼泛渚鹅。想见后堂凉月白, 彭宣肠断雪儿歌。 See *SKQS*.

³²⁶ The poem not only wrote about Bei Qiong’s retirement, but also wrote that his descendants, if capable, could still contribute to the betterment of society and pursue a successful career. See Xu Youren, “Anhang Zhai,” in *Zhizhengji* 至正集, vol. 7, 12a-b: 清江老人休休, 宴息作屋才如舟。人间论险莫逾水, 剗剗有藉安浮游。等閒覆溺政不少, 有家幸免斯何求。乃知平地足波浪, 大厦汎汎犹轻沬。争如容膝一斋小, 泰宇凝

architectural form within the esteemed literati circle of that era, its integration with the familiar concept of “Huafang Zhai” was evidently a natural progression.

After the Ming dynasty was established, Gu Ying was exiled from his hometown. He passed away in Fengyang 凤阳, Anhui province during the second year of Hongwu 洪武 (1369). In that same year, Song Xi 宋僖, another disciple of Yang Weizhen, was summoned to Beijing to compile the *Yuan shi* 元史 (the History of the Yuan dynasty) and later participated in compiling the *Yongle dadian*. In the *Yongle Dadian*, he recorded numerous names literati gave to their study rooms, including abundant names related to boats. Among them was the “Xuepeng Zhai” 雪蓬斋 (the Study of the Snowy Boat) belonging to his friend Chen Yuanzhao 陈元昭. According to the descriptions, “The room’s walls and ceiling are painted in a pristine white hue. When the windows are open, it illuminates like freshly fallen snow and feels as spacious as a boat deck. [...] The room is adorned with nothing but a solitary table, an exquisite *qin*, some elegant stationery, a handful of books and landscape paintings” 室之上覆与其四旁皆施素焉，启牖以观，皖然若雪，而虚然若舟。……室中无他物，几榻琴砚书册山水图在焉。³²⁷ It has been documented that “Yuanzhao exhibited indifference towards fame and wealth, instead favoring the art of landscape painting” 元昭性澹泊，好画山水。³²⁸ Xuepeng Zhai’s architectural form, as the study room of Chen Yuanzhao, a landscape painter, exquisitely embodies the essence of “Shuhua Chuan.”

In the transition of dynasties, though the exquisite gathering at Jade Mountain has dissipated like a gust of wind, the cultural symbol of “Shuhua Chuan” persisted among literati and gradually evolved into another prototype for the *fang* architectures in gardens alongside Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai.

Moreover, there is one exceptional case that merits special mention: the Shuhua Chuan created by Mi Wanzhong of the Ming dynasty. Believing himself to be a descendant of Mi Fu, Mi Wanzhong’s interpretation of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” holds unique significance for its communication and development, warranting specific discussion.

Mi Wanzhong was so enamored with Mi Fu’s “Shuhua Chuan” that he acquired several boats of his own, which he also named “Shuhua Chuan.” As a man who shared the same surname as “Mi,” it is self-evident that Mi Wanzhong’s “Shuhua Chuan” represented the “authentic” inheritance of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan.” More coincidentally, akin to Mi Fu, Mi Wanzhong was also proficient in calligraphy and painting. Furthermore, as the principles of landscaping were comparable to those of landscape paintings during the Ming dynasty, he became a skilled landscaper as well. He built three famous gardens in Beijing, namely “Man Garden” 漫园 (the earliest one whose exact construction time remains uncertain), “Zhan Garden” 湛园 (25th year of Wanli, 1597), and “Shao Garden” 勺园 (40th-42nd year of Wanli,

寂天光收。百年居险能脱险，人海一叶随沉浮。弦歌宛在水中沚，竹树不减沧江秋。舟居无水陆无屋，一笑千载同悠悠。若孙肯构恢万斛，欲事康济攻藏脩。健帆风顺更勉力，直须击楫穷瀛洲。 See *SKQS*.

³²⁷ Song Xi, “Xuepeng Zhai ji” 雪蓬斋记, in *Yong’an ji* 庸庵集, see *YLDD*, 1004.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

1612-1614).³²⁹ Due to their distinctive features and innovative designs, these three gardens became a paradigm for the garden design of northern literati. As a result, they were given the moniker “Mijia Yuan” 米家园 (the Garden of Mi Family),³³⁰ following the same nomenclature as “Mijia Chuan.”

Among them, Zhan Garden, situated near the West Chang’an Gate and in close proximity to the Imperial City West Garden, boasted 18 picturesque sceneries, with “Shuhua Chuan” being one of them.³³¹ On the other hand, Shao Garden was located in Haidian 海淀 outside the capital city and renowned for its countryside waterscapes. Not only did it prioritize its relationship with water during construction but also arranged boating routes within the garden and featured a small vessel named “Hai Fu” 海桴. Same as the aforementioned poem by He Huo’an (see 1.3.1), this name was again derived from Confucius’s words. In addition to this real boat, there are two boat-shaped buildings within the premises: “Ding Fang” 定舫 (The Boat of Tranquility) and “Taiyi Ye” 太乙叶 (The Lotus Leaf Boat of Taiyi the Immortal).³³²

While residing in Zhan Garden, Mi Wanzhong once yearned for the idyllic countryside scenery of Shao Garden. However, as it was located outside the city, it proved inconvenient to visit daily. Consequently, he captured his memories of Shao Garden’s picturesque landscape on silk canvases for regular appreciation. To imbue these sceneries with a more vivid or distinctive aura, he transformed his paintings into lanterns,³³³ and then suspended them beneath the eaves of Shuhua Chuan.³³⁴ He then organized a lantern viewing event with friends on the

³²⁹ See Hu Guangjun 胡广俊, “Mi Wanzhong (1570-1628) de Shao Yuan: Tongguo shijue yu wenzi ziyuan zaixian yichu wanming jingguan” 米万钟 (1570-1628) 的勺园: 通过视觉与文字资源再现一处晚明景观, in *Haiwai sanshan wuyuan yanjiu yicong: Qingdai huangjia yuanlin shiliao huibian* 海外三山五园研究译丛: 清代皇家园林史料汇编, vol. 1, ed. Kan Hongliu 阚红柳 (Beijing: Shoudu shifan daxue chubanshe, 2015), 364-365.

³³⁰ See Jiang Yikui 蒋一葵, *Chang’an kehua* 长安客话 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2018), 70.

³³¹ See Sun Guomi 孙国敕, *Yandu youlan zhi* 燕都游览志, cited in Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*, vol. 44, 1b-2a: 湛园即米仲诏先生宅之左, 先生自叙曰: 岁丁酉, 居长安之苑西, 为园曰湛, 有石丈斋、石林、仙籁馆、茶寮、书画船、绣佛居、竹渚、敲云亭. See *SKQS*.

³³² See *ibid.*, cited in Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*, vol. 79, 21a: ……折而北为文水陂, 跨水有斋曰定舫。……其右为曲廊, 有屋如舫, 曰太乙叶, 周遭皆白莲花也. See *SKQS*.

³³³ See Jiang Yikui, *Chang’an kehua*, 70: 仲诏复念园在郊关, 不能日涉, 因绘园景为灯, 丘壑亭台, 纤悉具备.

³³⁴ It can be evidenced by Lü Bangyao’s 吕邦耀 poem, “Zhi zi yun Mijia deng” 纸字韵米家灯, see Zhang Baozhang 张宝章, *Haidian wenshi: Jingxi mingyuan jisheng* 海淀文史: 京西名园记盛, ed. Peng Xingye 彭兴业 (Beijing: Kaiming chubanshe, 2009), 101: ……野色移来书画舫, 家筵却像风波里…….

night of the Lantern Festival. It is conceivable that in the darkness, as people peered out from a boat-shaped building's windows, only the lanterns and paintings outside were visible. With some imagination, it might truly have felt like traveling through scenic countryside landscapes at Shao Garden.

Since Mi Wanzhong's garden design was inspired by his landscape painting technique, his picturesque garden can be regarded as a "landscape painting." The Shuhua Chuan in his garden not only embodied the tradition of storing calligraphy and paintings on a boat, which was inherited from his ancestor Mi Fu, but also coincided with the boat often depicted as a staffage in landscape paintings. Therefore, it had become a multi-layered metaphorical symbol. Reproducing garden sceneries through paintings and transforming them into lanterns hung under the eaves of a boat-shaped building created an installation of spectacle that cleverly resurrected the sightseeing experience on a vivid level.

Mi Wanzhong's design blurs the boundary between the painted scenery and the actual landscape, while simultaneously dissolving the distinction between a boat and an architectural structure. As the roles of painter, gardener, lantern maker converged in Mi Wanzhong, a descendant of Mi Fu, his art creations – paintings, lanterns, *fang* architectures, and gardens all gained the "Mijia" prefix. Through this lantern installation, Mi Wanzhong synthesized his diverse art forms into a dreamlike ambiance.

One of the attendees, Lü Bangyao 吕邦耀 (1601 *jinshi*) composed two impromptu poems, which are partly recorded in *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao* 钦定日下旧闻考:

The Shangyuan Village is depicted on the silks, with double candles casting a resplendent reflection of the lush sceneries. In a state of trance, it feels as if one is journeying through the majestic mountains and serene lakes. The Mi Family's lanterns are [the representation of] the Mi Family's gardens.

玉绡叠出上元村，双炬悬来景物繁。恍惚重游丘壑里，米家灯是米家园。³³⁵

The light boat glides through the frigid night, its path unobstructed by ice. The undulating waves cast a shimmering reflection upon the silk, imbuing the lanterns with an ethereal glow akin to that of the moon. The painted sceneries evoke a sense of *déjà vu*, as if from a dream. The Mi Family's gardens are [reproduced on] the Mi Family's lanterns.

轻舟寒夜渡无冰，波入银绡讶月升。宛如梦中曾一照，米家园是米家灯。³³⁶

It can be inferred from these two poems that Mi Wanzhong's design intention was well understood by the audience, and the aesthetic resonance was effectively evoked in their shared

³³⁵ Lü Bangyao, "Mijia deng shi Mijia yuan" 米家灯是米家园, cited in Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*, vol. 79, 20b. See *SKQS*.

³³⁶ Lü Bangyao, "Mijia yuan shi Mijia deng" 米家园是米家灯, cited in *ibid*.

cultural background. Subsequently, it was said that Lü Bangyao again “effortlessly composed a hundred metrical verses inspired by Mi’s lanterns, which quickly became popular throughout Chang’an City” 赋米氏灯律诗一百首，俄顷而就，长安传诵。³³⁷ Afterwards, “the citizens of the capital were taken aback and lavished praise upon the ‘Mijia Deng’ (Mi Family’s Lantern)” 都人士又诧为奇，啧啧称“米家灯”。³³⁸

This kind of lanterns, adorned with landscape paintings, enjoyed widespread popularity until the Qing dynasty.³³⁹ It is evident that Chinese literati shared a collective passion for this kind of ambiguous, installation-like natural projection transformed by human subjective consciousness. The *fang* architectures in the gardens imitating “Shuhua Chuan” clearly catered to such an aesthetic taste.

As a conclusion, Mi Fu’s “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” as yet another prototype of boat-shaped buildings, was integrated with Ouyang Xiu’s “Huafang Zhai” no later than the Yuan dynasty. These two prototypes gave rise to a unique paradigm, *fang*, which were extensively constructed in Ming and Qing dynasties gardens. The literary works produced by literati, such as poems and prose, further facilitated the dissemination and replication of boat-architecture as a cultural symbol, ultimately distinguishing this type of architecture from other garden structures like pavilions and halls.

As this cultural symbol gained popularity, literati began adopting the character *fang* as their names and titles. Notable examples include Chen Feng 陈丰 (1110-1165) of the Song dynasty who went by “Fangzhai” 舫斋, Zhan Yizhi 詹仪之 (1123-1189) who adopted the name “Xuzhou” 虚舟 (Empty Boat), and Xu Fang 徐舫 (1290-1366) of the Ming dynasty. Such naming conventions became even more widespread during the Qing dynasty. One of the most renowned examples is Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709), who named himself after his building “Yu Fang” 馥舫 (the Boat of the Feast) in his private garden, “Pu Shu Ting” 曝书亭 (the Pavilion of Basking the Books). The biographies of officials recorded in the *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (Draft History of Qing) also feature names related to “Fang,” including those of Manchu officials.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Sun Chengze 孙承泽, *Tianfu guangji* 天府广记 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1984), 474.

³³⁸ See Jiang Yikui, *Chang’an kehua*, 70.

³³⁹ For examples, see Shen Yi 沈毅, Luo Ziming 罗子明, and Lin Gang 林刚, *Chuanbo jujiao jingji yanjiu: Shichang, yunzuo, lishi* 传播聚焦经济研究——市场·运作·历史 (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2005), 367.

³⁴⁰ See Zhao Erxun 赵尔巽, comp., *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (Beiyang zhengfu Qing shi guan, 1912), vol. 358, 2b: 祖之望 (1754-1813), 字舫斋; vol. 360, 4b: 朱方增 (d. 1830), 字虹舫……; vol. 367, 7a: (严)正基 (1785-1863), ……字山舫……; vol. 369, 7a: 穆彰阿 (1782-1856), 字鹤舫, 郭佳氏……; vol. 427, 4b: 赵光 (1797-1865), 字蓉舫……; vol. 438, 5b: 陈澍 (1832-1896), 字舫仙……; vol. 484, 11b: 刘衡 (1776-1841), 字廉

This phenomenon exemplifies the transcendent nature of boat-architecture as a symbol, surpassing the confines of both architecture and boats, thus leaving an indelible imprint on traditional Chinese culture.

1.3.3 The Expansion of Symbolic Significance of *Fang*

In addition to the confluence of “Huafang Zhai” and “Shuhua Chuan,” it is important to note that during the continuous reproduction and dissemination of *fang* architecture in gardens, literati often added new content. As previously discussed in 1.1 and 1.2, Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai in Hua county later served to exemplify local officials’ governance and promote education within the region. Similarly, the practice of “Mijia Shuhua Chuan” was associated with concepts such as *xiaoshi* and *buxi zhi zhou*.

Although the later added cultural significances mostly surpass the original symbolic meanings of the two prototypes, they still served as anchor points and bridges among these complex symbolisms. When Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai established the boat-shaped buildings in the garden as a cultural symbol and merged them with the real boats that embodied the concept of Mijia Shuhua Chuan, a highly inclusive vessel for multiple cultural connotations was formed through the dynamic interplay between “boat” and “architecture.” It is evident that the vast boat culture and water culture inherently imbue this container with a multitude of cultural connotations, resulting in its contents being exceptionally rich and intricate..

We can perceive this symbolic expansion from a typical perspective, namely the correlation between *fang* architectures and education or scholarship, which is further enriched by the cultural connotation associated with “boat”.

Judging from the fact that Huafang Zhai was transformed into an academy building complex in later dynasties (see 1.1.3), and Mijia Shuhua Chuan evolved into a study boat or even a Boat Class (see 1.2.3), it is evident that boat-architecture has established an inseparable connection with education. In the Ming dynasty, Zhang Dai even categorically placed “Huafang Zhai” under the entry of “Shuyuan” 书院 (the Academy) in his book *Ye Hangchuan* 夜航船 (Night Sailing Boat): “Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty 唐玄宗 (Li Longji 李隆基, 685-762, r. 172-756) built the ‘Shuyuan’ 书院 (the Academy). Liu Shu 刘淑 in the Later Han dynasty (947-950) built the ‘Jingshe’ 精舍 (the Teaching Room); Yin Zhongcan 殷仲堪 (d. 399) built the ‘Dushu Zhai’ 读书斋 (the Study of Reading); Ouyang Xiuyan built a leisure residence which featured interconnected rooms with doors, named ‘Huafang Zhai’” 唐玄宗制书院。后汉刘淑制精舍。殷仲堪制读书斋。欧阳修燕居，始为户室相通，名画舫斋。³⁴¹

It is indisputable that Zhang Dai’s categorization was influenced by the transformation of Huafang Zhai into Ouyang Academy in Hua county during the Ming dynasty. This influence is also evident in other instances, such as Guo Songtao’s 郭嵩焘 (1818-1891) diary entry

舫……; vol. 491, 16a: 斌良 (1771-1847), ……号梅舫, 瓜尔佳氏……; vol. 501, 17b: 文海 (d. 1899), 字云舫…….

³⁴¹ Zhang Dai, *Yehang chuan*, collated and annotated by Liu Yaolin 刘耀林 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987), 459.

documenting the eight scenic spots within the Academy Office of Jinan 济南 city, Shandong province, encompassing not only the “Chuan Fang” 船房 (Boat House), but also the “Qiusheng Guan” 秋声馆 (Pavilion of the Sound of Autumn).³⁴² These two buildings evinced a direct correlation with the Ouyang Academy in Hua county, situated within the same province.

However, we must also acknowledge that the association of *fang* architecture with “learning” predated the Ouyang Academy in the Ming dynasty. For instance, *Ji’an zhi* 吉安志 (The Record of Ji’an City) documents a “Ting Zhai” 艇斋 (Boat Studio) located at the rear of the “Lepan Tang” 乐泮堂 (the Hall of Enjoying the Academy), which was formerly used as a residence for officials in the Prefectural Academy. This “Ting Zhai,” apparently a *fang* architecture, was built in the second year of Dagan 大观 period (1108) by Wang Yu 王瑀, who held an acting position in local education.³⁴³

Combined with other documents and cases, it can be inferred that the correlation between *fang* architectures and “learning” may stem from the gradual assimilation of the connotation of *xuehai zhi zhou* 学海之舟 (the boat sailing on the sea of learning), which originated from boat culture. The term *xuehai zhi zhou* originated from a poem by Han Yu in the Tang dynasty: “Shushan you lu qin wei jing, **Xuehai** wu ya ku zuo **zhou**” 书山有路勤为径，学海无涯苦作舟 (Diligence is the path to the mountain of knowledge while painstaking effort is the boat to navigate through the boundless sea of learning).

Ninghai zhi 宁海志 (The Record of Ninghai County) documented that “‘Fang Zhai’ was located in Ninghai county, to the north of ‘Dushu Jing’ 读书径 (Path of Acquiring Knowledge)” 舫斋在宁海县，读书径北。³⁴⁴ The juxtaposition of “Fang Zhai” with “Dushu Jing” obviously alluded to Han Yu’s poem. The same applies to the *fang* architecture recorded in the *Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi* 景定严州续志 (Sequel to the Record of Yanzhou in Jingding Period (1260-1264), which stated: “The country government office was located west of the county market, with its main hall flanked by the ‘Dushu Lin’ 读书林 (Forest of Acquiring Knowledge) on the left and ‘Xuzhou Zhai’ 虚舟斋 (Studio of the Empty Boat) on the right” 县衙在县市西，其公厅之左为读书林，右为虚舟斋。³⁴⁵

Moreover, during the Yuan dynasty, Zhang Yu composed a poem about a riverside building known as “Xue Zhou” 学舟 (the Boat of Learning):

The residence of the bearded Cui 崔 was situated upstream along the local river, and the building adjacent to its banks was named “the Boat of Learning.” This term does

³⁴² See Guo Songtao, *Guo Songtao quanji* 郭嵩焘全集, ed. Liangxiaojin 梁小进 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2018), 251-252: 学院署亦有八景: ……一“船房”, 一“秋声馆”.

³⁴³ See *YLDD*, 1013: 艇斋在旧州学直舍乐泮堂之后, 大观二年掇教官王瑀立, 有记, 今废.

³⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, 1008.

³⁴⁵ Fang Renrong 方仁荣 and Zheng Bao 郑宝, *Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi* 景定严州续志, vol. 7, 2b. See *SKQS*.

not connote a retreat from society by means of seafaring on a raft, but rather signifies an oath to benefit one's country.

How can this objective be attained amidst the prevailing turmoil in the secular realm? Those who ride in the high carriage with four horses ought to be more apprehensive [about the state affairs]. Since you have already been entrenched in officialdom, why do you still yearn for the dreams of reclusion?

髯崔家寓市河头，斋馆临河题学舟。不为乘桴浮大海，应期击楫誓中流。
风波浮世何能济？驷马高车更有忧。何事外郎居骑省，却将魂梦记沧洲？³⁴⁶

The poem embodied the integration of the concepts of “the Boat of Learning” and “Huafang Zhai,” as evidenced by its title (“Xuezhou”) and content related to “entering/escaping the world.”

Another factor that may contribute to the association between *fang* architecture and education/scholarship is the construction and recitation of boat-shaped buildings (particularly those found in Academies) by prominent *lixue* 理学 (the Neo-Confucian) proponents, such as Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), Zhang Shi 张栻 (1133-1180) and Zhan Yizhi.

Throughout the Southern Song dynasty, warfare persisted, political decay ensued, and the official educational system gradually deteriorated. Consequently, private academies emerged and thrived, nearly supplanting government schools as the primary educational institutions of that era.³⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Neo-Confucianism rose to prominence and its development became closely intertwined with private academy education through mutual support and influence.³⁴⁸ Many Neo-Confucian scholars established their own academies or served as lecturers in existing ones, frequently communicating with each other and delivering lectures at various locations.

In the 31st year of Shaoxing period (1161), Zhang Shi relocated to Tanzhou 潭州 (now Changsha 长沙 city, Hunan province) with his father and established the “Chengnan Shuyuan” 城南书院 (Chengnan Academy) at the foot of the Miaogao Mountain 妙高峰 outside the south gate of the city. Additionally, in the first year of Qiandao period (1165), he was appointed as a principal lecturer at “Yuelu Academy” 岳麓书院 (Yuelu Academy). Two years later, Zhu Xi paid a visit to Tanzhou, where he and Zhang Shi engaged in discussions and delivered lectures at the Yuelu and Chengnan Academy, attracting an endless stream of audiences. During their leisure time, they also indulged in poetry composition. It is evident from their literary works that during that period, there existed a “Chuan Zhai” within the premises of Chengnan

³⁴⁶ Zhang Yu, “Xuezhou wei Cui jianjiao fu” 学舟为崔检校赋, in *Kexian laoren ji*, vol. 4, 42a. See *SKQS*.

³⁴⁷ See Guo Qijia 郭齐家, *Zhongguo jiaoyu shi* 中国教育史, vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015), 317-318.

³⁴⁸ Fan Lizhou 范立舟, *Nansong quanshi 7: Sixiang, wenhua, keji he shehui shenghuojingyan* 南宋全史 7: 思想、文化、科技和社会生活经验, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), 22.

Academy.³⁴⁹

In the 5th year of Qiandao period (1169), Zhang Shi was appointed as governor of Yanzhou 严州 (now Jiande 建德 city, Zhejiang province). Lü Zuqian 吕祖谦 (1137-1181), one of the *dongnan sanxian* 东南三贤 (Three Sages of the Southeast) along with Zhang Shi and Zhu Xi, served as a professor of the State School. At that time, Zhan Yizhi was unemployed and engaging in daily discussions with Zhang and Lü for the purpose of learning, ultimately forging a strong friendship with them.³⁵⁰ Zhan Yizhi also erected a *fang* architecture within the “Yingzhou Shuyuan” 瀛洲书院 (Yingzhou Academy), established by Zhan Family’s forefathers. Zhang Shi named this building “Xu Zhou” (Empty Boat, *xuzhou*) due to its open and elongated features.³⁵¹ One day, Zhan Yizhi said to Zhang Shi: “The allusion of *xuzhou* in *Zhuangzi* pertains to the concept of ‘escaping the world,’ which is not what I intend to convey. The divinatory symbol of *zhongfu* 中孚³⁵² in the *Yijing* states: ‘It is favorable for crossing a great river, akin to riding on a hollow boat.’ This is what I wish to express” 漆园之说遁而离，吾无取焉耳。在《易》之《中孚》，“利涉大川，乘木舟虚”。将于是焉体之。³⁵³ Zhang Shi recognized Zhan Yizhi’s astute intellect and composed the “Xuzhou Zhai ming” 虚舟斋铭 (Inscription of the Empty Boat Studio) for this building.³⁵⁴

In this inscription, Zhang Shi commends Zhan Yizhi’s ideas and recognizes their alignment with the Neo-Confucian principle of “the heart was originally hollow and the *li* 理 (principle) makes it full” 心本虚，理则实。³⁵⁵ He then proceeds to reference *xuzhou* in *Zhuangzi* and *Yijing*, ultimately deriving from the latter to assert his own perspective that “eliminating obstacles (to knowledge) is precisely what ‘*xu*’ embodies” 去其窒，斯虚矣。³⁵⁶

We can speculate that Zhang Shi, while composing the inscription, might have been reminded of his “Chuan Zhai” in Chengnan Academy through this “Xuzhou Zhai.” This could have led him to recall the experience of exchanging ideas and delivering lectures with Zhu Xi

³⁴⁹ See Zhang Shi, “Chengnan zayong ershi shou he Zhu Hui’an” 城南杂咏二十首和朱元晦 in *Nanxuan ji* 南轩集, vol. 7, 9b; Zhu Xi, “Feng tong Zhang Jingfu Chengnan ershi yong” 奉同张敬夫城南二十咏, in *Hui’an ji*, vol. 3, 1a. See *SKQS*.

³⁵⁰ See Fang and Zheng, *Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi*, vol. 3, 15b: 乾道间，张宣公守乡郡，吕成公分教，公方家食，日以问学为事。See *SKQS*.

³⁵¹ See Zhang Shi, “Xuzhou Zhai ming” 虚舟斋铭, in *Nanxuan ji*, vol. 36, 7a: 以其虚且长也，则题之曰“虚舟”。See *SKQS*.

³⁵² The divinatory symbol of *zhongfu* 中孚 is *xun* 巽 which represents “wood” on top of *dui* 兑 which represents “water”, thereupon forms the image of boating.

³⁵³ Zhang Shi, “Xuzhou Zhai ming,” in *Nanxuan ji*, vol. 36, 7a. See *SKQS*.

³⁵⁴ See, *ibid.*: 心本虚，理则实。应事物，无辙迹。来不迎，去不留。彼万变，我日休。行斯通，险可济。孚豚鱼，贯天地。曷臻兹，在克己。去其窒，斯虚矣。See *SKQS*.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

during the 3rd year of the Qiandao period. At that time, they traversed the Xiang River by boat to commute between Yuelu and Chengnan Academies. If the river between two academies was considered an “obstacle” in imparting knowledge, then the ferry-boat would be seen as a practice of “eliminating obstacles to knowledge” embraced by Neo-Confucianists. Furthermore, Zhan Yizhi later adopted the name “Xuzhou” referring to his *fang* architecture as his *hao* to signify his endorsement of this concept.

Zhang Shi’s student Peng Guinian 彭龟年 (*hao* Zhitang 止堂, 1142-1206) mentioned in his *Zhitang ji* 止堂集 (Collections of Zhitang) that he once transcribed a calligraphy of Zhang Shi’s “Xuzhou Zhai ming” for his friend Ao Guofu 敖国辅. As the inscription was written by Zhang Shi for Zhan Yizhi, who owned a “Xuzhou Zhai,” while Ao Guofu did not possess such an architecture, someone questioned why Peng sent this to Ao as a gift.³⁵⁷ Peng Guinian replied:

The *li* (principle/knowledge) is like a gathering, open for anyone with feet to come and receive. However, you seem hesitant as if there are barriers separating us. Therefore, it’s possible that you do not belong to our ilk, the persons on *xuzhou*.

是理与都会相若，凡有足者皆造焉。而子犹介介然，若有藩篱之间，殆非虚舟中人也。³⁵⁸

It is evident that for Neo-Confucian scholars like Zhan Yizhi, *xuzhou* had evolved into a symbol embodying their school’s concepts and attitudes towards knowledge/learning. Furthermore, the interaction between Neo-Confucian scholars and their lecture tours in academies further linked *xuzhou* – as a symbol – with teaching activities and institutions through *fang* architecture as its physical manifestation.

In addition to the *xuehai zhi zhou* and *xuzhou*, *fang* architectures also incorporated other cultural symbols related to the “boat”. Through long-term and profound accumulation of national psychology, it has evolved into an image that carries intricate and profound cultural connotations.

On the one hand, numerous allusions from classical literature, famous poems, and historical figures are employed. For example, Hong Kuo’s Yi Zhai and Wang Ao’s He Zhou in his Hezhou Garden utilized the allusions of Zhuangzi’s *hezhou* (see 1.3.1). This allusion was also employed in the Qing dynasty. Zhang Wenhui’s 张文虎 (1808-1885) “Fu Yuan ji” 复园记 (Record of the Fu Garden) also recorded a *fang* architecture known as “He Zhou.” Similarly, Yi Shunding’s 易顺鼎 (1858-1920) “Kuanshan Caotang ji” 匡山草堂记 (Record of the Kuanshan Caotang) mentioned a ravine called “Cangzhou He” 藏舟壑, which derived its name from this same allusion.

Another example illustrates that even if the original allusion does not contain a term

³⁵⁷ See Peng Guinian, “Wei Ao Guofu shu Nanxuan *Xuzhou ming ba*” 为敖国辅书南轩虚舟铭跋, in *Zhitang ji* 止堂集, vol. 14, 5b-6a. See *SKQS*.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6a.

related to a boat, it can be used as long as it pertains to boats. Cheng Wen 程文 (1289-1359) of the Yuan dynasty once recorded that Wang Jiuchou 王九畴 named his studio used for meeting friends “Xueye Zhou” 雪夜舟 (the Boat of a Snowing Night) when he lived in the capital. This name was inspired by the story of Wang Huizhi, who embarked on a boat journey following an overnight snowfall in order to meet his friend Dai Kui but ultimately returned without having met him in person (see 1.2.3). Wang Jiuchou himself hailed from Kuaiji 会稽 county, which was situated near Shanyin county where Wang Huizhi resided. Sharing the same surname as **Wang Huizhi**, **Wang Jiuchou** chose to name his studio after a metaphorical representation of a boat derived from this story, thereby conveying two distinct interpretations. Firstly, it symbolizes his genuine sincerity towards his friends akin to that displayed by Wang Huizhi. Secondly, it signifies the possession of a similar *minshi* demeanor.

On the other hand, literati also encompassed cultural symbols that were indicated by associating images acquired during their daily boating experiences. The reflection of the moon on the water surface during nighttime boating evoked a romantic sense of sailing aboard a magical boat simulating the illusion of soaring to the space. Therefore, they referred to their *fang* architectures as “Yuejia Xuan” 月驾轩 (The Pavilion of Sailing on the Moon),³⁵⁹ or “Zaiyue Zhou” 载月舟 (The Boat of Carrying the Moon).³⁶⁰ The boat used for picking lotus inspired a sense of reverence towards the noble qualities of the flower, leading to names such as “Ailian Zhou” 爱莲舟 (The Boat of Affection for Lotus).³⁶¹ The list can be continued.

It must be acknowledged that when expanding cultural symbolism within boat-architecture into a vast collection, linear and historical discussions become impractical due to its complex network-like characteristics. What we can truly delve into and comprehend are solely the pivotal nodes and the intricate framework they unveil. The prototypes of boat-architecture, “Huafang Zhai” and “Shuhua Chuan,” stand as the quintessential nodes that can be readily recognized.

Based on this understanding, the utilization of *fang* architectures in literati gardens as cultural symbols can potentially be described as multi-leveled. The core symbol serves as a guide for the user’s conceptual projection of the intermediate symbols. These intermediate symbols encompass historical allusions derived from the foundational symbols representing the boat-architecture’s most fundamental characteristics. For instance, the “unrestricted mobility” serves as a primary-level symbol, while the allusions to *buxi zhi zhou* and Wang Huizhi’s visit to Dai Kui constitute intermediate-level symbols that are derived from the notion of flexibility. In the former, the contemplations of “entering/escaping the world” represent core-

³⁵⁹ In Yongcui Shanzhuang 拥翠山庄 in Suzhou city.

³⁶⁰ In Chunpu Yuan 淳朴园 of the Ming dynasty, see Chen Congzhou 陈从周, ed. *Zhongguo yuanlin jianshang cidian* 中国园林鉴赏辞典 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 976: 园内，凿池为渊，池中有载月舟……

³⁶¹ See Jiang Yuanyi 蒋元益, “Fengchi Yuan ji” 凤池园记, in *Suzhou yuanlin lidai wenchao*, comp. Yi Xueling, annotated by Wang Juju, 96: 池旁筑室象舫，名爱莲舟，以徜徉游行。

level symbols. The latter incorporates an additional intermediate-level symbol of *minshi* demeanor to serve as a transitional element before reaching the core-level symbol of “escaping the world.”

The core symbol of “entering/escaping the world” can be depicted as a *tai chi* 太极, diagram, which signifies the interconnected relationship between “boat” and “architecture,” representing the two distinct manifestations of boat-architecture. Although *fang* architecture is only one of the two manifestations, for literati, this *tai chi* schema not only enabled them to express the imitation of “boat” in their architectural design, but also allowed them to focus on the reserved and incomplete aspects of this imitation, thereby emphasizing the contradictory or obscure nature of the *fang* building as a “boat-architecture.”

For example, the symbol of *buxi zhi zhou* emphasizes the inherent contradiction that the *fang* building, resembling a boat in appearance, remains stationary. This has resulted in the creation of designs such as “Ding Fang” 定舫 (Stable Boat/The Boat of Tranquility),³⁶² “Bubo Hang” 不波航 (The Boat of No Waves),³⁶³ which symbolize the auspicious intention of evading the disturbances encountered within the officialdom. Moreover, the name “Wen Ru Zhou” 稳如舟 (Stable as a Boat) aims to convey the benefits of “stability” (in land architecture) and (flexibility in) “boat design,” which are typically mutually exclusive, by highlighting the contradictory characteristics of boat-architecture itself.

The emphasis on the contradiction is also reflected in the names of “Yi Fang” 亦舫 (a Boat of Sorts) (Fig. 1.3.3-1) and “Yi Fang” 疑舫 (Presumably a Boat) (Fig. 1.3.3-2). Here the term “Fang” not only refers to the architectural concept of a “*fang* building,” but also refers to the “*fang* boat” (pleasure boat). Therefore, these buildings embody both manifestations of boat-architecture – one being their nature as *fang* buildings themselves, and the other representing an imaginative projection as “a pleasure boat with architectural space,” which is constructed through the designer’s vision.

³⁶² For examples, the “Ding Fang” in Shao Garden of Mi Wanzhong, and the “Ding Fang” in Hu Garden 岵园 of the Shen 申 Family in Beijing. The information regarding the former can be found in 1.3.2, while the latter is recorded in Shen Hanguang’s 申涵光 (1620-1677) “Huyuan ji” 岵园记. See Chen Congzhou and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, ed., *Yuan zong* 园综, new edition, collated and annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均 (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), 33: 移东亭于河畔，筑土而高之，外望如楼阁，题曰：“定舫”。盖如扁舟系缆，不复泛泛风浪间矣。

³⁶³ For example, the “Bubo Hang” in the Xiu 休 Garden of Zheng Shijie 郑士介 (*gongshi*, 1639) in Yangzhou city was recorded in Fang Xiangying’s 方象瑛 (b. 1632) “Chongqi Xiuyuan ji” 重葺休园记, see Gu Yiping 顾一平, ed., *Yangzhou mingyuan ji* 扬州名园记 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2011), 10: 峰之前后皆有亭榭，……，曰“不波航”……结构萧爽，极园林之胜。



Fig. 1.3.3-1 The inner space of the “Yi Fang” 亦舫 in Yu Garden 豫园, Shanghai.



Fig. 1.3.3-2 The “Yi Fang” 疑舫 in Zuibai Chi 醉白池, Shanghai.

Developing from this design intention, some scholars have further introduced a contradiction by deliberately disrupting the resemblance between “boat” and “architecture” in the spatial form of the *fang* building, subsequently establishing a similarity based on the inherent contradiction itself. For example, they conceived their *fang* building as an incomplete rendition of a pleasure boat, aptly named “Ban Ge” 半舸 (Half of a Boat).³⁶⁴ This approach may have initially stemmed from the garden area’s limitations in accommodating a structure that imitates a complete “boat,” but it effectively accentuated the paradoxical essence of boat-architecture and evolved into an exemplary design pattern.

Therefore, it can be inferred that this *tai chi* core schema extends beyond the contemplations of “entering/escaping the world” and encompasses the very concept of the “Great Ultimate” (*tai chi*) itself, which can be spread out in various aspects and at multiple levels. These aspects or levels should not be interpreted as a hierarchical tree structure, but rather as a complex network of interconnected structures. Once established, the core serves as the nucleus, with intermediate symbols being linked to it through people’s interpretations of historical allusions. The link can be multistage, as the interpretations of each allusion have the potential to evolve and develop over time; furthermore, the link can be divergent, as diverse interpretations of the same allusion may lead to distinct associations with different aspects of the core. Meanwhile, the primary-level symbols are not fixed points; rather, they constitute a dynamic mixture of concepts that permeate the periphery of this structure, derived from an individual’s lived and sensory experiences. Out of this amalgamation can emerge or exert influence on a variety of intermediary symbols.

Through the dissemination and development of the “Huafang Zhai” prototype during the Song dynasties, this section initially highlights the formation of “entering/escaping the world” as the core cultural symbols of *fang* architectures. Then, by incorporating the “Shuhua chuan” prototype into the “Huafang Zhai,” a reciprocal dual structure was established, thereby expanding the potential for conceptual communications between “boat” and “architecture.” Furthermore, the case study of *xuezhou* (*xuehai zhi zhou*) or *xuzhou* provides a comprehensive analysis of how “education/scholarship,” as another cultural symbol associated with “boat,” was interconnected with boat-architectures.

Through the aforementioned three research aspects (A. the dissemination and development of the Huafang Zhai symbol in the Song dynasties, see 1.3.1; B. the confluence of Shuhua Chuan and Huafang Zhai, see 1.3.2; C. the expansion of symbolic significance of *fang*, using the case study of *xuezhou*, see 1.3.3), this section explores the developmental trajectory of cultural symbolism in boat-architecture’s inheritance and consolidation, expansion and enrichment, as exemplified by *fang* architectures in literati’s private gardens. The

³⁶⁴ For example, the “Ban Ge” in Yugong Gu 愚公谷 of Zou Diguang 邹迪光 (1550-1626) in Wuxi city was recorded in Zou Diguang’s “Yugong Gu cheng,” see Chen Congzhou and Jiang Qiting, ed., *Yuan zong*, 179: ……阁前一池，屋跨其上，状如舸，曰：“半舸”。

subsequent section will concentrate on a typical example of how boat-architecture was shaped by literati – Buxi Yuan 不系园 (The Garden Without Constraints). Through an analysis that commences with this case, it explores how scholars gradually shaped and refined the concept of boat-architecture, ultimately transforming it into a projection of utopian and heterotopian ideals.

1.4 Buxi Yuan as a Typical Example: Literati's Shaping of Boat-Architecture

The preceding section has expounded on the *fang* architectures in literati's private gardens. *Fang*'s characteristic paradigm was utilized to evoke contemplation of “entering/escaping the world” (Huafang Zhai), enjoyment of aesthetic activities and taste (Shuhua Chuan), as well as other symbolic experience through layers of literary and philosophical allusions. While the boat-shaped buildings created an illusion of floating on water in landlocked gardens, there were also actual boats that served as symbols and social spaces akin to gardens. Buxi Yuan serves as such a quintessential example that will be elaborated upon in this section.

This so-called garden, Buxi Yuan, variously translated as (a garden) “without a tie,” “without a mooring,” “unmoored,”³⁶⁵ was a renowned pleasure boat on West Lake during the late Ming dynasty. It was named by Chen Jiru, who was a leading authority on gentility and literati taste at that time, alluding to the drifting boat, *buxi zhi zhou*, as a symbol of freedom in *Zhuanzi* (see 1.2.3).

Although the allusion was commonly employed in boat-architecture nomenclature, it invited a more profound interpretation when the modified noun shifted from “boat” to “garden.” This change neatly circumvented the fact that the object being named was actually a boat, thus arousing curiosity and prompting a question about why a boat can be considered a garden.

The answer to this question is closely related to the shaping of the boat-architecture's concept, and also reflects the literati's perception of boat-architecture space. Therefore, this section will firstly introduce this case, followed by an exploration of how literati named boat-architectures and shaped the concept of boat-architecture. Finally, a discussion of the code of conduct within its confines will unveil the boat-architecture's utopian and heterotopian qualities as fundamentally inherent to it.

1.4.1 Wang Ruqian and the Buxi Yuan

The owner of the Buxi Yuan was Wang Ruqian 汪汝谦 (*zi* Ranming 然明, *hao* Songxi Daoren 松溪道人, 1577-1655), a Huizhou merchant who ran the salt business in the Liangzhe

³⁶⁵ The first two were translated by Joanna F. Handlin Smith, see Joanna F. Handlin Smith, “Gardens in Ch'i Piao-Chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 1 (1992): 73; the third was translated by Wai-ye Li, see Wai-ye Li, “Gardens and Illusions from Late Ming to Early Qing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72, no. 2 (2012): 322.

两浙 region (which roughly encompasses present-day Zhejiang province, Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou 常州, Zhenjiang and Shanghai 上海 city).

During the Ming dynasty, the salt trade around the Huai River was largely monopolized by merchants from Huizhou, particularly those hailing from She 歙 county. The *Shexian zhi* 歙县志 (She County Chronicles) in the Wanli period documented: “There were multiple families within our county who specialized in the trade of salt and eventually became world-renowned for their expertise. The Huang family was the first to rise, followed by the Wang and Wu clans, all starting with hundreds of thousands and ultimately gaining millions” 邑之以盐筭祭酒而甲天下者，初则有黄氏，后则汪氏、吴氏相递而起，皆由数十万，以汰百万者。³⁶⁶

Wang Ruqian was born into the aforementioned Wang family of She county, Huizhou. According to the family member, Wang Daokun 汪道昆 (1525-1593, 1547 *jinshi*), this family originally engaged in agriculture and did not venture into commerce until the generation of his great-grandfather.³⁶⁷ The Imperial Examination System during the middle and late Ming dynasty facilitated highly mobile groups, particularly businessmen with extensive social resources, to take examinations in their host places. Consequently, more children of businessmen turned towards Confucianism and participated in the examinations.³⁶⁸ Wang Ruqian’s father, Wang Kejue 汪可觉, was among them and achieved the title of *juren* in the Provincial Examination in the fourth year of the Wanli period (1576),³⁶⁹ which marked the

³⁶⁶ Zhang Tao 张涛 and Xie Bi 谢陛, (*Wanli*) *She zhi* (万历) 歙志, (1609), vol. 20, 5a.

³⁶⁷ Wang Daokun, “Xiaolian Wang zhengshi zhuan” 孝廉汪征士传, in *Taihan ji* 太函集, vol. 38. See *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* bianzuan weiyuanhui 四库全书存目丛书编纂委员会, ed., *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四库全书存目丛书, *Jibu* 集部, vol. 117 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997, photoprint of historical ed.), 485.

³⁶⁸ There are many related studies, for example, see Zhang Xiqing 张希清, Mao Peiqi 毛佩琦, and Li Shiyu 李世愉, ed. Guo Peigui 郭培贵, *Zhongguo keju tongshi: Mingdai juan* 中国科举制度通史：明代卷 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2017), 72-90; Chang Wenxiang 常文相, *Huqia gongsheng: Mingdai shangren, shangye yu guojia tizhi guanxi yanjiu* 互洽共生——明代商人、商业与国家体制关系研究 (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2019), 162-174.

³⁶⁹ The Ming Wanli *She zhi* is the only one that does not mention it, while the Kangxi *Huizhoufu zhi* 徽州府志, the Qianlong *Shexian zhi* 歙县志, the Daoguang *Shexian zhi*, and the Minguo (the Republic of China) *Shexian zhi* all document an article on the “Wanli sinian bingzi xiangshi” 万历四年丙子乡试 (The Township Examination in the fourth year of the Wanli period), which record “Wang Kejue, zi Tianmin, Congmu people” 汪可觉，字天民，（歙）丛睦（坊）人. See Ding Tingjian 丁廷楛 and Zhao Jishi 赵吉士, eds., (*Kangxi*) *Huizhoufu zhi*, vol. 9, 45a, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu - Huazhong difang* 中国方志丛书——华中地方, vol. 237 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975, reprinted based on the Wanqing Ge 1695 edition), 1313; Zhang Peifang 张佩芳 and Liu Dakui 刘大魁, eds., (*Qianlong*) *Shexian zhi*, vol. 8, 31a, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu - Huazhong difang*, vol. 232 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1973, reprinted based on the Zunjing Ge 1771 edition), 439; Lao Fengyuan 劳逢源 and Ma Buchan 马步蟾, eds., (*Daoguang*) *Shexian zhi* (Yizhao

beginning of this family branch's transformation into *rushang* 儒商 (literatus-merchants).

Wang Ruqian was born in the eighth lunar month of the fifth year of the Wanli period (1577), one year after his father had passed the Provincial Examination. He was the fourth of five brothers, and at the age of three, his father passed away.³⁷⁰ With his eldest brother Wang Ruchun 汪汝淳 inheriting the family business,³⁷¹ Wang Ruqian's childhood was characterized by relatively unrestricted experience of reading and travel. He said that "[he] first arrived in Hangzhou as a child and was captivated by its stunning landscape, prompting him to make it his home" 垂髫之年来武林，见山水而卜居。³⁷² During that period, the intellectual community in the vicinity of Hangzhou city was led by Feng Mengzhen 冯梦祯 (1548-1606) and Huang Ruheng. Benefited from his family's wealth and his brother's connections with these two renowned literati and other celebrities such as Chen Bangzhan 陈邦瞻 (1557-1623) and Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630), Wang Ruqian spent his youth sightseeing with famous courtesans, singing with talented beauties, drinking with celebrities, and chanting with literati.³⁷³ This cultivated a romantic and uninhibited attitude towards life within him.

After reaching adulthood, Wang Ruqian did not aspire to passing the Imperial Examination. Instead, he engaged in his family's salt business. However, despite being known as a businessman, he presented himself as a *xiake* 侠客 (Knight-errant or chivalry), dismissing with a chuckle the material wealth and social power that are so eagerly sought after by society at large.³⁷⁴ Allan Barr has rightly emphasized the importance of *xia* in late Ming literati culture, characterizing it as "a powerful force guiding human behavior."³⁷⁵ He quoted Chen Jiru's

Zhai block-printed edition, 1828), vol. 7-2, 24b; Shi Guozhu 石国柱 and Xu Chengyao 许承尧, comp., (*Minguo*) *Shexian zhi* (1937), vol. 4, 23b, in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Anhui fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成: 安徽府县志辑, vol. 51, comp. Jiangsu guji chubanshe 江苏古籍出版社 (Nanjing: Jiangsu gujichubanshe, 1998), 152.

³⁷⁰ See, Qian Qianyi, "Wang Ranming muzhiming" 汪然明墓志铭, in *Chunxingtang shiji* 春星堂诗集, vol. 5, 19b: 然明生三年而孤. See Wang Fu 汪篔, comp., *Congmu Wangshi yishu* 丛睦汪氏遗书 (Changsha: Qiantang Wang Family, 1886). (The *Chunxingtang shiji* in *Congmu Wangshi yishu* will henceforth be referred to as *CM-CXTSJ*.)

³⁷¹ Wang Ruchun's birth and death dates remain unknown. However, based on his associations with Feng Mengzhen (1548-1606) and Huang Ruheng (1558-1626), as well as his succession of the family business around 1580 following his father's passing, it is highly possible that he was at least 20 years old during this period.

³⁷² Wang Ruqian, "Xihu jiyou" 西湖纪游, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 5, 16b.

³⁷³ See Wang Ruqian, *Youcao* 游草, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 3, 18b: 记余少年游屡矣。吴阊淞泖间，酒庐词社，获逢名公缙绅，高流翰墨之盛，而广陵、白门托迹尤多。时观里琼花、桥边明月，泊秦淮桃叶小姬家，无不三五踏歌，十千买醉……。

³⁷⁴ See Wang Zhidao 王志道, "Minyou shiji xu" 闽游诗纪序, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 4, 1a: 其少也，尝散千金以济游客，客遂侠之。

³⁷⁵ Allan H. Barr, "The Wanli Context of The 'Courtesan's Jewel Box' Story," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57, no. 1 (1997): 110.

preface to an anthology entitled *Xia lin* 侠林 (A Forest of Knights-Errant) to spell out the implications of *xia*:

In life, spirit and will, discernment and courage, operate hand in hand and spur each other on. A son who is chivalrous will be filial, an official who is chivalrous will be loyal, a woman who is chivalrous will be chaste, and a friend who is chivalrous will be dependable. Only the chivalrous will rescue another from penniless obscurity, provide support in time of crisis, and defuse disputes between others. Only the chivalrous will avenge grievances and reward kindnesses. Only the chivalrous will right wrongs and restore justice, only the chivalrous will overcome disaster.³⁷⁶

Perhaps owing to the interplay of innate disposition and acquired experience during his formative years, Wang Ruqian boasted an extensive social network, prioritized integrity over wealth, and exhibited chivalry and hospitality.³⁷⁷ Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1618-1664) likened Wang Ruqian to the Lord Xinling 信陵君 of the Wei 魏 State (Wei Wuji 魏无忌, d. 243 BCE)³⁷⁸ during the Warring States period (ca. 481/403-221 BCE), who had a retinue of three thousand followers. Lin Tiansu 林天素 referred to Wang Ruqian as a *huangshan haoke* 黄衫豪客 (Knight-errant in yellow coat).³⁷⁹ Wang Ruqian identified himself as the *huangshan ke* 黄衫客 (man in yellow coat). Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 (1582-1664) concluded in Wang's epitaph:

[...] his fervent and gallant spirit, his yearning to benefit the entire world, flowed like a spring of gushing water from the earth. Wherever he traveled, officials and nobles awaited him with an empty seat, while celebrities and literati gathered around him. Whether for the guests watching the tide on the river, the vagrant monks of Hangzhou's Tianzhu Mountain, the courtesans riding the wagons with painted panels, or the singers

³⁷⁶ The English translation here is quoted from *ibid.*, 110. Allan H. Barr referenced the original text to “Chen Jiru, *Chen Meigong xiansheng quanji* 陈眉公全集 (microfilm of Ming edition in the National Central Library, Taiwan), 4.37a. *Xia lin*, compiled by one Hong Shitian 洪世恬, appears to be no longer extant.”

³⁷⁷ See the biography of Wang Ruqian, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 1a: 广交游、疏财、重然诺，尝蠲膏腴为族里赡孤贫者。

³⁷⁸ See Liu Rushi, “Zeng Wang Ranming” 赠汪然明, in *Hushang cao* 湖上草, 8a, in *Liu Rushi shiwen ji* 柳如是诗文集, comp. Gu Huizhi 谷辉之 (Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1996), 137: 论到信陵还太息，中原龙卧有谁当。

³⁷⁹ See Lin Tiansu, “Liu Rushi chidu xiaoyin” 柳如是尺牋小引, in *ibid.*, 155: 余昔寄迹西湖，每见然明拾翠芳堤，偎红画舫，徜徉山水间，俨黄衫豪客。The term, *huangshan haoke* 黄衫豪客 (Knight-errant in yellow coat), originally referred to the chivalry character dressed in yellow coat in *The Story of Huo Xiaoyu* 霍小玉传 by Jiang Fang 蒋防 in the Tang dynasty. This character kidnapped the faithless Li Yi 李益 and dragged him to the bedside of the dying courtesan Huo Xiaoyu 霍小玉, who was his jilted old love.

and dancers in the bordellos, he supported them all with utmost generosity.

……其热肠侠骨，囊括一世之志气，如湫流喷泉，触地涌出。所至公卿虚席，胜流歛集。刹江观潮之客，三竺流囊之僧，西陵油壁之妓，北里雪衣之女，靡不擎箱捧席，倾囊倒篋。³⁸⁰

In addition to his exceptional wealth and unrestrained personality, Wang Ruqian's ability to establish profound friendships with renowned literati of the time, represented by Dong Qichang and Chen Jiru, was inseparable from his own multifaceted talents within the realm of art and literature. Xu Sufeng once observed that, "The identity of the Confucian educated man in the late Ming shifted from the traditional scholar-official ideal to that of a nonconformist multitalented personality."³⁸¹ As a prosperous merchant who refrained from participating in the imperial examinations, Wang Ruqian possessed abundant resources and ample time to fully devote himself to pursuing various artistic breakthroughs and aesthetic pleasures.

Qian Qianyi highly praised Wang Ruqian's talents, stating that he was proficient in literature, calligraphy, painting, metals and stones inscriptions as well as music. Even those who specialize in these fields could not compare to him. Besides, he also mentioned that Wang Ruqian possessed exceptional skills in landscape and architectural design, event planning and coordination, "Fang Zhai" construction, as well as expertise in clothing, cuisine, housing and transportation arrangements.³⁸²

The first volume of *Congmu Wangshi yishu* 丛睦汪氏遗书, which contains the remaining essays of the Wang family in Congmu, provides a brief biography of Wang Ruqian:

Mr. Ranming 然明, whose given name was Ruqian and who styled himself as Songxi Daoren 松溪道人 (Taoist of the Pine River), was a *taixue sheng* 太学生 (student at the Imperial College) born in the Ming dynasty. After admiring the magnificent scenery of West Lake, he relocated from Congmu in She county to Hangzhou city where he resided in the Gang'er Lane 缸儿巷 of Qiantang 钱塘. He received and engaged with prominent figures in the fields of literature and art, including Dong Qichang, the Minister of Rituals, who held him in high regard. He also commissioned the construction of painted pleasure boats on West Lake, known as "Buxi Yuan" and "Suixi An" 随喜庵 (The Hut of Unconstrained Rejoice), as well as smaller vessels like "Tuan Piao" 团瓢, "Guan Ye" 观叶, and "Yusi Fengpian" 雨丝风片. Additionally, he oversaw

³⁸⁰ See, Qian Qianyi, "Wang Ranming muzhiming," 19b.

³⁸¹ Xu Sufeng, "The Courtesan as Famous Scholar: The Case of Wang Wei (ca. 1598-ca. 1647)," *T'oung Pao* 105, no. 5/6 (2019): 610.

³⁸² See, Qian Qianyi, "Wang Ranming muzhiming," 19b-20a: 其心计指画，牢笼干辨之器用，如白地光明之锦，裁为襦袴，罄无不宜。其精者，钩探风雅，摩搨书法，编次金石，寸度律吕，虽专门肉谱，不能与之争能。其犗者，用以点缀名胜，摒挡宴集，舫斋靓深，馔馔精旨，杖函履屐，咸为位置。

the construction of the “Baisu Ge” 白苏阁 (Pavilion of Bai Juyi and Su Shi), as well as the restoration of “Huxin Ting” 湖心亭 (Huxin Pavilion), “Fanghe Ting” 放鹤亭 (Fanghe Pavilion), Gan Garden 甘园, and Shuixianwang Temple 水仙王庙. When celebrities visited Hangzhou, he always selected courtesans and singers as companions for both day and night, composing poetry together during banquets. He promptly resolved any issues of varying degrees of urgency for those in need, earning him the title *hushan zhuren* 湖山主人 (Host of Lakes and Mountains).

然明先生，海汝谦，号松溪道人，太学生，生于明季。慕西湖之胜，自歙县从睦迁杭州。遂家钱塘，居缸儿巷，延纳名流，文采照映。董尚书其昌以陈大邛推之。制画舫于西湖，日不系园，日随喜庵，其小者日团瓢，日观叶，日雨丝风片。又建白苏阁，葺湖心、放鹤二亭及甘园、水仙王庙。四方名流至此，必选伎征歌，连宵达旦，即席分韵，墨汁淋漓。或缓急相投，立为排解，故有湖山主人之目。³⁸³

The painted pleasure boats represented by Buxi Yuan and Suixi An in this record are typical examples of Wang Ruqian’s talent in constructing “Fang Zhai,” as noted in the aforementioned epitaph. The reason why Wang Ruqian was titled “the Host of Lakes and Mountains” lies in his treating the West Lake scenic area as a grand garden, embellishing its landscapes with architectural structures and painted pleasure boats, and hosting gatherings to welcome friends from all over the country. In the essay and poem collections that named after these two painted pleasure boats, *Buxi Yuan ji* 不系园集 and *Suixi An ji* 随喜庵集, Wang Ruqian not only elucidated the rationale and purpose of his design but also chronicled some of the social gatherings he attended with his celebrity friends aboard these boats, which will be discussed in the following.

In the opening of the “Buxi Yuan ji” 不系园记 (Record of the Garden Without Constraints), Wang Ruqian stated: “Since the inception of West Lake, painted pleasure boats have graced its waters. The ancient tales from *Wulin jiushi* 武林旧事 have been passed down through generations, yet the diverse shapes and sizes of these boats remain a mystery” 自有西湖，即有画舫，武林旧事，艳传至今，其规制种种已不可考识矣。³⁸⁴ Here, the “ancient tales from *Wulin jiushi*” referred to Zhou Mi’s notes on reminiscing about old memories in Lin’an, the capital city of the Southern Song dynasty. Zhou Min recorded the scenes of people boating on the West Lake, writing that:

During the period of prosperity, there were over a hundred types of large pleasure boats such as “Da Lü” 大绿, “Jian Lü” 间绿, “Shiyang Jin” 十样锦, “Bai Hua” 百花, “Bao Sheng” 宝胜, “Ming Yu” 明玉, etc. Additionally, there were numerous other boats, all splendid and magnificent, vying with each other in their uniqueness and excellence.

³⁸³ The biography of Wang Ruqian, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 1a.

³⁸⁴ Wang Ruqian, “Buxi Yuan ji,” in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 3b.

承平时，头船如大绿、间绿、十样锦、百花、宝胜、明玉之类，何翅百余。其次则不计其数，皆华丽雅靓，夸奇竞好。³⁸⁵

While Zhou Mi's depictions of boats were infrequent in their forms, Li Song's paintings during the Southern Song dynasty portrayed dragon boats with exquisite structures atop them (see Fig. P-1). This suggests that not only could people construct pavilions and towers on boats at that time, but these constructions were even more sophisticated than those built on flat ground.

Regardless of whether Zhou Mi's words and Li Song's paintings contain an excessive amount of imagination, it is evident that this construction practice was not passed down. In the Ming dynasty, the majority of painted pleasure boats on West Lake adhered to the singular style known as *chitou fang* 螭头舫 (boat decorated with the chi-dragon's head) from the Southern Song dynasty. These boats featured a flat roof where boatmen could stand and walk while owners and guests utilized the space beneath.³⁸⁶

This type of boat, along with the entertainment it afforded, was vividly depicted by Marco Polo (1254-1324) following his travels in China during the Yuan dynasty:

[...] there are upon the lake a great number of pleasure vessels or barges, calculated for holding 10, 15, to 20 persons, being from 15 to 20 paces in length, with a wide and flat flooring, and not liable to heel to either side in passing through the water. Such persons as take delight in the amusement, and mean to enjoy it, either in the company of their women or that of their male companions, engage one of these barges, which are always kept in the nicest order, with proper seats and tables, together with every other kind of furniture necessary for giving an entertainment. **The cabins have a flat roof or upper deck, where the boatman take their place**, and by means of long poles, which they thrust to the bottom of the lake, which is not more than one or two fathoms in depth, they shove the barges along, until they reach the desired spot. These cabins are painted inside with various colours and with a variety of figures; all parts of the vessel are likewise adorned with painting. There are windows on each side, which may either be kept shut, or opened, to give an opportunity to the company, as they sit at table, of looking out in every direction and feasting their eyes on the variety and beauty of the scenes as they pass them. And truly the gratification afforded in this manner, upon the water, exceeds any that can be derived from the amusements on the land; for as the lake extends the whole length of the city, on one side, you have a view, as you stand in the boat, at a certain distance from the shore, of all its grandeur and beauty, its palaces, temples, convents, and gardens, with trees of the largest size growing down to the water's edge, whilst at the same time you enjoy the sight of other boats of the same description, continually passing you, filled in like manner with parties in pursuit of amusement. In fact, the inhabitants of this place, as soon as the labours of the day have

³⁸⁵ Zhou Mi, *Wulin jiushi*, vol. 3, 3a. See *SKQS*.

³⁸⁶ See Wang Ruqian, "Xihu jiyou," 18a: 时游舫仿宋之螭头舫，榜人行于舟顶。

ceased, or their mercantile transactions are closed, think of nothing else than of passing the remaining hours in parties of pleasure, with their wives or their mistresses, either in these barges, or about the city in carriages, of which it will here be proper to give some account, as constituting one of the amusements of these people.³⁸⁷

According to Wang Ruqian, during the Wanli period, *chitou fang* continued to dominate the painted pleasure boats on West Lake until “Bao Hansuo 包涵所 introduced the *lou chuan* 楼船 (a kind of boat with architectural features) that prompted boatmen to walk along both sides of the vessel” 包涵所初起楼船，方行于两旁。³⁸⁸ Bao Hansuo, also known as Bao Yingdeng 包应登, was selected *jinshi* in the 14th year of Wanli (1586) through the Imperial Examination. He subsequently rose to become a *tixue fushi* 提学副使 (the deputy director of the Local Education Department) in Fujian province. After retiring and returning to the West Lake, he indulged himself with luxurious pleasures and sensual delights. He was a close friend of Zhang Rulin 张汝霖, the grandfather of Zhang Dai. Zhang Dai recorded in the vol.4 of *Xihu mengxun* 西湖梦寻 (West Lake in Reminiscence) that:

The tradition of constructing architectural structures on boats of West Lake originated from Bao Hansuo, who built three *lou chuan* of varying sizes – a large one for performances and banquets with young singers residing onboard, a medium-sized one for storing calligraphy and paintings, and a small one for accompanying beauties.

西湖之船有楼，实包副使涵所创为之。大小三号，头号置歌筵、储歌童；次载书画；再次待美人。³⁸⁹

The set of three *lou chuan*, categorized as “big, medium, and small,” appears to have been inspired by Tao Xian’s 陶岷 *sanzhou* 三舟 (three boats) during the Tang dynasty. Tao Xian was a descendant of Tao Yuanming (see 1.2.3). It is said that he constructed three boats that were both sturdy and delicate: one for personal use, another for guests, and a third for the storage of food and drink. He also maintained a troupe of accomplished female performers who excelled in playing musical instruments. Whenever he encountered a breathtaking scenery and felt inspired, he would embark on a boat ride to fully appreciate the beauty before returning home.³⁹⁰

For the families of influential officials and affluent businessmen, the boat of *lou chuan*

³⁸⁷ Manuel Komroff, ed., (revised from Marsden’s translation), *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Book II. Chap.76. (New York: Horace Liveright, Inc., 1926), 238-239.

³⁸⁸ Wang Ruqian, “Xihu jiyou,” 18a.

³⁸⁹ Zhang Dai, “Bao Hansuo,” in Zhang Dai, *Tao An mengyi – Xihu mengxun*, 37.

³⁹⁰ See Yuan Jiao 袁郊, *Ganze yao* 甘泽谣, 7a-b: 自制三舟，备极坚巧。一舟自载，一舟置宾，一舟贮饮饌。……而岷有女乐一部，奏清商曲。逢奇遇兴，则穷其景物，兴尽而行。 See *SKQS*.

style served as mobile stages on West Lake, providing their esteemed guests with breathtaking scenery alongside opulent cuisine and wines, exquisite melodies and performance. Being a wealthy businessman, Wang Ruqian was undoubtedly very familiar with the boat of *lou chuan* style. According to his essay “Xihu jiyou” 西湖纪游 (Records of Touring on West Lake), his younger brother Wang Rujun 汪汝浚 had built one *lou chuan*, which “boasted both towers and pavilions atop it” 楼榭皆备.³⁹¹ It was called “Xizhuang Tai” 洗妆台 (the Platform of Drinking under the Pear Blossom).³⁹² Wang Ruqian praised this boat’s exquisite and magnificent design, comparing it to Bao’s boats. He noted that “Whenever its shadow fell upon the dam or it moored at the shore, its crimson roof adorned with gleaming tiles shimmered amidst the spring foliage” 每隔堤移岸，鳞鳞如朱甍出春树间。³⁹³ The word *meng* 甍 denotes “tile,” indicating that the roof of the *lou chuan* was no longer a flat wooden structure but rather a sloping tiled roof akin to those found on land-based buildings.

Meanwhile, Wang Ruqian was cognizant of the limitations inherent in the *lou chuan*: due to its construction atop a boat, the dimensions – particularly the height – were significantly increased, making it occasionally arduous to access secluded areas favored by literati:

It is not that *lou chuan* cannot be integrated into the surrounding mountains and landscape architecture. [The issue] lies in its inability to access remote and secluded areas, often cut off by low bridges on either end, such as the temple pier nestled in the lonely mountain. When the plum blossoms radiate under the bright moonlight, or melodies waft around lotus and breeze, yet people can only yearn from afar, separated by a mere ribbon of water, unable to draw any closer. Therefore, the refined individuals gracefully glide upon a *qingling* 蜻蛉 (literally translated as “dragonfly,” referring to a type of boat that is extremely thin and small in size), traversing with ease and deriding the ostentatious displays of opulence exhibited by officials and businessmen aboard their grandiose vessels.

³⁹¹ Wang Ruqian, “Xihu jiyou,” 18a.

³⁹² The allusion of “Xi Zhuang” came from *Tang yu lu* 唐余录, a record of stories during the Tang dynasty by Wang Hao 王皞 (d. 1064) in the Northern Song dynasty. This allusion was widely disseminated during the Ming dynasty, as evidenced by its inclusion in Chen Jiru’s *Xiaochuang youji* 小窗幽记 and Wu Congxian’s 吴从先 *Xiaochuang ziji* 小窗自记. According to historical records, during the blooming season of pear trees in Capital Luoyang, it was a common practice for people to gather under the trees and enjoy wine, symbolically “grooming” the pear flowers. Some individuals even went as far as purchasing their own pear trees solely for this purpose. The purpose of this tradition was to symbolically intoxicate the personified pear blossoms, in an attempt to induce a magical transformation from their original white color to a vibrant shade of red. Sited in Feng Zhi 冯贽, *Yunxian zaji* 云仙杂记, vol. 1, 4b: 洛阳梨花时，人多携酒其下，曰为梨花洗妆，或至买树. See SKQS.

³⁹³ Wang Ruqian, “Buxi Yuan ji,” 3b.

非不与群峰台榭相掩映，而往往别渚幽汀，多为双桥厌水，锁之不得入。若孤山法埠，当梅花撩月，莲唱迎风，令人怅望，盈盈如此衣带何！故高韵之士又驾一蜻蛉，出没如飞，骄笑万斛舟为官为估，徒豪举耳。³⁹⁴

The aforementioned “Fumei Jian,” created by Huang Ruheng in the 39th year of Wanli (1611), who was acquainted with the Wang brothers, exemplified the so-called *qingling* boat. Huang Ruheng’s work received high praise from literati, including Wang Ruqian, who had always “dedicated himself to diligently embellishing the two mountains [with landscape architectures]” 孜孜然点缀两山为务。³⁹⁵ With considerable experience in design and construction under his belt, the brilliant Wang Ruqian, who had long yearned for the painted pleasure boats described in *Wulin jiushi*, would find creating a unique new kind of boat to be a challenge but hardly a difficult one. All he needed was a small opportunity to do so.

In the summer of 1623, while Wang Ruqian was constructing a “Jing Shi” 净室 (Room of Purity) for Yang Yunyou 杨云友³⁹⁶ to avoid disturbances from uncouth individuals, an opportunity presented itself. Wang Ruqian recorded it in the “Buxi Yuan ji”:

In the midst of summer during the Guihai Year (1623), while constructing the “Jing Shi” for Yun Daoren (Yang Yunyou) I fortuitously acquired a piece of exquisite wood which I had cut into planks and fashioned into a boat. After four months’ time, this vessel was completed with dimensions measuring six *zhang* and two *chi* in length (ca. 19.84 m) and a width equating to 1/5 of its overall length (ca. 4 m).

癸亥夏仲，为云道人筑净室，偶得木兰一本，斫而为舟，四越月乃成，计长六丈二尺，广五之一。³⁹⁷

It can be seen that the opportunity for the construction of Buxi Yuan arose from a piece of fine wood that was fortuitously obtained. During the Wanli period of the Ming dynasty, Guizhou 贵州 and Sichuan province produced a plethora of giant woods for the imperial construction projects. To provide a general impression, based on historical records, the diameter and length of this type of timber (most likely the *nanmu* 楠木) could potentially reach

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Wang Ruqian, “Xihu jiyou,” 17a. Also, his proses and poems in *Xihu yunshi* 西湖韵事 documented the construction projects oversaw by him. See Wang Ruqian, *Xihu yunshi*, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 3, 1a-6a.

³⁹⁶ Yang Yunyou, a female painter residing by the West Lake, gained fame during the Tianqi period for her prowess in poetry, calligraphy and painting. She established a cordial relationship with Wang Ruqian.

³⁹⁷ Wang Ruqian, “Buxi Yuan ji,” 4a.

up to 3.5 *chi* (ca. 110 cm) and 4.5 *zhang* (ca. 1400 cm).³⁹⁸ Wang Ruqian's family was engaged in commerce along the river. Although not as affluent as the royal household, he possessed both the means and resources to acquire such a sizable piece of timber. However, lacking official titles, he was constrained by construction regulations from erecting buildings with materials that exceeded his social standing. Additionally, he was unable to undertake large-scale projects with only one log. Therefore, owing to his romantic and literary nature, he demonstrated his reverence for this marvelous piece of timber by utilizing it not in the construction of a conventional architecture but rather in the fabrication of a boat.³⁹⁹

Several scholars have emphasized Wang's intention to reduce the size of the boat in his design.⁴⁰⁰ However, according to records, the size of Buxi Yuan should have been determined based on the timber he obtained. We can infer the process of this project as follows: Wang Ruqian delivered the timber to the carpenters and instructed them to construct a boat with specific design. With the wood at hand, the carpenters calculated the dimensions and sizes of components required for construction. Given the premise, the dimensions of this boat were likely determined based on a prioritization of material conservation while ensuring adequate functionality, which led to Wang Ruqian's design focusing on organizing functional space of the structure atop the boat rather than altering the hull's dimensions.

As a man of both refined taste and immense wealth, Wang Ruqian did not adopt a total derisive attitude towards *lou chuan*. Instead, he viewed *lou chuan* and *qingling* from an eclectic perspective, which was expressed in his writings:

Travelling by boat around West Lake and the surrounding hills is akin to a bamboo sedan chair ride through two peaks, or crossing six bridges on horseback. As long as the mode of transportation aligns with one's desired destination, there is no need to fret over its size. For instance, the pool enveloped by willows and the island brimming with blossoms, it is preferable to voyage aboard a grand vessel towed by ornate cables. In times when frigid rain incites gentle ripples upon the lake's surface, a diminutive boat would be more fitting. The light and short oars would not disturb the tranquility of the autumn moon's reflection, while the red railings and sparse curtains would better accentuate the stillness of snow on cold sand. The appreciation of diverse landscapes requires distinct modes of expression. Is it sufficient merely to carry the troupe, orchestrate a sumptuous feast, and anchor the painted pleasure boat on the tranquil lake?

³⁹⁸ See Gong Hui 龚辉, "Xingbian chenyan shu" 型变陈言疏, in *Mingchen jingji lu* 名臣经济录, vol. 48, cited in Yan Bingzhen 颜丙震, *Mingdai she Qian zouyi jilun* 明代涉黔奏议辑论 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2018), 92.

³⁹⁹ The furnishings, such as the windows and doors, might have been crafted from other types of wood. Therefore, it is likely that this particular piece of timber was exclusively utilized in constructing the hull and wooden framework atop it.

⁴⁰⁰ Such as, Cao Shujuan 曹淑娟, "Yuanzhou yu zhouyuan: Wang Ruqian hufang shenfen de zhuanhuan yu juxian" 园舟与舟园——汪汝谦湖舫身份的转换与局限, *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006): 197-235.

Or in the case that strangers from all corners of the country arrive at West Lake, they dismount their horses in Xiling and embark on small boats for their sojourn. With the hasty arrangements made for performances and wines, even they manage to prolong their stay for three or ten days, one cannot help but question if it is a slight to the beauty of West Lake.

夫湖山之藉舟，犹两峰篮舆、六桥紫骝、宣称所之，何论大小。如柳塘花屿，锦缆徐牵；凉雨微波，一苇径渡。轻桡短楫，潭月涵秋；朱栏绮疏，寒沙映雪。别有兴寄，正自不同。诂仅仅载檀槽、张绮席，系此游龙飞鹞耶？矧四方客卿寓公，无不道西泠解鞍，借兰叶下榻，而歌扇酒船，两俱草草，即勉作三日留、十日饮，不虑唐突西子哉？⁴⁰¹

In this regard, Wang Ruqian aimed to transcend the limitations of both *lou chuan* and *qingling* in his design of a new style. He aspired for this boat to not only provide ample space for guests and hosts to revel without feeling cramped, but also possess the agility and freedom necessary to navigate West Lake's surface and access its many scenic locales. This new style was vividly described in the "Buxiyuan ji":

Just a few steps from the entrance, there is ample storage for hundreds of wine vessels. This leads into a square space that comfortably accommodates two tables. Finally, there is a small chamber for reclining and reading, complete with side closets to house precious calligraphy and painting works. Upon exiting, a corridor leads up to the platform, which is adorned with drapery. In the resplendent moonlit scenery, it feels as though one is soaring on rosy clouds towards the heavens. When faced with strong winds and turbulent waters or when passing under hanging branches and low bridges, the railings and curtains are removed, transforming the boat into a *qingting* (dragonfly, a synonym for *qingling*) boat.

入门数武，堪贮百壶；次进方丈，足布两席；曲藏斗室，可供卧吟；侧掩壁橱，俾收醉墨。出转为廊，廊升为台，台上张幔，花辰月夕，如乘彩霞而登碧落；若遇惊飙蹴浪，欹树平桥，则卸栏卷幔，犹然一蜻蜓艇耳。⁴⁰²

In terms of design concepts, Wang Ruqian ingeniously integrated the essence of *lou chuan* and *qingling* styles. He innovatively replaced the second-story structure of traditional *lou chuan* with a platform, which was adorned with flexible railings and curtains that could be easily assembled or disassembled. In this manner, during periods of calm winds and while the vessel is secured in place, a space for activity is available on the platform that remains undisturbed by boatmen traversing along the boat's side. This area would offer an enhanced perspective, greater integration with the surrounding environment, and a more ethereal

⁴⁰¹ Wang Ruqian, "Buxi Yuan ji," 3b-4a.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 4a.

ambiance. Meanwhile, when encountering strong winds or low bridges, the removal of the upper layer can provide a more stable center of gravity and greater freedom of movement.

Regarding space operations, the utilization of corridors to break up the original monolithic structure of the vessel has resulted in a unique combination of outlooks. The upper layer employs a soft material distinct from that used in the lower layer, which not only enhances the visual depth of the vessel but also contributes to its perceived lightness.

Wang Ruqian's design was evidently influenced by the "Shuhua Chuan" or "Dushu Chuan" constructed by his literati acquaintances. For instance, when designing the first floor's interior space, he did not replicate the more capacious areas for singing, dancing, feasting and drinking found in those *lou chuan*; instead, he adopted a layout akin to that of the "small chamber" and "study room" on the "Shuhua Chuan." The railings and curtains on the second floor share similarities with Huang Ruheng's "Fumei Jian." As for the incorporation of garden structures such as "corridors" and "terraces," there exist comparable precedents. Yuan Zhongdao commissioned the construction of a boat during the 41st year of the Wanli period (1613). While engrossed in reading aboard said boat, he was struck with inspiration. He then "directed his servant to procure several fir timbers from the nearby village and enlisted a carpenter to erect a small pavilion at its prow" 遣人于庄上取杉木数根，呼木匠作一小亭于舟前。⁴⁰³

Although Yuan's approach was simpler than Wang's Buxi Yuan, it more clearly demonstrates that the literati did not view the boat's superstructure and hull as a unified whole. Instead, they recognized the boat as a distinct floating and mobile terrain upon which spatial layouts could be arranged according to individual needs.

Following this concept, Chen Jiru named the boat "Buxi Yuan," extolling its architectural composition for evoking a feeling of being in an exquisite garden. Upon the conceptual integration of "boats" and "architectures," this name took a step further by blurring the boundary between "boats" and the unique composition of architectures, namely "gardens." In terms of materiality, Wang's boat still lacked the architectural elements necessary to truly align it with a garden. However, if West Lake were to be considered a public garden, then this boat could be regarded as a landscape architecture within that garden. Although private ownership of West Lake was not possible, possessing a painted boat that could freely navigate to and from it was akin to having an unobstructed view of this scenic area. Therefore, referring to this boat that brought forth all aspects of the West Lake as "garden" seems entirely reasonable.

Moreover, this name also reflected the contemplation on officials' predilection for gardens and objects of genteel living during the late Ming dynasty. Following this trend, gardens gradually became associated with showcasing one's financial power rather than refined taste. He Liangjun 何良俊 (1506-1573) once wrote:

As soon as a family's wealth reaches a thousand pieces of gold, and they have acquired some land and property, the desire to create a garden takes root. Amongst officials'

⁴⁰³ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 159.

families, especially those with greater power, there is an unspoken competition to keep up with one another in this regard. In almost every city in Jiangnan, gardens are densely scattered like chess pieces on a board, occupying much of the market and residential space. However, these gardens are simply a compilation of soil, plants, and stones sourced from places near and far, with the sole purpose of showcasing their grandeur.

凡家累千金，垣屋稍治，必欲营治一园。若士大夫之家，其力稍赢，尤以此相胜。大略三吴城中园苑棊置，侵市肆民居大半。然不过近聚土壤，远延木石，聊以矜眩于一时耳。⁴⁰⁴

The burgeoning trend of gardening not only required significant manpower and material resources, but also inflicted damage upon the natural landscape. During Yuan Zhongdao's visit to Qixia 栖霞 Mountain in the 37th year of the Wanli period (1609), he observed that the stones along the mountain stream had been excavated excessively, resulting in a honeycomb-like appearance that was repulsive.⁴⁰⁵

This situation prompted cultural elites to resist and reflect, leading them to redefine the aesthetics of gardens. Echoing Su Shi's words from over five centuries ago, the picturesque scenery of lakes and mountains resembles a gentle breeze or radiant moonlight - an inexhaustible vista created by nature for all to appreciate.⁴⁰⁶ It occurred to them that taking a "floating studio" boating on West Lake would be akin to having access to an expansive garden with limitless sceneries. Rephrasing the egocentricity of claiming ownership over lakes and mountains, and limiting one's desire for possession to a small boat, would not curtail aesthetic experience; rather, it leads to embracing an open-minded and free-spirited approach of perceiving the entire nature as a magnificent "garden."

Furthermore, the inevitable passage of time leads to the deterioration and decay of all structures and landscapes. Even the most celebrated palaces and gardens throughout history have succumbed to this fate, crumbling into dust with each passing dynasty. Therefore, Wang Ruqian believed that "It is preferable to allocate funds towards enhancing renowned mountains and landscapes for communal appreciation, rather than purchasing land and constructing gardens. One should refrain from claiming ownership of private gardens and pavilions, as it would impose a burden on future generations [for maintenance]" 以买山构园之资，莫如点

⁴⁰⁴ See He Liangjun 何良俊, "Xiyuan yahui ji xu" 西园雅会集序, in *Ming wen hai* 明文海, comp. Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲, vol. 301, 5a. See *SKQS*.

⁴⁰⁵ See Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 52: 蹶径过石梁，寻中峰涧道，石皆为中贵所凿，如蜂房，令人欲呕，遍寻山中佳石皆损。

⁴⁰⁶ Su Shi, "Chibi fu" 赤壁赋, in *Dongpo quanji*, vol. 33, 13a: 惟江上之清风与山间之明月，耳得之而为声，目遇之而成色。取之无禁，用之不竭，是造物者之无尽藏也，而吾与子之所共适。 See *SKQSHY*.

綴名山胜迹，以供同好，毋私园亭，遗累子孙。⁴⁰⁷

Wang's interest in restoring a free spirit to Ming garden culture was shared by several of his contemporaries. His friend, Chen Jiru, also wrote: "The excavation of a river channel, costing one thousand pieces of gold, and the relocation of boulders with the labor of one hundred men. The arduous construction of a renowned garden is only a nonsense, akin to that of a silkworm enveloping itself in its cocoon" 渠以千金穿，石以百夫举。辛苦构名园，无乃蚕作茧。⁴⁰⁸ Stemming from the same concept and aesthetic, Chen Jiru skillfully captured the essence of Wang Ruqian's boat construction in his denomination "Buxi Yuan," which was highly appreciated by Wang Ruqian and other guests for its adept appropriateness. At the end of "Buxi Yuan ji," Wang Ruqian wrote:

Chen Meigong named it: "The Garden Without Constraints." This honorable name and grand gathering shall be immortalized as a legendary tale of West Lake for generations to come. What need is there to pile up rocks, dredge ponds, or enclose the hills for personal gain, proclaiming, "my garden, my garden!"

陈眉公先生题曰：“不系园”，佳名胜事，传异日西湖一段佳话。岂必垒石凿沼，圉邱壑而私之，曰“我园我园”也哉！⁴⁰⁹

In the first year of the Chongzhen period (1628), Wang Ruqianfu built another boat, and Dong Qichang named it "Suixi An." This name also conveyed a sentiment of "appreciating scenery at any time and in any place." In addition to Buxi Yuan and Suixi An, Wang Ruqian built "several kinds of 'Mijia Shuhua Fang'" 诸式米家书画舫, and small boats such as Guan Ye, Xiao Tuanpiao 小团瓢.⁴¹⁰ In the years that followed, these painted boats drifted amidst the ethereal mist and undulating waves of West Lake. Accompanied by the widely disseminated poetry and proses of literati, these boats created an ever-changing and unfixed garden for Wang Ruqian, the Host of Lakes and Mountains.

After providing an introduction to the construction background, design, and nomenclature associated with this case study, the following discussion will delve deeper into two key aspects while drawing upon other relevant cases in order to explore how literati have shaped boat-architecture. The first aspect concerns the conceptualization of boat-architecture as reflected in its name. The second aspect pertains to the spatial nature of utopia and heterotopia projected by literati through their code of conduct on board.

⁴⁰⁷ Wang Ruqian, "Chongxiu Shuixianwang Miao ji" 重修水仙王庙记, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 3, 1b-2a.

⁴⁰⁸ Chen Jiru, "Ti Suixi An" 题随喜庵, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 15a.

⁴⁰⁹ Wang Ruqian, "Buxi Yuan ji," 4a-b.

⁴¹⁰ See Wang Ruqian, "Xihu jiyou," 18a.

1.4.2 Concept: The Name of Boat-architecture

Among the discussions of Buxi Yuan, its nomenclature stands out as particularly noteworthy, and this part will delve into the consideration how the naming practices of literati have influenced boat-architecture's concept.

Since Ouyang Xiu's "Huafang Zhai" in the Song dynasty, there has been a conceptual connection established between "boats" and "architectures." The introduction of the "Mijia Shuhua Chuan" symbol has further facilitated a reciprocal flow – if an architecture can be referred to as a boat, why should not a boat be considered as an architecture? With this dual mobility, boat-architecture is precisely an ingenious concept constructed by literati through exploiting the tension between these two entities. This concept is inherently impure due to its foundation in the inclusion of numerous and even contradictory cultural connotations. Its ambiguity, however, provides ample space for imagination and dramatic meaning.

Initially, this concept of impurity was met with skepticism. Lu You of the Southern Song dynasty once named his study "Yan Ting" 烟艇 (Boat Amidst Smoke). In "Yan Ting ji" 烟艇记 (The Record of the Yan Ting), he cited his guests' words to express their skepticism about naming residential buildings after boats:

How peculiar! A dwelling is not a boat, just as a boat is not a dwelling. Would you say that a house bears resemblance to a boat? While it is true that boats can be grand enough to rival palaces, does it truly make sense to refer to them as abodes?

异哉！屋之非舟，犹舟之非屋也。以为似欤，舟固有高明奥丽逾于宫室者矣，遂谓之屋，可不可耶？⁴¹¹

Subsequently, Lu You refuted this idea:

That is fallacious! Xinfeng 新丰 cannot be deemed as the authentic Fengyi 丰邑 of Chu 楚,⁴¹² and the *huben* 虎贲 is not equivalent to *zhonglangjiang* 中郎将.⁴¹³ Who is not cognizant of this fact? The heart yearns for what it cannot attain, so it settles for a resemblance and names it after its desire. You err in scrutinizing the veritable connotation behind such a denomination. What is awry with me?

⁴¹¹ Lu You, "Yan Ting ji," in *Weinan wenji*, vol. 17, 5b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁴¹² Emperor Gaozu of the Han dynasty (Liu Bang 刘邦, 256/247-195 BCE, r. 206-195 BCE) constructed a new Feng county in proximity to the capital with the intention of emulating Fengyi, his birthplace.

⁴¹³ The term *huben zhonglangjiang* 虎贲中郎将 was an official title during the Han dynasty, bestowed upon only the most elite warriors who were entrusted with safeguarding the emperor's life. As such, *huben* became synonymous with commendations for distinguished soldiers in later generations.

不然，新丰非楚也，虎贲非中郎也，谁则不知。意所诚好而不得焉，粗得其似，则名之矣。因名以课实，子则过矣，而予何罪？⁴¹⁴

For Lu You and literati of his ilk, the form of their dwellings might only vaguely resemble a boat. However, by naming their homes after boats, they establish a conceptual connection that evokes deep satisfaction. As he stated:

The notion of drifting along the rivers and lakes expands my mind to encompass the resplendent scenery of clouds, sun, and moon, as well as the capricious transformations of thunder and rain. Though I may be confined within a small room, I often feel as if I am navigating through the current, whisked away thousands of miles in an instant. In such moments, who can say for certain that this abode is not truly a boat adrift in mist?

意者使吾胸中浩然廓然，纳烟云日月之伟观，揽雷霆风雨之奇变，虽坐容膝之室，而常若顺流放棹，瞬息千里者，则安知此室果非烟艇也哉？⁴¹⁵

As demonstrated by Lu You's guest, it is apparent that during the nascent phase of boat-architecture in the Song dynasty, many individuals maintained a clear differentiation between the concept of architecture and boat. They disapproved of naming a dwelling architecture after a boat, let alone referring to a boat as an architecture, even if it was "grand enough to rival palaces."

However, such biases seem preposterous and outdated, as already during the Northern Song dynasty, numerous boats were already named with the character *zhai* 斋, a synonym for "architecture," particularly the "studio" or "study." The Song dynasty scholar Sun Di 孙覿 (1081-1169) once mentioned a kind of boat, *zhai jian* 斋舰, in the article, and explained it as "a kind of boat [equipped] with plank houses [on top]" 板屋舟也.⁴¹⁶ In the revised and enlarged edition, it provided an instance of *zhai jian* by citing a reference in Li Gang's *Liangxi ji* that alluded to a lake boat named "Yaobi Zhai" 摇碧斋 (the Studio of Creating Turquoise Waves), and expounded on the fact that during Li Gang's time, most pleasure boats were named as *zhai*.⁴¹⁷

According to available information, the earliest recorded use of the term *zhai* to name a boat was in one of the prototypes of boat-architecture, namely Mi Fu's "Shuhua Chuan" – "Baojin Zhai." However, as discussed previously (see 1.2.1), it is known that Mi Fu's naming method was not intended to enhance permeability between boat and architecture concepts.

⁴¹⁴ Lu You, "Yan Ting ji," 5b.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 6a-b.

⁴¹⁶ Sun Di, "Yu xunjian Li Xiuwu" 与巡检李修武, in *Neijian chidu* 内简尺牍, comp. Li Zuyao 李祖尧, revised and enlarged by Cai Zhuo 蔡焯 and Cai Longsun 蔡龙孙 (Shanghai: Xinmin shuju, 1935), 4.

⁴¹⁷ See, *ibid.*: 《梁溪集》本注：摇碧斋是湖船之名，盖当时游船多以斋名也。

Instead of naming the boat “Baojin Zhai,” he opted to name the space that accommodated the masterpieces of renowned Jin dynasty artists, which would relocate along with the paintings and calligraphy works. It can be inferred that the boat was only named as “Baojin Zhai” upon Mi Fu’s introduction of these paintings and calligraphy on board. However, upon his disembarkation with the mentioned treasures, the boat was stripped of this name.

In contrast, the name “Yaobi Zhai” in Li Gang’s *Liangxi ji* was unequivocally associated with a boat, as evidenced by the poems of many Song dynasty literati. One of them Li Gang: “The Gushan Temple remains veiled by the thick clouds, while the ‘Yaobi Zhai’ boat is unable to set sail due to the fierce wind” 云深不见孤山寺。风急难乘摇碧斋。⁴¹⁸ Another one Su Shi: “I am envious that you have the opportunity to embark on the ‘Yaobi Zhai’ and create turquoise waves upon the lake, while I lament my meager existence where even in this prosperous society, my culinary tools gather a thick layer of dust” 羨君湖上斋摇碧，笑我花时甑有尘。⁴¹⁹ They demonstrate its widespread renown.

The general term *zhai jian* (the character *jian* can be replaced by other synonyms of boat, such as *chuan*, *ting* or *ling* 舫) recorded by Sun Di was also widely recognized among scholars. Ouyang Xiu, who established the architectural prototype of “Chuan Zhai” (i.e., “Huafang Zhai”), mentioned in “Song Shen xueshi zhi Changzhou” 送沈学士知常州 (Farewell to Scholar Shen, who is now appointed as the prefectural supervisor of Changzhou) written in the third year of the Jiayou period (1058): “The old study [where you once delved into knowledge] now remains locked with only the lingering scent of *yunxiang* 芸香 (a herb once used to vanquish bookworms). The *zhai ling* [you embarked upon] shall traverse southward amidst the undulating autumnal waves” 旧馆芸香锁寂寥，斋舫东下入秋涛。⁴²⁰ Song Wang Anshi also wrote “Song Zhenzhou Wu Chuhou shijun” 送真州吴处厚使君 (Farewell to Wu Chuhou, the prefectural supervisor of Zhenzhou) with the sentence: “The *zhai chuan* on the river ceased their colorful oars, as the sound of *mingjia* 鸣笳 (a kind of wind instrument) [played for your farewell] echoed throughout the Lüyang Bridge 绿杨桥” 江上斋船驻彩橈，鸣笳应满绿杨桥。⁴²¹

Initially, the character *zhai* in “Zhai Chuan,” which also connotes the act of “fasting,” might have denoted these boats’ function for religious fasting practices.⁴²² However, as the name “Zhai Chuan,” with its reversed character order from “Chuan Zhai,” evoked a reciprocal resemblance of “boat” and “architecture” in literati’s mind. Under this set of names with

⁴¹⁸ Li Gang, “Zhang Nanzhong zhijiu Xinyuan Tang zhiyu” 张南仲置酒心渊堂值雨, in *Liangxi ji*, vol. 5, 11a. See *SKQS*.

⁴¹⁹ Su Shi, “Ciyun Lin Zizhong ‘Chunri xindi shushi jianji’” 次韵林子中春日新堤书事见寄, in *Dongpo quanji*, vol. 20, 11a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁴²⁰ Ouyang Xiu, “Song Shen xueshi zhi Changzhou,” in Ouyang Xiu, *Quanji*, 93.

⁴²¹ Wang Anshi, “Song Zhenzhou Wu Chuhou shijun,” in *Linchuan wenji* 临川文集, vol. 19, 8a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁴²² See Meng Dongsheng 孟东生, selected and annotated, *Xihu youchuan minglu* 西湖游船名录 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2013), 90: footnote 1.

opposite orders, individuals sensitive of the conceptual permeability between boats and buildings consciously seek out the contradiction and poetry likewise that flows between them. Among these individuals, those with extensive boating experience (see 1.2) and a deep understanding of Ouyang Xiu's "Huafang Zhai" practice (see 1.3) would undoubtedly possess a heightened ability to grasp its essence.

When Li Gang was in Sha county, he discovered the existence of a painted pleasure boat within the region. However, it had been destroyed by lightning. In response to this unfortunate event, he proposed and oversaw the reconstruction of a new vessel.⁴²³ This newly constructed painted pleasure boat was completed during the fourth lunar month of the second year of the Xuanhe period (1120) and was named "Fanbi Zhai" 泛碧斋. Li Gang and his companions composed poems for this boat and inscribed a preface on the stone as a commemoration, hoping that future generations would recognize their authorship of this vessel and prevent its destruction from happening again.⁴²⁴ After that, Li Gang, Deng Su, Chen Guan and their companions frequented "Fanbi Zhai" for leisure activities, resulting in the creation of numerous related poems.⁴²⁵ The "Fanbi Zhai" was constructed subsequent to the aforementioned "Yaobi Zhai."⁴²⁶ Given the similarity between their names, it is difficult to conceive that there exists no certain inheritance relationship between them.

The tradition of naming boats after architectures (*zhai*), which originated in the Song dynasty and was passed down to the Yuan dynasty, has become a popular practice. In the 25th year of the Zhizheng period (1365), Yang Weizhen resigned his official position and lived in seclusion in Songjiangfu 松江府, where he wrote an essay titled "Fengyue furen xu" 风月福人序 (the Preface for a Man Blessed by the Pleasure of Wind and Moon), claiming: "I am not yet 70 years old, and now I retire amidst the nine peaks and three lakes [in Songjiang]. [...] When favorable winds and moonlight prevail, I navigate the 'Chunshui Zhai' 春水宅 to the regions of Wu 吴 and Yue 越 (roughly corresponding to Jiangsu and Zhejiang province), [...]" 吾未七十，休官在九峰三泖间……风月好时，驾春水宅赴吴越间……⁴²⁷ According to the annotation following "Chunshui Zhai," which indicates that it was "the name of the

⁴²³ See Li Gang, "Fanbi Zhai shi xu" 泛碧斋诗序 in *Liangxi ji*, vol. 9, 13a: 县故有舫，焚于雷火，因不复置，迄今八年。清流如席，可泛可濯。坐视莫为，非阙典耶？予谪官来此，暇日为邑中同僚道其故，不旬月而舫具，华丽宏壮，有浙舸之风，名之曰泛碧斋。 See *SKQS*.

⁴²⁴ See *ibid.*, 13b: 因赋诗四韵以纪其实，序而刻之，使后人知是舟之设自吾徒始，尚勿毁云。

⁴²⁵ See *ibid.*, vol. 10, 1b, 9a, 12b; vol. 11, 10b; vol.13, 1a-b, 2a, 3a, 7a, 11b. The poems related to "Fanbi Zhai" can also be seen in Chen Yuan's *Motang ji* 默堂集.

⁴²⁶ The exact time of construction for "Yaobi Zhai" remains uncertain, but it can be reasonably inferred that it was built before "Fanbi Zhai," which was constructed 19 years after Su Shi's death, as Su Shi's poems have referenced the former.

⁴²⁷ Yang Weizhen, "Fengyue furen xu," in *Dongweizi ji* 东维子集, vol. 9, 8b. See *SKQS*.

gentleman's (Yang Weizhen) boat" 先生舫名,⁴²⁸ it is evident that he owned a boat named "Chunshui Zhai" during his later years. The term *zhai* 宅, which is also synonymous with architecture, shares the same pronunciation as *zhai* 斋. However, it pertains to a place of habitation rather than solely a study room. Yang Weizhen obviously employed wordplay with homophones to reinforce the conceptual permeability between the spatial qualities of onboard and on-land architecture.

Shi Shaoshen 施绍莘 (1581-1640), a native of Songjiangfu who styled himself "Fengmao Langxian" 峰泖浪仙 (The Immortal Among the Waves of the Peaks and Lakes), withdrew from society in his 30s to live as a recluse amidst the picturesque landscape of *jiufeng sanmao* 九峰三泖 (nine peaks and three lakes in the Songjiang area). In the "Xishe shanju ji" 西佘山居记 (The Record of Living in the West She Mountain) of his *Huaying ji* 花影集 (Collection of Flowers' Shadows), he mentioned that he moved to the garden in the west of the Mao River⁴²⁹ in the winter of the 47th year of the Wanli period (1619).⁴³⁰ Surrounded by water, he constructed a fishing boat "Sui An" 随庵 (Unconstrained Hut) for transportation, touring, and gathering purposes. In his anthology of songs, *Yaotai Pingyu* 瑶台片玉 (The Jade Slices of Yao Tai), he documented that he once traveled to Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing) for examinations by this boat and stayed on board with a friend instead of at a hotel. He emphasized the benefits of enjoying landscapes in an unrestrained manner based on personal preferences:

Every time the boat passes through a picturesque landscape, [we] stopped for a moment of rest and appreciation. The mountains present different facets under varying angles of sunlight, while the water takes on diverse forms ranging from zigzag to placid. The willows flanking both banks differ in height and density. Therefore, [we adjust our perspective by] altering the boat's proximity or distance to the scenery and its orientation towards or away from it, in order to appreciate its beauty from an unconventional angle.

每到山水胜处，便刺篙休焉。山有面背隐现，水有曲折平远。两涯烟柳，有高低疏密，乃船之去就斜横，可以随缘选胜，诡遇征奇。⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ It is probably noteworthy that Lin Youlin wrote his *Qinglian Fang qinya* when he sailed his boat, Qinglian Fang, on the same river, see 1.2.2.1.

⁴³⁰ Shi Shaoshen, "Xishe shanju ji," see He Huiming 何惠明 and Wang Jianmin 王健民, eds., *Songjiangxian zhi* 松江县志, comp. Shanghai Shi Songjianxian difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 上海市松江县地方史志编纂委员会 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991), 886: ……己未冬，居家泖西…….

⁴³¹ Shi Shaoshen, postscript of the "Zhouju lühuai" 舟居旅怀, in *Yaotai pianyu*, see Chongtianzi 虫天子, comp. *Zhongguo xiangyan quanshu* 中国香艳全书, vol. 1 (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2005), 398.

Shi Shaoxin and Chen Jiru were close friends. They resided in the west and east of She Mountain respectively. The former's naming of the "Unconstrained Hut" (Sui An) might have inspired the latter's naming of the "The Garden Without Constraints" (Buxi Yuan). Moreover, Dong Qichang's naming of Wang Ruqian's "The Hut of Unconstrained Rejoice" (Suixi An) might also have been influenced by it. Subsequently, in the eighth year of Chongzhen (1635), Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-1642), a well-known gardener and author of *Yuan ye* 园冶 (Art of Garden-building), built a garden in Yangzhou for a member of the Wang Ruqian's boat gatherings, Zheng Yuanxun 郑元勋 (1598-1645). Dong Qichang named it "Ying Yuan" 影园 (Garden of the Shadow). There was a small boat named "Yong An" 泳庵 (Drifting Hut) in this garden,⁴³² which exemplifies the continuation of this nomenclature.

The word play in this nomenclature of "boats" and "architectures" was specifically emphasized intentionally in the Ming dynasty. As Waiyee-Li pointed out, "The late Ming was an age of self-conscious passion, dramatic gestures, and deep concern with the meaning of creating a self or a persona."⁴³³ In this context, she further stated: "Naming is defining: it is as if different personas or aspects of personality are disclosed through these names."⁴³⁴ Considering this mode of thinking, the nomenclature not only conveys a certain concept but also inevitably influences the expression of the physical form in turn. The reciprocal influence between "boats" and "architectures" was subject to the same principle. By utilizing the dual nature of this nomenclature, Ming dynasty literati surpassed their predecessors by emphasizing the imitation between boats and buildings, thereby reinforcing the permeability of concepts at a material level.

This emphasis was a conscious act, as evidenced by Zhang Dai's statement in his *Tao An mengyi* 陶庵梦忆 (Reminiscences in Dreams of Tao An):

When my father built a *lou* 楼 (pavilion), he designed it to resemble a boat; when he constructed a boat, he fashioned it after a pavilion. Therefore, the locals commonly refer to his practice as "Chuan Lou" 船楼 or "Lou Chuan" 楼船, with the order of the two characters often being interchangeable.

家大人造楼，船之；造船，楼之。故里中人谓“船楼”，谓“楼船”，颠倒之不置。⁴³⁵

⁴³² See Zheng Yuanxun, "Ying Yuan ziji" 影园自记, in *Yangzhou wenxuan* 扬州文选, selected and annotated by Ma Jiading 马家鼎 (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 2001), 71: 舟大如莲瓣，字曰：“泳庵”，容一榻、一几、一茶炉…….

⁴³³ Wai-yee Li, "The Late Ming Courtesan: Invention of a Cultural Ideal," in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, ed. Ellen Widmer, Kang-i Sun Chang (California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 53.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 55.

⁴³⁵ Zhang Dai, "Lou chuan," in *Tao An mengyi – Xihu mengxun*, 94.

Regarding the correlation between the “boat” and the “pavilion,” Yuan Zhongdao recorded a most intriguing anecdote in his *Kexue Zhai ji* 珂雪斋集 (Collection of the Kexue Zhai):

In the Renchen Year of the Wanli period, a gentleman from Longyang 龙阳 county transported a pavilion on his boat for sale. I procured it and positioned it to the right of my abode, naming it “Yuanfan Lou” 远帆楼 (The Pavilion of Far Sail). After approximately one month, a courtesan arrived and I ascended the pavilion with her. Upon inspection, she burst into tears and inquired as to how I had acquired said structure. My response was that it had been purchased from an individual hailing from Longyang county. The courtesan then spoke mournfully: “Alas! This was once the pavilion of my husband, Liu 刘 *biejia* 别驾,⁴³⁶ a distinguished official who indulged in music and women. He kept numerous courtesans, including myself, whom he taught songs and dances to all day long on this very pavilion. We were lavished with music and feasts, reveling day and night. Ever since his passing, I have been rendered homeless in foreign lands. Never did I imagine that this pavilion had also been relocated to such a remote location.” Then, she gestured towards the various flowers adorning the white board on the door and recounted: “My friend and I once purloined my late husband’s brush and painted these blooms in sheer delight.” As she spoke, tears welled up in her eyes and she brushed them away with her sleeves.

万历壬辰，江上有龙阳人以舟载楼而鬻者，鬻而建之宅右，名曰远帆楼。逾月，有一妓来与之登楼，熟视泣下，因问楼所由来，予答以鬻之龙阳人。妓乃揪然曰：“隐嘻！此妾夫君别驾刘公楼也。公爱声色，蓄妓甚多，妾其一也。终日于楼上教歌舞，丝竹代奏，欢宴穷日夜。公既死，妾亦流落。孰知楼亦远移至此。”因指白板扉上，所画花卉数种，谓予曰：“此妾与女伴某窃公笔而喜为之者也。”以袖拂拭，言与泪俱。⁴³⁷

Yuan Zhongdao’s comprehension of the correlation between the “boat” and the “pavilion” surpassed that of Zhang Dai’s father. In the Yuan’s narrative, these two objects are distinct entities that can be installed and uninstalled. Although the former is presented as a mere carrier for the latter, rather than embodying its characteristics, their relationship is actually reinforced instead of weakened – according to his perspective, “the superstructure atop a boat” and “a pavilion” can be regarded synonymous. The same notion is also exemplified by his practice of constructing a small pavilion on a boat’s prow, as previously mentioned (see 1.4.1), which established the basis for organizing multiple structures into a composition atop the boat’s hull.

With this concept and the flourishing of gardening in the Ming dynasty, literati no

⁴³⁶ The term *biejia* is the abbreviation of *biejia congshishi* 别驾从事史, an official title of the Han dynasty, referred to *tongpan* in the Ming dynasty.

⁴³⁷ See Yu Anlan, ed., *Yutai huashi*, 64.

longer limited their boat names to “study,” or “residence,” but gradually shifted towards garden buildings such as “pavilion” or “platform” (as exemplified by Wang Jiyuan’s “Xizhuang Tai,” see 1.4.1) and even gardens themselves: Chen Jiru ultimately reached the pinnacle of this aesthetic of ambiguity, which is based on the conceptual fluidity between the “boat” and “architecture,” by naming Wang Ruqian’s Buxi Yuan.

Following Wang Ruqian’s Buxi Yuan, there emerged a trend among scholars to name their boats by using the character *yuan* 园 (garden). Qi Biaoja 祁彪佳 (1603-1645), an official who was also an renowned essayist and opera writer in the late Ming dynasty, followed suit. According to the records of his diary, Qi Bujia traveled to Hangzhou and resided near West Lake after resigning in the summer of 1635. During this period, he established close connections with Wang Ruqian and other individuals in this circle. He documented: “On the fifth day [of the sixth lunar month], [I] rented the ‘Buxi Yuan’ boat, with plans to venture with my wife into the inner lake within Duan Qiao” 初五日，买不系园舟，欲与内子至段桥里湖。⁴³⁸ Having been greatly impressed by the innovative boat designs on West Lake, he made a record just one month later upon his return home: “The first day of the eighth lunar month, [...] it so happened that the boat craftsmen I called from Hangzhou had arrived. I instructed them to use Wang Eyun’s boat as a model and construct a new pleasure boat with some modifications” 八月初一日……适呼船匠自武林至，乃仿王峨云之舟，损益其间以为画舫。⁴³⁹ About two months later, he wrote: “The 15th day [of the tenth lunar month], [...] Today marks the completion of our new pleasure boat, which has been named ‘Jie Yuan’ 皆园 by [my friend] Zhixiang 止祥” 十五日……是日新舫成，止祥题以“皆园”。⁴⁴⁰ Qi Biaoja did not provide any specific details regarding the form and size of the “Jie Yuan” boat. However, it can be inferred that there was a two-story structure atop this boat, based on his diary entry on the 21st day of the 11th lunar month: “As the sun was descending behind the mountain, casting a radiant glow upon the tranquil waters. My friend and I were perched on the upstairs of the newly constructed pleasure boat, luxuriating in our comfort” 时西日衔山，落霞相暎，与友人坐新舫楼上，意气舒畅。⁴⁴¹ Beside the boat “Jie Yuan,” in the third lunar month of the 18th year of Chongzhen (1645), he completed another boat named “Sui Yuan” 随园. In his diary, he recorded: “On the tenth day [of the third lunar month], which was the Qingming Festival. [I] sailed to Chenniang Yan 沉酿堰 with my friends Zhang Yifan 张轶凡 and Jiang Anran 蒋安然 aboard my newly constructed boat ‘Sui Yuan’” 初十日，清明节。偕张轶凡、蒋安然以新构小舟“随园”者至沉酿堰。⁴⁴²

There was a Qing dynasty Yangzhou salt merchant from the same Wang clan (though not the same branch) as Wang Ruqian in the She county. He constructed a pleasure boat named

⁴³⁸ Qi Biaoja, *Qi Biaoja riji* 祁彪佳日记 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2018), 159.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 168.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 180.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 185.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 815.

“Yi Yuan” 移园 (Moving Garden) within his Jiufeng Garden 九峰园 (rebuilt in 1761, formerly known as Jiamei Garden 葭湄园) located south of Yangzhou city.⁴⁴³ This name was evidently also affected by the Buxi Yuan. Similar to Mi Wanzhong inheriting from Mi Fu’s “Mijia Chuan” (see 1.3.2), this “Yi Yuan” can be considered a “Wangjia Yuan” (Wang Family’s Garden) that has inherited the legacy of the Buxi Yuan.

In general, it was the habit – becoming a method – of precisely selected nomenclature that brought boat-architecture to bloom as cultural phenomenon. This nomenclature reflected literati’s profound, complex linguistic elegance and likewise fostered a conceptual interplay of “boat” and “architecture”, finally shaping the distinctive concept of “boat-architecture.”

This exquisitely poetic and aesthetically pleasing concept is deeply rooted in traditional Chinese culture, embodying a conceptual paradox, ambiguity, and flexible freedom. It facilitates comparison and communication between the architectural space of buildings and boats: the boat-shaped structures within the garden resemble pleasure boats floating on the waters, while a vessel adorned with delicately composed structures atop it can be perceived as a garden drifting freely amidst beautiful nature.

1.4.3 Symbol: The Utopia/heterotopia of Boat-Architecture

In recent years, my whereabouts have been nestled between the tranquil lake and majestic mountains, where I spend each day in the company of esteemed mountain monks and distinguished celebrities. The air is often filled with enchanting melodies from a variety of instruments, while the gentle spring breeze carries with it breathtaking vistas at every turn.

With emotions overflowing, I indulged in the beauty of flowers. As a self-proclaimed idler, I have discovered the pleasures of leisure. Severed from all worldly ties, in my twilight years I became enamored with living aboard a vessel amidst the clouds and waves.

年来寄迹在湖山，野衲名流日往还。弦管有时频共载，春风何处不开颜。
情痴半向花前醉，懒癖应知悟后闲。种种尘缘都谢却，老耽一航云水间。⁴⁴⁴

In this poem “Zuo Buxi Yuan” 作不系园 (Construction of the Garden Without Constraints), Wang Ruqian extols the virtues of boat-architecture as a dwelling space – a secure haven adrift in mountains and rivers, a place to revel in song and music, a refuge from the world, and an origin for transforming emotions and scenery into aesthetic objects.

Ma Yuelu 马曰璐 (1701-1761), who also engaged in the salt trade in Yangzhou, hailed from Qimen county, Anhui province. Like Wang Ruqian, he was a generous and humane poet. He once penned the preface to Li E’s *Huchuan lu* 湖船录 (Records of the Lake Boats), wherein

⁴⁴³ See Li Dou, *Yangzhou huafang lu*, 199: 有画舫名曰移园，为汪氏自制。

⁴⁴⁴ Wang Ruqian, “Zuo Buxi Yuan,” in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 3a.

he wrote: “[The lake boat is] a dwelling place moored by the willow trees, and a cart floating amidst flowers” 傍柳边而泊宅，隔花外以浮驂，⁴⁴⁵ depicting lake boats as both a dwelling place, *zhai* 宅, and means of transportation, *can* 驂 (the horses that pull the cart).

When we go back to this cultural concept in the longer history, we can see that the allusion of Zhang Zhihe’s *fujia fanzhai* (floating abode and drifting residence, see 1.3.1 and 1.3.3) recorded in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐书 (New Book of Tang) had a very profound impact on the preference of scholars for *zhouju* 舟居 (boat dwelling). Although the boat serves as a natural “dwelling” for fishermen who rely on the water for their livelihood, considering it as a dwelling space signifies a cultural concept of utopia for literati.

In the Song dynasty, Hong Kuo regarded his Yi Zhai as a place for emulating boat dwelling (see 1.3.1). His brother Hong Zun also wrote: “Since the ancient time, few have been capable of *fujia fanzhai* [like you], except for Zhang Zhihe who surpassed the ordinary” 浮家泛宅古无多，只有高人张志和，⁴⁴⁶ explicitly comparing his brother’s *fang* architecture to the *fujia fanzhai*. Lu You, who appreciated the intimacy of the “small chamber,” also had an affinity for *zhouju*. He wrote: “What I desired most was to reside on a boat, while living on land was merely a means of getting by” 吾意本扁舟，陆居聊尔耳。⁴⁴⁷ Yang Weizhen of the Yuan dynasty named his **Chunshui Zhai** (see 1.4.2) after Du Fu’s famous phrase “**Chunshui chuan** ru tianshang zuo” 春水船如天上坐 (The boat on the spring water provides a sensation of sitting in paradise).⁴⁴⁸ His transition from *chuan* to *zhai* also reflected the intention similar to the concept of *fujia fanzhai*.

In the Ming dynasty, the style of traveling and sojourning in various places gained increasing popularity. Driven by their ambitions beyond hometowns, people embarked on journeys across the country to seek career opportunities while indulging in scenic beauty and broadening their horizons.⁴⁴⁹ As mentioned in section 1.2, the literati of the Ming dynasty regarded boat travel, particularly on “Shuhua Chuan,” as their preferred mode of transportation. This resulted in a thriving interest in boating and boat dwelling among the literati class. To them, boats were not just vessels for water transport but also symbolized an ultimate expression of landscape appreciation and a rejection of secular life.

For example, Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610) believed that there were five kinds of *kuaihuo* 快活 (happiness) in life. Among them, the fourth type entailed “procuring a boat for one thousand taels of gold and embarking on it with a troupe of musicians, several courtesans, and some leisurely individuals to live a *fujia fanzhai* lifestyle that obfuscates the impending footsteps of old age” 千金买一舟，舟中置鼓吹一部，妓妾数人，游闲数人，

⁴⁴⁵ See HZWXJC, vol. 3, *Wulin Zhanggu congbian*, vol. 3, 751.

⁴⁴⁶ Hong Zun, “Ciyun xiangxiong Fang Zhai shi ershou,” see *YLDD*, 1010.

⁴⁴⁷ Lu You, “Du Su Shudang Ruzhou ‘Beishan zashi,’ ci qi yun” 读苏叔党汝州北山杂诗次其韵, in *Jiannan shigao*, vol. 44, 4a. See *SKQS*.

⁴⁴⁸ Du Fu, “Xiao hanshi Zhouzhong zuo,” in *Jiujia jizhu Du shi*, vol. 36, 26b. See *SKQS*.

⁴⁴⁹ See Chen Baoliang 陈宝良, *Mingdai shehui shenghuoshi* 明代社会生活史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), 7.

泛家浮宅，不知老之将至。⁴⁵⁰ It is evident that he perceived boat dwelling as a form of resistance against the inevitability of aging for the mundane. Others expressed the convenience of unrestricted activities while living on a boat, and emphasized the avoidance of undesired social interaction. Tan Yuanchun 谭元春 (1586-1637) pointed out that there are five benefits about boat dwelling:

The first benefit lies in the fact that one need not frequently remunerate the boatmen, while the second benefit is that one shall not miss out on the exquisite transformations of dawn and dusk. The third benefit lies in the flexibility to visit friends or hike wherever one's heart desires. The fourth benefit is the ability to escape disturbances by traversing beyond Broken Bridge and Xiling, allowing for peaceful daytime slumber and nocturnal revelry. The fifth benefit is the freedom to relocate at will, evading unwelcome guests.

舟人无酬答，一善也。昏晓不爽其候，二善也。访客登山，恣意所如，三善也。入断桥，出西泠，午眠夕兴，四善也。残客可避，时时移棹，五善也。⁴⁵¹

Wen Qixiang 闻启祥 (1579-1637) drew a comparison between the “mountain dwelling” and the “boat dwelling” in “Xihu dachuan qi” 西湖打船启 (The Advertisement of Constructing Boats on West Lake), highlighting the advantages of the latter:

The living and sleeping arrangements are fixed when residing on a mountain, whereas they can be flexibly altered when dwelling on a boat. The perspectives of the mountain scenery remain stationary when viewed from the mountain, while those from the boat offer diversity. Living on the mountain can be exhausting when dealing with unexpected guests at the door. However, while residing on a boat, one can navigate to any destination according one's choice and remain elusive to others, thus enjoying an atmosphere of tranquility and uninterrupted solitude.

山居，饮食寝处常住不移，而舟则活。山居看山，背面横斜，一定不易，而舟则幻。山居，剥啄应对，犹苦未完。而舟居则意东而东，意西而西，物色终有所未便，又甚寂而安。⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ Yuan Hongdao, “Yu Gong Weichang xiansheng shu” 与龚惟长先生书, in *Yuan Zhonglang chidu (quangao)* 袁中郎尺牍（全稿） (Shanghai: Zhongyang shudian, 1935), 2.

⁴⁵¹ Tan Yuanchun, “Zi ti Hushaung cao” 自题《湖霜草》, in *Xihu youchuan wen xuanzhu* 西湖游船文选注, selected and annotated by Meng Dongsheng, comp. Hangzhoushi xihu youchuan youxian gongsi 杭州市西湖游船有限公司 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2018), 184.

⁴⁵² Wen Qixiang, “Xihu Dachuan qi,” in *HZWXJC*, vol. 3, *Wulin Zhanggu congbian*, vol. 3, 777.

Chen Jiru also wrote: “When the gentle breeze caresses and the soft light embraces, the moon and sky dance upon the crystal-clear water surface. One would play an iron flute aboard, accompanied by white gulls. It serves as a means of evading clamor and visitors” 至于风光淡爽，水月空清，铁笛一声，素鸥欲舞。斯也避喧谢客之一策也。⁴⁵³

It is evident that for the literati, the delight of boat dwelling lies in constructing a world where one is solitary amidst nature, relinquishing all superfluous social and secular constraints to attain absolute autonomy.

The discussion on “Shuhua Chuan” (see 1.2) has already explored the flexibility and freedom embodied in boat travel. The concept of “boat dwelling,” originating from the *fujia fanzhai*, refining this idea to a further level by combining mobility with a sense of isolation, resulting in an onboard space that exudes an anti-secular quality. This not only enables users to interact and coexist with nature without any specific purpose or constraints, but also allows them to detach themselves from the disruptive external world and attain inner peace through personal pursuits such as painting, calligraphy, and friendships. In this very aspect, the dwelling of the literati on water is conspicuously distinguished from that of fishermen or ethnic minorities (examples can see 2.1.3 and 2.4.2).

Yuan Zhongdao, the younger brother of Yuan Hongdao, was a typical literatus of his time who preferred to reside on a boat. He wrote two odes, “Huangshan” 黄山 (Yellow Mountain) and “Xue” 雪 (snow), with almost 5,000 characters when he was just over ten years old, demonstrating an early aptitude for literature. Although he passed the County Examination at the age of 16, he faced setbacks in his career and did not pass the Township Examination until he was 34 years old. Finally, at the age of 48, he passed the Imperial Examination and was selected as a *jinshi*.

In his *Youju feilu* 游居柿录 (The Useless Record of Boat Travelling and Dwelling) which chronicles a decade of frequent boat travel from the 36th to the 46th year of the Wanli period (1608-1618), he repeatedly expresses his affinity for boat dwelling and longing for a *fujia fanzhai* lifestyle. He once wrote in 1609:

Since boarding the boat in the tenth lunar month last year, I have aspired to follow in the footsteps of water celestial practitioners such as Zhang Xuanzhen (Zhang Zhihe), Zhao Zigu (Zhao Mengjian), and Tao Xian, with no desire to return to the mundane world of dust and sand. Zhang Zhihe has become a fisherman whose footsteps I cannot follow, while Tao Xian built three boats to carry both courtesans and provisions, an achievement that eludes me still. Perhaps I could aspire to the likes of Zhao Zigu.

我自去年十月登舟，即欲追步张玄真、赵子固、陶岷水仙诸公，永无尘沙之兴矣。张志和作掬河夫，我不能为。陶岷有三舟载妓，有糗粮，我亦不能为。庶

⁴⁵³ Chen Jiru, *Yanqi youshi* 岩幽栖事, in *Chen Meigong xiaopin* 陈眉公小品, selected and annotated by Hu Shaotang 胡绍棠 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1996), 126.

几者其赵子固乎！⁴⁵⁴

Zhang Zhihe, Tao Xian, and Zhao Mengjian were all exemplary representatives of boat dwelling. Among them, Zhang Zhihe was a reclusive fisherman, Tao Xian was an affluent landowner with vast estates, and Zhao Mengjian was a calligrapher and painter who held the triple identities of nobility, scholar-bureaucrat and literati that possessed a “Shuhua Chuan.” For Yuan Zhongdao and many Ming literati like him, despite their love for landscape travel, they were determined to pass the imperial examinations and lacked the inclination to retreat; although their families possessed a certain financial strength that allowed them to pursue an elegant lifestyle, they remained tethered to financial considerations. Therefore, they were more inclined to compare themselves with Zhao Mengjian and blend their pursuit of mountains and rivers, career anxieties, societal discontentment, and other complex emotions into a yearning for the life of boat dwelling.

Yuan Zhongdao, in his youth, was fond of lively and luxurious scenes. “[He would] squander vast amounts of gold in an instant, consequently plunging himself into a life of destitution. Additionally, he indulged excessively in carouse and failed to exercise restraint over his alcohol consumption, resulting in detrimental health conditions. Incapable of enduring poverty or sickness, he endured immense suffering” 百金到手，顷刻都尽，故尝贫；而沉湎嬉戏，不知樽节，故尝病；贫复不任贫，病复不任病，故多愁。⁴⁵⁵ After reaching middle age, he strived for the simplicity of living alone in a boat and attributed his good health to it. Yuan Zhongdao once wrote:

People may observe my preference for living on a boat, but they are unaware of the health benefits it provides. Living on a boat allows me to regulate my diet, limit social interactions, and avoid conflicts that can negatively impact cardiovascular health. Though I was born with an ill-starred destiny and a frail physique, in my twilight years, I led a life of leisure; perhaps the secret to my longevity lies in my abode on the water. Otherwise, if I frequently reside in the urban environment and indulge in excessive alcohol consumption throughout the day, my carnal desires will inevitably ensue. How can I expect to lead a prolonged existence when my vitality is depleted and my emotional state remains agitated!

人见我好居舟中，不知舟中可以养生，饮食由己，应酬绝少，无冰炭攻心之事。予赋命奇穷，然晚岁清福，延年益算之道，或出于此。不然，常居城市，终日醺醺，既醉之后，淫念随作，水竭火炎，岂能久于世哉！⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 43.

⁴⁵⁵ Yuan Hongdao, “Xu Xiaoxiu shi” 叙小修诗, in *Gong'an san Yuan xuanji* 公安三袁选集, ed. Wu Tiaogong 吴调公, selected and annotated by Wang Xiang 汪骧 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1988), 230.

⁴⁵⁶ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 41.

In addition to relinquishing social and sensual pleasures, embarking on a boat also functioned as an evasion from familial affairs and conflicts for Yuan Zhongdao. He endured a succession of harsh setbacks that commenced with the passing away of his mother, *née* Gong 龚, when he was just five. Although his father did not remarry, he entrusted the care of their household to Liu 刘, a concubine. Subsequently, this same concubine bore two more sons and treated Yuan Zhongdao and his brothers unkindly, subjecting them to bitter experiences.⁴⁵⁷

In the face of adversity, the three Yuan brothers stood by each other's side, forging an unbreakable bond. However, tragedy struck in 1600 when Yuan Zongdao 袁宗道 (1560-1600), the eldest brother and pillar of the family, passed away. A decade later in 1610, the second brother Yuan Hongdao also left this world. The loss of his beloved siblings cast a long shadow over Yuan Zhongdao's heart. One year after the passing of his second brother, in the 39th year of the Wanli period (1611), Yuan Zhongdao's father, Yuan Shiyu 袁士瑜, also fell gravely ill. Prior to his demise, Yuan Shiyu suffered from cognitive decline and was unable to attend to household affairs. Consequently, several servants who managed assets took advantage of his savings and claims amounting to thousands of golds and a significant quantity of grains. As the eldest surviving son in the family, he bore the responsibility of assessing the family's assets. However, he was concerned that the oppressive atmosphere resulting from harshly punishing servants might exacerbate his father's illness. At this point, Yuan Zhongdao's relatives and acquaintances advised him to take advantage of the opportunity to liquidate his assets in order to divide the family into smaller units consisting of himself and his two half-brothers. His concubine mother and younger siblings implored him to do so, while his father also exhorted him to prioritize his younger brothers and nephew. Out of deference for his father and adherence to filial piety, Yuan Zhongdao refrained from any contention, leaving everything up to his brothers.⁴⁵⁸ Although Yuan Zhongdao maintained the dignity of the Yuan family in front of outsiders, one can imagine the sorrow and grievances he harbored within. The three Yuan brothers, who had been deprived of the warmth of a family since childhood, found solace in the boat drifting amidst the picturesque landscapes of mountains and rivers. For them the boat served as a veritable "hometown" (Heidegger's *Heimat*) in an entirely plausible manner.

The limited opportunities for advancement within the official career of the Imperial Examination System served as another significant factor in Yuan Zhongdao's attitude toward boat dwelling.

Qian Maowei 钱茂伟 pointed out in his book *Guojia, Keju yu shehui* 国家、科举与社会 (The State, Imperial Examinations, and Society): "for Township Examination during the Ming dynasty was approximately 4%, while the admission rate for Metropolitan Examination was around 10%" 明代乡试录取率在 4%左右, 会试录取率在 10%左右.⁴⁵⁹ As a result, the majority of literati during the Ming dynasty were unable to pass the examinations required for

⁴⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, 133.

⁴⁵⁸ See *ibid.*, 133-134.

⁴⁵⁹ Qian Maowei 钱茂伟, *Guojia, keju yu shehui: Mingdai keju de luquli* 国家、科举与社会: 明代科举的录取率 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 87.

entry into official positions. Some opted to serve as officials' assistants, performing clerical duties in order to support their families. Others turned to business ventures with hopes that future generations would achieve success in passing these rigorous exams. Obviously, these two paths fell short of the elegant and leisurely life idealized by literati. Therefore, living alone on a reading boat became a more dignified choice. Not only does it create an atmosphere of refined boat dwelling, but it also facilitates to hide failures. The life on boat allows to convey to the outside world that one is ongoing hard working, having not abandoned one's pursuit of success in imperial examinations while evading too inquisitive inquiry of others. Moreover, maintaining such a dignified lifestyle proves cost-effective due to the limited onboard space and reduced number of servants, thus ensuring long-term sustainability.⁴⁶⁰

For all these reasons, despite the inherent dangers of a life on the water,⁴⁶¹ Yuan Zhongdao repeatedly chose to escape from the world by boarding a boat - seeking refuge from alcohol and indulgence, avoiding frequent and unhealthy social engagements, breaking free from familial shackles, and sidestepping the sting of failed examinations. The floating abode on the water was his spiritual paradise that nurtured his fortitude and resilience to confront reality.

By blending the contradictions and poetic elements evoked by the naming of boats and buildings, along with the ambiguous permeability inherent in boat-architectures, literati have crafted a dreamy spatial concept through allusions to *fujia fanzhai*. As a cultural symbol, boat-architecture serves not only as a means to reach the fabled Peach Blossom Spring but also embodies this utopia itself – an Arcadia of nothing but fantasy and dreams within the consciousness of literati.

The most exquisite illustration regarding a spiritual utopia can be discovered within the pages of Ming dynasty literati, represented by Liu Shilong's 刘士龙 "Wuyou Yuan ji" 乌有园记 (The Story of the Non-existent Garden),⁴⁶² where they masterfully crafted gardens that existed solely in their imagination – gardens of non-existence. At the beginning of his essay, Liu Shilong expounded on why he deemed Wuyou Yuan to be superior to other real gardens:

Through the lens of history, I once comprehended the law of change. The opulence of Golden Valley Garden, the splendor of Pingquan Mountain residence, and numerous renowned gardens in Luoyang were once celebrated. Yet today, not even a trace remains of their dilapidated walls and shattered tiles. Their survival is owed solely to the written

⁴⁶⁰ Admittedly, there were also grand and opulent boats, with Emperor Yang Guang's dragon boat water pavilion being the most extravagant example. However, Yuan Zhongdao's boat, originally intended as a secluded floating residence, clearly differed from that.

⁴⁶¹ See Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 52: 而江中有舟欲覆，居民乘小艇往救，幸而免；53: 午后发舟，小僮盟鹭失脚踏浅水中，方持衣而笑，一转盼盘涡中不见矣，伤哉！；173: 午间，有二小舟载眷属他徒，触巨舟而覆。……余二妇抱二稚，俱入洪流不见，深可哀愍。

⁴⁶² This garden's name is translated as the "Non-existent Garden" by Wai-ye Li. See, Wai-ye Li, "Gardens and Illusions from Late Ming to Early Qing," 298.

records that endure. Even if I possessed a garden as resplendent as theirs, it would eventually succumb to the ravages of time. However, words endure through the ages and possess the power to conjure even that which does not exist. Therefore, can what I depict on paper not be considered my own personal garden? These picturesque scenes are born from my emotions and captured by my pen, without requiring any monetary or physical investment, providing me with boundless pleasure – the most convenient luxury for someone of humble means. Furthermore, the actual implementation of the garden is constrained by financial limitations, whereas the conceptual garden can be fashioned without restraint, thus rendering my garden superior.

吾尝观于古今之际而明乎有无之数矣。金谷繁华，平泉佳丽，以及洛阳诸名园，皆胜甲一时。迄于今求颓垣断瓦之仿佛而不可得，归于乌有矣。所据以传者，纸上园耳。即今余有园如彼，千百世而后，亦归于乌有矣。夫沧桑变迁，则有终归无。而文字以久其传，则无可为有，何必纸上者非吾园也。景生情中，象悬笔底。不伤财，不劳力，而享用俱足，固最便于食贫者矣。况实创则张没有限，虚构则结构无穷，此吾之园所以胜也。⁴⁶³

In the realm of imagination, it effectively eludes the intrusion of reality. “Non-existent” can refer to either nothingness in actuality or encompassing everything in illusion, just as by naming a pleasure boat as “Buxi Yuan” can transform the entire West Lake into a garden. In this context, the “Buxi Yuan” also represented an all-encompassing and indeterminate space, a spiritual utopia.

However, all utopias are mere fantasies and when they attempt to materialize, heterotopia emerges. According to Foucault, both the “garden” and the “boat” are typical heterotopias.⁴⁶⁴ This is illustrated in Buxi Yuan, a pleasure boat that existed as an “unconstrained” and “non-existent” garden.

Before delving into the specifics, it is crucial to provide some foreshadowing of the socio-cultural context pertaining to the correlation between architectures/gardens and social status during the late Ming dynasty. Timothy Brook coined the term “gentry society” to describe a distinct local social group that emerged during the late Ming dynasty. He observed that this society was “constituted by the social interactions of these individuals and their families,” while the architectural space in gardens was one of “a great variety of means to provide contexts for that interaction. [...] By building a school or hillside pavilion, one made choices of architectural style that signalled good taste to those trained to appreciate it; by furnishing a setting for drinking parties or poetry soirees in a garden teahouse or at a monastery, one designed a space that expressed a relationship to one’s social equals.”⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Liu Shilong, “Wuyou Yuan ji,” see Chen Congzhou and Jiang Qiting, ed., *Yuan zong*, 230.

⁴⁶⁴ See, Foucault and Miskowiec, “Of Other Spaces,” 25–27.

⁴⁶⁵ Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 28.

However, as Craig Clunas observed in his analysis of garden culture in Ming-Qing transition, “the commodification of absolutely everything in the late Ming” eliminated any “barriers other than wealth to the possession of attributes formally limited to a relatively small elite,”⁴⁶⁶ as affluent merchants in the late Ming era could effortlessly obtain access to the most exquisite elements within garden constructions. These elements encompassed rare plants, extraordinary rocks, and even meticulously designed gardens as a whole. Consequently, the cultural elites, who are not as financially lucrative as businessmen, “began to fear a collapse of the social and wealth hierarchies into each other.”⁴⁶⁷ The cultural elites, in their resistance against the power of wealth held by merchants, directed less attention towards “what was owned (since anyone could achieve that), and more to the *way* it was owned, in particular to the structure of references within which the possession was enmeshed.”⁴⁶⁸

In this manner, the cultural elites reinforced the efficacy of public spaces as institutions for their social interactions. As Timothy Brook has also noticed: “Without the interactions that things and institutions made possible, the investments in them could not have been converted into public status. [...] Their consumption had to be conspicuous, and that conspicuousness invariably imparted to every social interaction a public significance. The gentry related to each other in public as a public elite.”⁴⁶⁹

Therefore, in order to gain recognition from cultural elites, Wang Ruqian’s Buxi Yuan must incorporate elements that distance it from the possession of a wealthy merchant and align it with the realm of intellectual discourse. With the assistance of Wang’s literati acquaintances, this space was imbued with the central mechanism of “‘taste,’ the code word for class varieties of consumption,”⁴⁷⁰ effectively regulating the social dimension of consumption. Consequently, Buxi Yuan transformed into a cultural institution that demarcates between those who have been granted entry and those who have been denied access, imposing strict disciplinary measures on potential entrants.

On this basis, we can readily observe that the essence of heterotopia was aptly exemplified by the establishment of a “code of conduct” in Buxi Yuan. One year following the construction of Buxi Yuan (1624), Huang Ruheng composed “Buxi Yuan yue” 不系园约 (The Agreements of Buxi Yuan) for Wang Ruqian, which delineated the rules of *jiu ji* 九忌 (nine tabooed things) and *shi'er yi* 十二宜 (twelve appropriate things):

Twelve Appropriate Things: *mingliu* 名流 (distinguished celebrities), *gaoseng* 高僧 (esteemed monks), *zhiji* 知己 (confidants), *meiren* 美人 (beauties), exquisite incense,

⁴⁶⁶ Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 90.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 90-91.

⁴⁶⁹ Brook, *Praying for Power*, 28.

⁴⁷⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Duke University Press, 1993), 35.

dongxiao 洞箫 (a kind of vertical bamboo flute), *qin*, unaccompanied singing, premium tea, renowned wine, cuisine limited to five dishes, and without the presence of attendants.

Nine Tabooed Things: killing, unwelcome guests, arrogant and pompous behavior, complex protocols, surrounding oneself with boy-servants, theatrical performances, loud musical troupes, forced borrowing, and long-term borrowing.

十二宜：名流、高僧、知己、美人、妙香、洞箫、琴、清歌、名茶、名酒、肴核不逾五簋、却驹从。

九忌：杀生、杂宾、作势轩冕、苛礼、童仆林立、俳优作剧、鼓吹喧阗、强借、久借。⁴⁷¹

In the “Twelve Appropriate Things,” Huang Ruheng initially proposed four categories of individuals who were deemed eligible to participate in gatherings on this boat or borrow it: *mingliu*, *gaoseng*, *zhiji*, *meiren*. As Xu Sufeng pointed out, “The relationships among all the society members can be subsumed under the common category of friendship. It is striking that gender and class seem to have ceased to be problematic categories in the context of poetry societies in the late Ming.”⁴⁷² These four categories actually constituted the group of eccentric literati (including literate courtesans) led by Chen Jiru in the late Ming dynasty.

Then it provides a general illustration of the appropriate activities to be carried out on board with various items, accompanied by specific requirements: the incense used must be of exceptional quality; only the *dongxiao* and *qin* should be played as musical instruments; the song performed must not be accompanied by any other instruments. The beverages to be served should consist of premium tea and renowned wine, while the number of dishes consumed during the meal should not exceed five. Furthermore, attendants are expected to refrain from entering this space.

The “Twelve Appropriate Things” might have been influenced by Chen Jiru, who authored the renowned *shiqi ling* 十七令 (Seventeen Inducements) in his “Taiping qinghua” 太平清话 (Elegant Talks in the Peace), completed in 1595, the 23rd year of the Wanli period:

The incense induces seclusion in individuals, while wine induces detachment, stone induces significance, *qin* induces stillness, tea induces refreshness, bamboo induces indifference, moon induces loneliness, chess induces idleness, cane induces easiness, water induces emptiness, snow induces remoteness, sword induces sadness, cattail hassock induces witheredness, beauty induces affection, monk induces nonchalance, flower induces charm, inscribed bronze and stone antiquities induce vicissitude.

香令人幽，酒令人远，石令人隽，琴令人寂，茶令人爽，竹令人冷，月令人孤，棋令人闲，杖令人轻，水令人空，雪令人旷，剑令人悲，蒲团令人枯，美人令

⁴⁷¹ Huang Ruheng, “Buxi Yuan yue,” in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 5b-6a.

⁴⁷² Xu Sufeng, “The Courtesan as Famous Scholar,” 601.

人怜，僧令人淡，花令人韵，金石鼎彝令人古。⁴⁷³

It can be seen that concepts outlined in the “Twelve Appropriate Things” and “Seventeen Inducements” possess a distinct cultural significance, serving as a means to evoke spiritual and otherworldly aesthetic experiences. While this space offers an aesthetic experience, it also requires all guests to possess a discerning eye for nuances, followed by an appreciation cultivated through extensive exposure, and ultimately, the ability to evoke empathy and emotional resonance between oneself and the object.

The “Twelve Appropriate Things” in a narrow sense served to distinguish whether it conformed to the standard of Buxi Yuan space, while in a broader sense, it served as a benchmark for late Ming literati to differentiate between kindred spirits and those who were not. Therefore, according to Huang Ruheng’s perspective, “the ‘Twelve Appropriate Things’ represented a common aesthetic pursuit among individuals with pure and simple hearts; even if they had never met each other before, they shared similar interests” 十二宜，素心人共之，即非生平，自合投分。⁴⁷⁴

In contrast, “the ‘Nine Tabooed Things’ delineates those things which a courteous host would refrain from mentioning, and which most refined gentlemen would find repulsive but choose not to articulate” 九忌则主人不敢言，大雅君子谅有同然，不佞饶舌矣。⁴⁷⁵ Among them, the first seven prohibitions are some of the actions that undermine the anti-secular nature of the Buxi Yuan, including the death and decay caused by “killing,” the triviality and vulgarity brought about by “unwelcome guests,” the oppression of power associated with “arrogant and pompous behavior,” the ethical shackles imposed by “complex protocols,” the ostentatious display of wealth, the insincere emotions and the cacophony brought about by the “complex protocols,” “surrounding oneself with boy-servants,” “theatrical performances,” and “loud musical troupes.” All of these actions defile Buxi Yuan, a space that was intended to transcend its materiality and be stylized as a spiritual utopia beyond the mundane world. The last two prohibitions pertain to guests who, regardless of the host’s wishes, forcibly seize or occupy this refined space for an extended period of time.

The “Agreements of Buxi Yuan” excluded individuals lacking the capacity for appreciation and reject worldly classifications based on wealth, power, age, etc. It distinguishes those with cultural literacy and simultaneously established “Buxi Yuan” as a labeling symbol. Later, the boat “Suixi An” also used the “Agreements of Buxi Yuan” as its provisions. Regardless of their status off-board, guests will only have one identity when permitted into the space: that of a refined individual acknowledged by Wang Ruqian and his social circle.

In the literary works related to Buxi Yuan and Suxi An, not only renowned literati such as Chen Jiru, Qian Qianyi, Huang Ruheng, Lan Ying 蓝瑛 (1585-1664), Zou Zhilin 邹之麟 (1610 *jinshi*), Zhang Dai, Chen Hongshou 陈洪绶 (1598-1652) but also officials including

⁴⁷³ Chen Jiru, “Taiping qinghua,” in *Chen Meigong xiaopin*, 138.

⁴⁷⁴ Huang Ruheng, “Buxi Yuan yue,” 6a.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Wang Wenqi 王文企, Wu Tingjian 吴廷简, Zhu Zhijun 朱之俊, Cao Yao 曹药, Han Jing 韩敬 boarded the boat.⁴⁷⁶

Given the premise of the “Agreements of Buxi Yuan,” it appeared to be a risky endeavor for officials to take the initiative in borrowing the Buxi Yuan. In the Ming dynasty of China, passing the imperial examinations and obtaining official status did not necessarily indicate a person’s literary proficiency. Compared to the Song dynasty, the Ming dynasty’s Imperial Examination System for selecting officials no longer included “poetry,” which had been a dominant orthodox literary genre since the classical era and an important qualification test for office since the Tang. Moreover, the writing style of *bagu* 八股 (eight-legged)⁴⁷⁷ standardized a specific writing format for taking the exam. This practice discourages numerous candidates from pursuing literary development, and the use of standardized writing hinders their ability to express their emotions aesthetically. Because many officials lack literary abilities, peer comparisons were not a reliable indicator of their true proficiency. For officials who might have doubts about their own literary abilities, borrowing the Buxi Yuan could potentially lead to concerns regarding objections and disgrace. Even if they obtain permission from the owner, they might still worry about being perceived as having resorted to “forced borrowing.” Therefore, it is the officials who possessed confidence in their literary abilities that were truly emboldened to borrow this boat. For them, aside from separating themselves from official secular affairs and experiencing a period of leisure, it is more important to gain recognition within the literati community for their cultural achievements and moral sentiments. The Buxi Yuan provided such an opportunity by allowing them to showcase their literati side within its symbolized space.

The poetry communication between the *taishou* 太守 (prefecture chief) Wang Wenqi and Wang Ruqian in the *Buxi Yuan ji* presented an intriguing example. During his visit to West Lake, Wang Wenqi borrowed and stayed at the Buxi Yuan for several days without ever meeting Wang Ruqian (as evidenced by the title of Wang Ruqian’s poem indicating that he was unaware of Wang Wenqi’s boat borrowing). Although there are no extant documents that shed light on the mechanism by which the boat was borrowed or the individuals involved in this process, given that both Wang Wenqi and Wang Ruqian hailed from She county, it is possible that they were procured by acquaintances of their family. Perhaps feeling regrettable for not having the opportunity to meet the owner, Wang Wenqi composed a poem within the boat as a keepsake:

The name “Buxi Yuan” carries great renown on West Lake, and I endeavored to meet

⁴⁷⁶ Among them were also famous courtesans such as Yang Yunyou, Liu Rushi, Wang Yuyan 王玉烟, Wang Wei 王微, and monks such as Shi Rujue 释如觉, Shi Ruxiao 释如晓, Monk Jing 僧镜, and Monk Zidu 自度. However, they are not relevant to this section, so their presence will not be elaborated here.

⁴⁷⁷ This term is translated according to Benjamin Elman. He mentioned that an examination essay style that was specifically called the “eight-legged” style appeared for the first time in the early years of the Ming Chenghua 成化 reign (1465-1487). See Benjamin A. Elman, “Classical Reasoning in Late Imperial Chinese Civil Examination Essays,” *Journal of Humanities East/West* 20 & 21 (1999-2000): 374.

with its owner upon my arrival. Despite mooring my boat for ten days, the host remained elusive.

不系名倾西子湖，相逢尽把主人呼。停舟问水经旬日，可有东君会也无。⁴⁷⁸

At the end of the poem, he refrained from signing his actual name and instead adopted a pseudonym, “Yong’an Shishi” 慵庵史氏,⁴⁷⁹ in an apparent effort to emphasize his identity as a literati rather than an official. As other scholars have noted, this served to “temporarily obscure his official position and name while dissociating himself from real life” 暂时掩去官职与名字，从现实生活里游离出来。⁴⁸⁰ Moreover, it could be attributed to such a consideration – if unannounced guests were to directly reveal their official title and name, they would inevitably leave the impression of being impolite and presumptuous visitors who have borrowed this boat forcibly by their status. However, if such a visitor was to leave behind a well-crafted poem expressing regret for not having crossed paths with the owner, it would not only demonstrate respect for the owner but also pique the owner’s curiosity and engender a favorable impression.

It can be observed from Wang Ruqian’s poetry that events do indeed unfold in such a manner. Upon learning of Wang Wenqi’s official position and name, Wang Ruqian did not perceive it as a discourteous deception but rather viewed it as an excellent anecdote to share on West Lake. He composed two poems featuring the same rhyme scheme, *hu-hu-wu* 湖-呼-无 (the three characters respectively appearing at the end of the first, second, and fourth sentences), in response to Wang Wenqi. This not only reflected his magnanimous character but also conveyed his admiration for both the literary works and unobtrusive personal qualities of Wang Wenqi:

In recent years, I have resided solitarily by the tranquil West Lake, where only flocks of graceful water birds respond to my beckoning. Whenever guests arrive, I cordially offer them accommodation in my Buxi Yuan. Its walls are adorned with countless verses of poetry, yet no names remain inscribed upon them.

年来萧索寄西湖，只有鸥群押可呼。客至任教频下榻，多君题壁姓名无。⁴⁸¹

Guests from around the country flocked to West Lake to bask in the splendor of its

⁴⁷⁸ Wang Wenqi’s poem, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 12b.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ Cao Shujuan, “Yuanzhou yu zhouyuan,” 214.

⁴⁸¹ Wang Ruqian, “Wang Rushan taishou lai xihu, ju Buxi Yuan, yu weiyu xiangshi, taishou linqi, ti jueju buliu xingming, yu yi xihu jiahua, sui bu qi yun” 王乳山太史来西湖，居不系园，余未与相识，太史临去，题绝句不留姓名，余以西湖佳话，遂步其韵, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 11a-12b.

pavilion landscape. I surmised that *taishi* had arrived and reached out to him with unbridled joy. Alas, the lake was riddled with too many boat tracks to discern his whereabouts, leaving us no choice but to exchange greetings across the vast expanse of water.

云集园亭客满湖，星占太史喜相呼。漫从桂楫多踪迹，莫向烟波说有无。⁴⁸²

As the tale spread, another *taishi*, Wu Tingjian, an official from She county who was appointed in the same year as Wang Wenqi, also composed poems to request borrowing Buxi Yuan from Wang Ruqian. In response, Wang Ruqian penned a poem agreeing to lend his boat:

The picturesque scenery of the West Lake resembles a masterpiece painting, with a boat elegantly mirrored in its tranquil waters. Its fame renders me hesitant to casually borrow it. [Hence, I humbly beseech the boat owner for the gracious permission] to savor the ethereal undulations of this misty water on [your] boat while luxuriating in the radiance of the moon amidst a luminous night sky. (Wu)

镜里楼船画里湖，闻名争敢漫相呼。不知明夜烟波月，肯照幽人一棹无。⁴⁸³
(吴)

With the moonlight shimmering softly upon the pavilions and platforms, and wisps of smoke drifting over the tranquil lake, this exquisite painted boat is at your disposal. [Although I cannot accompany you on your journey as a host, but tell me] that under the vast expanse of the night sky, would you find yourself in good company with elegant white cranes and wild ducks [resting on] the water's edge and surrounding islands? (Wang)

月满楼台烟满湖，兰舟桂楫任相呼。鹤汀凫渚遥天夜，曾与伊人结伴无。⁴⁸⁴
(汪)

It is noteworthy that these two poems employed the same rhyme scheme as Wang Wenqi's original poem, which holds multiple implications for literati. Primarily, it demonstrates Wu Tingjian's knowledge and appreciation of Wang Wenqi's previous work. To know is to signify an interweaving of social relationships. In this instance, it could be explained as the amicable relationship between two *taishi* who were selected *jinshi* in the same year or the geographical proximity among three individuals (including Wang Ruqian) as fellow natives. Appreciation, on the other hand, denotes a shared worldview and taste that leads to positive

⁴⁸² Ibid., 12b-13a.

⁴⁸³ Wu Tingjian's poem, in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 12b.

⁴⁸⁴ Wang Ruqian, "Wu Di'an taishi yong qianyun jiechuan fuda," in *ibid.*, 13a.

interpretations of overlapping social contacts. Secondly, utilizing the same rhyme scheme was regarded as a gesture of deference to the poet who first employed it, and the ability to craft an exceptional poem within such constraints was generally viewed as indicative of intellectual dexterity. Thus, Wu Tingjian adeptly showcased his literary talents while sidestepping any unnecessary rivalry with his official colleague Wang Wenqi.

The rhyme scheme was later used by Wang Ruqian as a symbol for the situation of the host and guest who failed to rendezvous at Buxi Yuan, as evidenced in a poem entitled “Cao Shiye shuangyue, Wang *jiaoshu*⁴⁸⁵ chao zhi, ci qianyun” 曹石叶爽约，王校书嘲之，次前韵 (Cao Shiye Fails to Keep His Appointment, Wang *jiaoshu* Derided Him, Using the Old Rhyme):

The tranquil night on the lake was shattered by the chimes [of the appointed hour], and though the man [promised to come] was just across the water, seemingly within reach, [he failed to arrive]. If the wave possesses enough intelligence to convey a message, let it be known that the elusive goddess of the water has departed [and will not grant him another chance to meet].

清夜钟声梦破湖，怀人一水宛堪呼。灵波若解通消息，罗袜凌空去也无。⁴⁸⁶

The essence of this rhyme scheme can be perceived as reflecting an implicit understanding between the host and guest, even in the absence of a physical encounter. This tacit agreement was precisely established through the conversion of different users of Buxi Yuan space. Therefore, although the exchange of poems served as the sole means of communication between host and guest, it is imperative to recognize the significance of Buxi Yuan as a mediator. On the one hand, by borrowing the boat without disclosing his official title, Wang Wenqi subordinated his bureaucratic status to his scholarly identity, thereby recognizing the cultural elite’s dominance in this domain. This further reinforced the potential of Buxi Yuan’s space to serve as a symbol of identity and cultural refinement. On the other hand, predicated upon the “The Agreements of Buxi Yuan,” this space served as a threshold for literati groups, affording an opportunity to showcase the cultural prowess of those who entered. Based on West Lake’s public space, a limited-access small circle was created to disseminate and propagate participants’ prestige and talents. For these individuals, the presence of themselves and their poetry in this space held significant value in terms of social visibility.

In terms of the latter perspective, the Buxi Yuan or Suixi An, which often hosted gathering activities, can be regarded as a social-level extension of the attributes of “collection” and “display” found in “Shuhua Chuan.” The poetry collections named after Buxi Yuan and Suixi An similarly adhered to the vein of “Shuhua Chuan.” However, they functioned less as mere compilations of poems, but rather as chronicles of the gatherings that took place in this

⁴⁸⁵ The term *jiaoshu* refers to the elite courtesan, who was often regarded as the “water goddess” by literati. It will be further discussed in Chapter 2. See 2.1.3.

⁴⁸⁶ Wang Ruqian, “Cao Shiye shuangyue, Wang *jiaoshu* chao zhi, ci qianyun,” in *CM-CXTSJ*, vol. 1, 13a.

space, with each notable individual being mentioned.

For the hosts, the number of celebrities and literary figures participating in their boat gatherings was as much a source of pride as the number of famous paintings and calligraphy collected on the “Shuhua Chuan.” For those attending these gatherings, this space was like a showcase of talents. Being able to participate in such activities was already a demonstration of the guests’ own abilities or social connections. If their talents displayed in these gatherings were appreciated by those who held cultural status, it undoubtedly led to greater gain.

Thus, this utopian space for escaping the secular world transformed into another “examination hall” – a heterotopia where they might have opportunities to achieve success.

Through the case study of Buxi Yuan and other examples, this section further explores how literati shaped “boat-architecture.” In addition to the two prototypes and *fang* architecture construction practices discussed in previous sections, this section highlights that a distinctive cultural concept was established through specialized nomenclature that reflects linguistic acuity and aesthetic taste. Emphasizing the interplay between “boat” and “architecture,” literati embraced and explored the poetry in the paradox, ambiguity, and spontaneity of boat-architectures. In this realm of language, thought, and construction, they expressed their yearning for spiritual utopia and ultimately shaped a heterotopic spatial experience distinct from secular life through self-projection.

In conclusion, this chapter begins by examining Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai as a case study and proceeds to conduct a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of its historical context in terms of design, construction, restoration, and reconstruction. Furthermore, it explores the cultural symbols imbued in this architecture by its creators, subsequent users, and even local inhabitants. Through comprehensive information collection and in-depth analysis of the historical and social background, the first section not only fully demonstrates the case of the Huafang Zhai as one of the prototypes of boat-architecture, but also puts forward the symbol of “entering/escaping the world” projected by the literati on the boat-architecture. By examining the historical evolution of the Huafang Zhai and its renewed significance as a cultural symbol, this section reveals characteristics unique to Chinese literati who prioritize writing and discourse inheritance over material authenticity.

The second section starts with Mi Fu’s Mijia Shuhua Chuan, delving into the utilization of boat space by literati as a dedicated study room, exploring their activities within this space, and examining its distinctive characteristics. A large number of historical documents provide examples that not only demonstrate the universality of the existence of such spaces, but also highlight the distinctiveness in perceiving them as separate from ordinary shipboard space. This section assumes a corresponding perspective to the first section, and collectively they establish the definition of “boat-architecture” as a specialized form of spatial design. Furthermore, this section also demonstrates the inheritance and richness of symbols embodied in “Shuhua Chuan,” providing additional insights into comprehending the symbolic expansion of “boat-architecture” in subsequent studies.

The third section focuses on the *fang* in the private garden of literati. Firstly, it explores

how the contradictory emotions and ambivalent attitudes towards “entering/escaping the world” have facilitated the emergence and spread of boat-architecture as a cultural phenomenon, through examining the Song dynasty literati’s inheritance and development of the prototype “Huafang Zhai.” Secondly, this section provides evidence of the convergence between the two prototypes of “Huafang Zhai” and “Shuhua Chuan” through extensive documentary records. Finally, by examining the embodiment and development of the cultural symbol of “the Boat of Learning,” this section delicately carves a small yet profound incision into the exploration of boat-architecture’s symbolic expansion.

In the last section, a painted pleasure boat named “Buxi Yuan” is selected as the main case study. Firstly, this section provides a comprehensive analysis of the construction background, design concepts, and naming methodologies employed in this case study. These aspects serve as the foundation for further discussion. Subsequently, by delving into the nomenclature of boat-architecture, it is revealed that the essence of this concept lies not solely in juxtaposing “boat” and “architecture,” but rather in juxtaposing the spatial elements of the “architecture built in imitation of boats” and “architectural space constructed on boats.” It is the intricate interplay between these latter juxtapositions that engenders the enchantment of conceptual paradox, ambiguity, and flexible freedom which captivated the literati. Finally, the analysis of the literati’s preference and appreciation for the boat-architecture space, as well as the segregation and regulation of this space for its users, unveils that it was perceived as a symbol embodying both utopia and heterotopia. This further emphasizes that the boat-architecture is not merely a carrier for the symbolic representation of boats, but also represents a symbol in itself.

Chapter 1 reveals that the identity of “literati/officials” as cultural creators and communicators played a pivotal role in establishing the phenomenon of “boat-architecture.” Hence, it is imperative to commence this study by focusing on this very identity. However, it should be noted that “literati/officials” is not the sole user group or identity to consider in the examination of boat-architecture. The forthcoming chapters will further explore boat-architecture from the perspective of additional three user groups.

2. Female-entertainers/Patrons: Beauties and Boat-Architectures in the Pleasure Quarters

The historical documents in the first chapter, as exemplified by the “Twelve Appropriate Things” of the Buxi Yuan (see 1.4.3), indicate that discussions on literati’s boat-architectures, particularly during their boating tours and gatherings, often featured the presence of alluring women and renowned courtesans. This previously overlooked aspect will now take center stage in this chapter as we redirect our focus to female performers and their patrons, who constitute another significant group within the field of boat-architecture research.

In the research on women during the Ming dynasty, scholars such as Wai-yee Li and Judith Zeitlin conducted extensive investigations into these female entertainers and their patrons. These studies consider Ming-Qing female entertainers as significant cultural agents and explore their self-expression through musical instruments, singing and dancing, poetry, painting, editing, and interactions with literati. Building upon existing studies, this chapter focuses on the space of boat-architectures used by female entertainers and their patrons, examining how this unique space was perceived and utilized within this specific context.

The significance of this perspective lies not only in the fact that these female entertainers, exemplified by courtesans in the late Ming dynasty, are often regarded as “the epitome of elite culture and sometimes credited with a significant role in the public realm [...],”⁴⁸⁷ but also due to the strong association between the image of “femininity” and water in Chinese culture. Therefore, such a perspective is crucial for discussing the symbolism and the cultural phenomenon of boat-architecture.

Therefore, this chapter will commence by introducing the boat-architecture specific to female entertainers and their patrons, while examining the identities and activities of this social group within the space of said architecture. By delving into the cultural symbolism of boat-architecture through the lens of “femininity” as constructed by literati, this chapter will explore the mindset projected through boat-architecture in a unique social and historical context for both disciplined female entertainers and culturally influential male literati.

The boat-architecture in this chapter overlaps with that of the first chapter, as the literati/officials discussed in the first chapter are evidently the most prominent patrons of the female entertainers. However, it is important to note that this chapter does not simply supplement the content of the first chapter; instead, it aims to establish a reciprocal relationship between the two chapters. The essence of this reciprocal connection lies precisely in how “men of letters” transform and deform their self-identification and self-projection when writing about different spatial contexts.

⁴⁸⁷ Wai-yee Li, “The Late Ming Courtesan,” 46.

2.1 Water Stages with Female Entertainers

Compared to the wives and daughters, who were secluded in the inner chamber by their husbands and fathers holding positions in the imperial bureaucracy or serving as leaders in local communities, female entertainers were prominently showcased before audiences. Their boat-architectures served as impeccable settings or stages.

The boat-architecture space as a stage, unlike the studios discussed in the first chapter that emphasize privacy or isolation of the space, capitalizes on its potentials for exhibition and openness within the cluster. The interesting aspect lies in the fact that these requirements of privacy or openness are not contradictory, but rather intricately intertwined with usage patterns and the social status of the user – even within the same context, different users will perceive distinct characteristics.

2.1.1 Boat-architectures as Performing Stages

In the late Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE), performances and entertainment on boats had already existed in the Jiangnan region. According to literature records, the King of Wu 吴, Fuchai 夫差 (Ji Fuchai 姬夫差, d. 473 BCE, r. 495-473 BCE), once “made a *tianchi* 天池 (the pool on the top of the mountain), built a *Qinglong Zhou* 青龙舟 (Green Dragon Boat) in the pool, grandly displayed *jiyue* (female performers and musicians) on the boat, and played on the water with Xi Shi⁴⁸⁸ every day” 作天池，池中造青龙舟，舟中盛陈妓乐，日与西施为水戏。⁴⁸⁹ The word *chen* 陈 (display or exhibit) reflects the nature of *Qinglong Zhou* as a stage, while the word *jiyue* 妓乐 implies female singers, dancers and performers playing musical instruments on the stage.

Chapters 29 to 31 of the book *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu* 中国古代戏剧形态研究 (Research on the Form of Ancient Chinese Drama) edited by Huang Tianji 黄天骥 and Kang Baocheng 康保成 conducted a detailed study of the type of performance with the boat as the stage.⁴⁹⁰ According to them, this kind of performance originated from the boatmen’s custom of singing and dancing on the boat in the water villages of Yue 越 and Chu 楚 in the

⁴⁸⁸ According to legend, Xi Shi was one of the renowned Four Beauties of ancient China. The allure of her beauty was strategically employed as a seductive tactic to undermine a political adversary, ultimately leading to the downfall of the State of Wu in 473 BCE.

⁴⁸⁹ Ren Fang 任昉, *Shuyi ji* 述异记, vol. 1, 8a. See *SKQS*.

⁴⁹⁰ This impressive book provides a comprehensive overview of the boat stage performances during each dynasty from the pre-Qin period to the Qing dynasty. The inclusion of various historical materials in this section greatly enhances the introduction to boat stage performance. I would like to express my gratitude to Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng for their extensive and rich presentation of historical documentation in their book. See Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, ed., *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu* 中国古代戏剧形态研究 (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 2009), 385-428.

pre-Qin period (before 221 BCE).⁴⁹¹ This custom was essentially a kind of folk activity of “boatmen entertaining themselves, entertaining water gods or suppressing water spirits” 船家自娱、娱水神或魘水神, and “has a certain performance nature and dramatic elements” 具有一定的扮演性质和戏剧因素。⁴⁹² Since some of these boat songs were refined by the literati after the Han dynasty, especially singing and dancing in the name of “Cai lian” 采莲 (Collection of Lotus) and “Cai ling” 采菱 (Collection of Water Caltrop),⁴⁹³ watching performances on board became a kind of entertainment ranging from the court to the folk. It was even regarded as a kind of elegant activity.

The boat was modified in its appearance to serve better as a stage for the performance (and watching of the performance), extending its former restricted use as a mere vehicle to gradually turning into a unique form of architecture.

The practice of combining two boats is an example of this change. Let us recall the *fang* architecture mentioned previously. Although the word *fang* had been very generalized in later dynasties, it originally derived from the sentence in the first dictionary, *Erya* 尔雅 (Literary Expositor): “The emperor *zao zhou*, note: connecting boats to be a bridge; the feudal princes *wei zhou*, note: connecting four boats; the officials *fang zhou*, note: combining two boats; the gentlemen *te zhou*, note: single boat; the civilians *cheng fu*, note: joining logs to sail” 天子造舟，注：比船为桥，诸侯维舟，注：维连四船，大夫方舟，注：并两船，士特舟，注：单船，庶人乘泚，注：并木以渡。⁴⁹⁴

If the two characters *fang zhou* 方舟 are combined in the way of “*zhou* 舟 + *fang* 方,” then we have the character *fang* 舫. It was also explained in *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 (Analytical Dictionary of Characters) that: “*Fang*, is two boats combined” 方，并船也。⁴⁹⁵ It can be seen that the character *fang* 方 refers to the practice of combining two boats, while *fang* 舫 refers to the result of this practice, which (together with *zao*, *wei*, and *te*) was initially intended to represent the ceremonial needs of different classes. The practice, however, lost its original function and gained universal applicability to all social classes with the advancement of productive forces (in accordance with Karl Marx’s concept).

Apart from expanding the usable space, combining two boats can also reduce the shaking of the boat caused by the impact of waves, thus providing convenience for performing and watching singing and dancing. It can be seen from literature that the practice of *fang* is closely related to leisure and entertainment activities such as “touring” and “performing.”

In his book, *Xinlun* 新论 (New Theory), Huan Tan 桓谭 (ca. 23 BCE-56) of the

⁴⁹¹ See *ibid.*, 386.

⁴⁹² See *ibid.*, 387.

⁴⁹³ See *ibid.*, 387, 388, 394-395.

⁴⁹⁴ Guo Pu 郭璞, *Erya zhushu* 尔雅注疏, vol. 7, 16b. See *SKQSHY*. The different font sizes are introduced according to the text in *SKQSHY*, which serve to aid readers in distinguishing between the original text compiled during the Han dynasty and Guo Pu’s (276-324) later annotations, with the addition of “note” (注) as a separator.

⁴⁹⁵ Xu Shen 许慎, *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字, vol. 8B, 4a. See *SKQSHY*.

Eastern Han dynasty recorded a dialogue between Zhou of the Yongmen 雍门周, a folk *qin* master of the Qi Kingdom, and Lord Mengchang 孟尝君 (Tian Wen 田文, later became the prime minister of Qi): “[When you Lord Mengchang] entertain [yourself] on water, then [you] combine the dragon boats, set the feather flags, and then [order] the instrumental ensemble to perform on the unfathomable river” 水戏则舫龙舟，建羽旗，鼓吹乎不测之渊。⁴⁹⁶

“Ma Rong zhuan” 马融传 (Ma Rong Biography) in the *Hou Han shu* 后汉书 (The Book of the Later Han) recorded Ma Rong’s 马融 (79-166) “Guangcheng song” 广成颂 (the Ode to Guangcheng)⁴⁹⁷ written in the second year of the Yuanchu 元初 period (115). There were sentences such as “Combining the large boats of Yuhuang and connecting the small boats of Qiongzhou, raising the high sail and setting the colorful curtains, following the strong wind and riding the fast waves, singing the boat songs and chanting the water ballads” 方余皇，连舫舟，张云帆，施蜺帟，靡颺风，陵迅流，发棹歌，纵水讴。⁴⁹⁸

“Suyang zhuan” 孙瑒传 (Sun Ying Biography) in *Chen shu* 陈书 (The Book of Chen) also recorded that during the Chen 陈 Tianjia 天嘉 period (560-566) of the Southern dynasty, when Sun Yang 孙瑒 (516-587) served as governor of the Yingzhou 郢州, “[he] joined more than ten boats as a large *fang*, set up pavilions and pools on [the *fang*], and planted lotus and water caltrop. Whenever the scenery was beautiful, [he] invited [his] guests to gather [in here] and served wine when boating on the Yangtze River, which was also a most pleasant sightseeing at that time” 乃合十余船为大舫，于中立亭池，植荷芰。每良辰美景，宾僚并集，泛长江而置酒，亦一时之胜赏焉。⁴⁹⁹

In order to enjoy the performance more comfortably on board, architectural space naturally emerged. The three-bay boat-architecture, such as Yang Kan’s water pavilion (see I.3.1), that built on the two boats served as a good example. Although this practice did not leave us any images, an old photo of a floating palace on the Irrawaddy River in Myanmar might be able to establish a rough picture (Fig. 2.1.1-1). It can be seen from the statues of gods in front of the two boats in the photo that this floating palace should be a religious architecture and may also serve as a stage for entertaining gods.

⁴⁹⁶ Huan Tan 桓谭, *Xinlun* 新论, vol. 3, 43a. See *SKQS*.

⁴⁹⁷ The Guangcheng Yuan is a prestigious imperial garden dating back to the Eastern Han dynasty, situated in the southern region of Luoyang.

⁴⁹⁸ Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, vol. 90a, 13a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁴⁹⁹ Yao Silian, *Chen shu* 陈书, vol. 25, 6a. See *SKQSHY*.



Fig. 2.1.1-1 The floating palace on the Irrawaddy River in Myanmar.

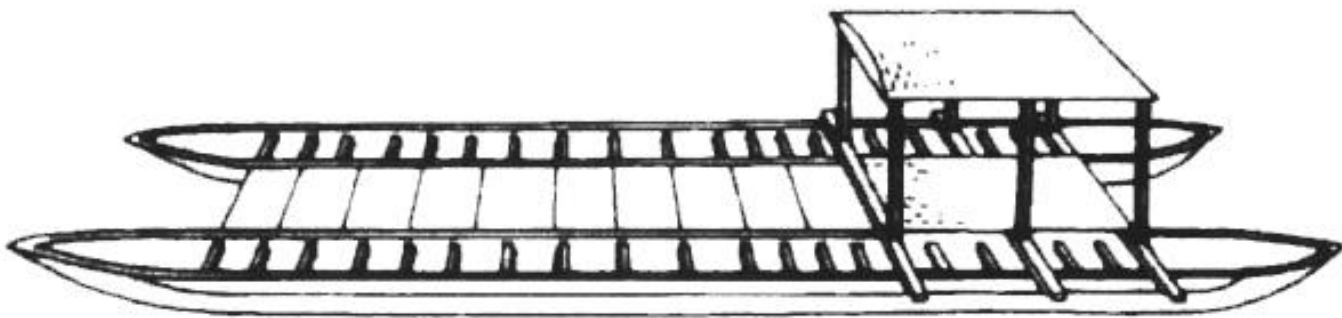


Fig. 2.1.1-2 The line drawing of the Sui dynasty boat model unearthed on the Lize River in Pingdu.

A more straightforward example is a Sui 隋 dynasty (581-618) boat model unearthed on the Lize 里泽 River in Pingdu 平度, Shandong province in 1975. The line drawing of it can be seen in Wang Guanzhuo's 王冠倬 *Zhongguo guchuan tupu* 中国古船图谱 (Atlas of Ancient Chinese Boats) (Fig. 2.1.1-2).⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ Wang Guanzhuo, *Zhongguo guchuan tupu*, 94.



Fig. 2.1.1-3 Song dynasty “Mo Gu Kaizhi Luoshen fu tu” 摹顾恺之洛神赋图.



Fig. 2.1.1-4 Song dynasty “Luoshen fu quantu” 洛神赋全图.

The *fang*, with two boats forming the bottom and architecture space above, can also be seen in two Song dynasty paintings that feature the motif of “Luoshen fu” 洛神赋 (The Ode of Luoshen) (Fig. 2.1.1-3&4). These two paintings are both copies of Gu Kaizhi’s 顾恺之 (348-

409) “Luoshen fu tu” in the Eastern Jin dynasty. It can be seen that although the boat-architecture in the painting has two boats combined at the bottom, it is different from Yang Kan’s water pavilion in that the upper building only has one bay in its width. Therefore, it maintained a narrow, long shape similar to that of a single boat. In addition, according to the records in *Qingbai leichao* 清稗类钞 (Trivial Notes about the Qing Dynasty), the practice of building a performance platform on two boats was also used in the Qing dynasty. During Emperor Qianlong’s fifth southern tour, “when the imperial boat was on its way, two boats took the lead, and the stage was placed on top of these two boats, (performers stood on the stage) singing to the imperial boat, and Emperor Gaozong took pleasure in it” 当御舟开行时，二舟前导，戏台即架于二舟之上，向御舟演唱，高宗辄顾而乐之。⁵⁰¹

In Kang Baocheng’s view, performance in which a boat is used as a stage, “since ancient times can be divided into two major systems, the court, and the folk” 自古以来就可分为宫廷与民间两个大的系统。⁵⁰² In the Song and Yuan dynasties (and before), watching the performances on the boat stage was often the “exclusive [pleasure] of the emperor” 帝王的专利, but in the Ming and Qing dynasties, the center of the boat-stage performance “obviously returned to the folk” 显然回到了民间。⁵⁰³

2.1.1.1 Imperial Water-stage Performances

The boat-stage performances of the emperors and nobles can be classified into two distinct categories (referred to as A and B) based on the water upon which the boats are carried.

The first option is to watch the performance on (A) natural waters such as rivers and lakes. On the one hand, this kind of onboard song and dance performance was related to the (A-1) ancient ritual of *fluxi* 祓禊 (a ritual ceremony in that people fast and bathe in the water to remove ominous omen).⁵⁰⁴ For example, Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty once met with his ministers by *qushui* 曲水 (winding water, a landscape in the Sui palace) on the day of *shangsi* 上巳 (the third day of the third lunar month) to watch the *shuishi* 水饰⁵⁰⁵.⁵⁰⁶ Bai Juyi’s 白居易 (772-846) “Sanyue sanri fluxi luobin bing xu” 三月三日祓禊洛滨并序 (*Fluxi by the Luo River on the Third Day of the Third Lunar Month*, with preface) recorded the *fluxi* activities held by a group of dignitaries and nobles by Luo River on the day of *shangsi*. It reads:

From morning to evening, people crowded and swarmed, singing and laughing,

⁵⁰¹ Xu Ke 徐珂, *Qingbai leichao*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 341.

⁵⁰² Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu*, 398.

⁵⁰³ See *ibid.*, 398-404.

⁵⁰⁴ Later, it is also generally applied to other water-related festivals, such as the Dragon Boat Festival.

⁵⁰⁵ *Shuishi* 水饰, literally translated as “water ornaments,” that is a puppet show in which wooden figures dressed as historical figures are installed on a boat to play historical stories related to water. Some can also be pulled to make them move.

⁵⁰⁶ Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping guangji* 太平广记, vol. 226, 1a-4b. See *SKQS*.

watching the water plays and enjoying the performance of female entertainers, with brushes and inkstones on one side and wine jugs and glasses on the other. [This scene] looks like a fairytale, and the onlookers are packed. [We] enjoy the scenery to the extreme and entertain ourselves as far as possible by touring and boating.

自晨至暮，簪组交映，歌笑间发，前水嬉而后妓乐，左笔砚而右壶觞，望之若仙，观者如堵。尽风光之赏，极游泛之娱。⁵⁰⁷

On the other hand, this performance related to the (A-2) entertainment of emperors, nobles, scholars, and officials while on water tours. For example, *Shuo fu* 说郛, quoting Yan Shigu's 颜师古 (581-645) *Daye shiyi ji* 大业拾遗记 (Supplemental Records of the Daye Period), recorded the water tour of Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty traveling to Guangling 广陵:

Arrived at Bian (nowadays Kaifeng city), the emperor took the dragon boat, the imperial concubine Xiao took the phoenix boat, [which were both decorated by] the brocade sails and colorful ropes and were extremely extravagant. In front of the boats was the stage on which sun curtains hung. The curtains were sourced as a tribute from the country of Puze, crafted meticulously with delicate pearls intricately threaded together, using strings braided from the eyelashes of *fushan* flood dragon and threads derived from lotus roots. Even intense morning sunlight shining directly upon it fails to penetrate.

至汴，帝御龙舟，萧妃乘风舸，锦帆彩纜，穷极奢靡。舟前为舞台，台上垂蔽日帘，帘即蒲泽国所进，以负山蛟睫幼莲根丝贯小珠间睫编成，虽晓日激射，而光不能透。⁵⁰⁸

In addition, during the southern tours of Emperor Kangxi and Qianlong in the Qing dynasty, as mentioned above, there was no shortage of boat-stage performances in front of their imperial boat.

The other option is to enjoy “water play” in (B) gardens or artificial water. There are some examples. “Mingdi ji” 明帝纪 (The Records of Emperor Ming) in *Sanguo zhi* 三国志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms) quoted *Wei lue* 魏略 (The Brief Records of Wei), which stated that Emperor Ming of the Wei 魏明帝 (Cao Rui 曹叡 ca. 206-239, r. 226-239) once “built a pond in the Fanglin Garden and enjoyed Yue songs on the boat” 于芳林园中起陂池，楫棹越歌。⁵⁰⁹ “Zhongzong benji” 中宗本纪 (The Records of Emperor Zhongzong)

⁵⁰⁷ Bai Juyi, “Sanyue sanri *fluxi* luobin bing xu,” in *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏长庆集, vol. 33, 20b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵⁰⁸ Yan Shigu, *Daye shiyi ji*, in Tao Zongyi, *Shuo fu* 说郛, vol. 110A, 25b. See *SKQS*.

⁵⁰⁹ Chen Shou 陈寿, *Sanguo zhi* 三国志, vol.3, 16a. See *SKQSHY*.

in *Jiu Tang shu* 旧唐书 (The Old Book of Tang) recorded that in the fourth lunar month in the fourth year of Jinglong 景龙 period (710), Emperor Zhongzong of the Tang dynasty 唐中宗 (Li Xian 李显, 656-710, r. 683-684, 705-710) “toured to Longqing Pool, built a trellis tied with colorful silks, and hosted banquets for courtiers, [enjoyed] boating and entertainment” 幸隆庆池，结彩为楼，宴侍臣，泛舟戏乐，⁵¹⁰ etc. What is more remarkable in this type of “water play” is the water-stage performance on a large artificial pool. For the emperors, especially those who set the capital in the north, although provided with all the power, digging a large pool outside the capital was still a massive project that consumed workforce and material resources. Initially, its primary purpose was to practice water armies and supervise the naval forces to gain enough military strength to compete with the opponents in the south who were skilled at boat warfare. For example, Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty 汉武帝 (Liu Che 刘彻, 156-87 BCE, r. 141-87 BCE) “built the grand Kunming Pool and surrounded it by pavilions, [because] at that time the Yue (around nowadays Yangzhou city) wanted to fight with the Han by boats. [He] built the *lou chuan*, which was more than ten *zhang* high, and set the flags on it, looking very mighty” 是时，越欲与汉用船战逐，乃大修昆明池，列观环之。治楼船，高十余丈，旗帜加其上，甚壮。⁵¹¹ However, the Kunming Pool and the boats were also used for recreational water play performances. For example, Zhang Heng’s 张衡 (78-139) “Xijing fu” 西京赋 (The Ode of the West Capital) once described the scene of the Kunming Pool’s water play:

So [the emperor] orders the officials in charge of the boats to do the water play. Floating on the water is the [boat carved with] waterfowl’s head, shading the sun is the [sail embroidered with] cloud and grass patterns. Overhanging are the canopies made of pheasant tails, and standing are the banners decorated with feathers. [The performers] chorused the “Yi nü” and other boating songs. One singer leads, others harmonize, and the instruments of *jia* (a kind of flute) coordinate with each other. “Huai nan” and “E yang” melodies are composed and played. [...]

于是命舟牧，为水嬉。浮鷁首，翳云芝。垂翟葆，建羽旗。齐棹女，纵櫂歌。发引和，校鸣葭，奏《淮南》，度《阳阿》……⁵¹²

Similar to the water play on the Kunming Pool was the boating competition on the Jinming Pool 金明池 in the Northern Song dynasty and the water play on the West Lake in the Southern Song dynasty. However, for the Song dynasty emperors, compared with the training of the navy, the water play for sightseeing was the focus of this type of project, especially the latter.⁵¹³ According to the rich records in the Song dynasty literati’s notes, such as *Meng liang*

⁵¹⁰ Liu Xu 刘煦, *Jiu Tang shu* 旧唐书, vol. 7, 19a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵¹¹ Sima Qian 司马迁, *Shiji* 史记, vol. 30, 17b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵¹² Zhang Heng, “Xijing fu,” in Xiao Tong 萧统, *Wenxuan* 文选, vol. 2, 28a. See *SKQS*.

⁵¹³ See Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu*, 398-404.

lu 梦梁录, the water play on the West Lake was significant in size and high publicity, and the number of boats and water games was unprecedented.⁵¹⁴

2.1.1.2 Folk Water-stage Performances

Although folk water-stage performances are different in shape, size, and type, they can be roughly divided into three, more or less overlapped, categories according to the nature of the performance and the audience.

The first category is the boat troupe roaming between urban and rural areas with dense water networks in the south. This type of performance is mainly based on folk opera, and the performers use boats as their homes, relying on the water network to tour various villages. Yu Zhibin 于质彬 introduced a *taichuan* 台船 (stage boat) in the *taichuan ban* 台船班 (stage-boat troupe) in his book *Nanbei Pihuangxi shishu* 南北皮黄戏史述 (The History of the Pihuang Opera of the North and the South). This troupe came from Yangzhou, northern Jiangsu, to Hangjiahu 杭嘉湖 Plain (the area of Hangzhou, Jiaxing 嘉兴, and Huzhou 湖州) during the Jiaqing 嘉庆 reign of the Qing dynasty (1796-1820). He writes:

The boat's prow was square, the cabin was tall and spacious, and people could walk on it upright. When [the boat] was moored for performances, [people] put down the boat boards on both sides of the prow and made them level with the prow deck, which expanded the prow and formed a spectacular "stage on the water." The audience watched from their own boats or on the shore.

船头呈方形，船舱高大，人可站立行走。靠岸演出时把船头两边的船板放下，与船头台板成平线，这就扩大了船头，形成一个壮观的“水上舞台”。观众则在自家船上或岸边观看。⁵¹⁵

In this practice, although the stage is large and solid, the stage's height was sacrificed. In order to raise the stage higher, another practice adopted the method of temporarily placing the stage on the roof of the black-awning boat. But the latter practice was relatively simple.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴ This kind of documentation is very rich, in addition to *Meng Liang lu*, such records are also found in *Wulin jiushi*, *Ducheng jisheng* 都城纪胜 and so on. For more citations, see *ibid.*, 402-404.

⁵¹⁵ Yu Zhibin 于质彬, *Nanbei pihuangxi shishu* 南北皮黄戏史述 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1994), 412.

⁵¹⁶ See Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu*, 423-424.

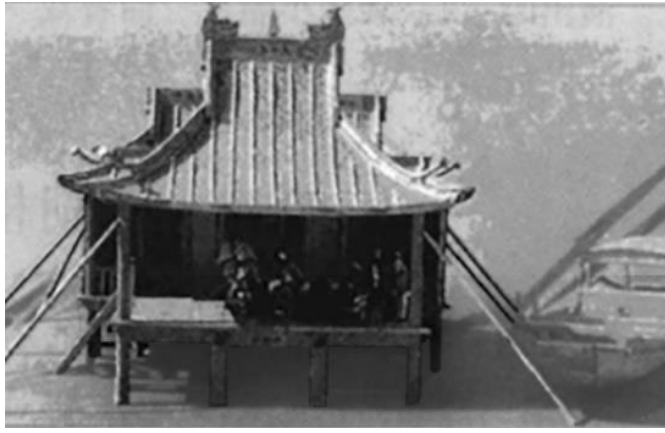


Fig. 2.1.1-5 The photo of the *gaosheng tai* 高升台 (high-rise stage).

In contrast, during the Guangxu reign in the late Qing dynasty (1875-1908), the *gaosheng tai* 高升台 (high-rise stage) made by a shipyard in Wujiang county was more elegant (Fig. 2.1.1-5). The “high-rise stage” is a combination that can be assembled by and disassembled to a “stage” and a boat.⁵¹⁷ According to the research of Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, the appearance of *gaosheng tai* imitated the main hall of Sizhou Temple 泗州寺 in Luxu 芦墟 town. It can be divided into two parts, front and back. The width of the “front” stage was 7.5 meters, and the depth was 6.2 meters, while the “back” stage had a width of 11.8 meters and a depth of 4.3 meters. The two stages were covered by roofs made of bamboo mats spliced together to imitate the tile roof of the *xieshan* 歇山 (hip and gable) style.⁵¹⁸

Such a temporary stage could also be set up on land, which can be seen in “Qianlong nanxun tu” 乾隆南巡图 (The Painting of Emperor Qianlong’s Southern Tour) (Fig. 2.1.1-6). The invention of the *gaosheng tai*, which combined a temporary stage and a boat, further enhanced the mobility of the water town opera troupe. They could quickly set up a square stage on the boat when they needed to perform. After the performance, they could disassemble the “stage” part and store it in the “boat” part for convenient transportation. As a result, it was highly suitable for folk performances travelling along the water network.



Fig. 2.1.1-6 The temporary stages in “Qianlong nanxun tu.”

⁵¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 419.

⁵¹⁸ See *ibid.* For further reading, see Wujiangshi zhengxie wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui 吴江市政协文史工作委员会, ed., *Wujiang wenshi ziliao* 吴江文史资料, vol. 20 (Wujiangshi zhengxie wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui, 2003), 137-139.

The second category is the boat-stage performance in events such as market fairs and temple fairs. The variety of this type of performance is the most abundant. From the book *Yangzhou huafang lu* alone, we can find water acrobatics, ventriloquist, puppet shows, dragon boat races, opera, storytelling and so on.⁵¹⁹ Nevertheless, the boats in this type of performance were generally small to move flexibly. Most of the time, many boats gathered together to form a large floating market. The audience was from all classes, and the viewing methods were flexible and diverse. Sometimes the audience watched the performance on a special boat called *zuochuan* 座船 (seat boat). For example, *Yangzhou huafang lu* introduced that “song boats should use the [boat] with high trellis and [sail] in front of the seat boat. The song boat retrogrades while the seat boat moves so that the people in the [seat] boat can have a close interaction with the singers” 歌船宜于高棚，在座船前。歌船逆行，座船顺行，使船中人得与歌者相款洽。⁵²⁰ Sometimes people rather sit on scattered small boats to watch the performance or directly enjoy the performance on the shore. The performance of the *Juanshao Chuan* 卷梢船 in Suzhou, developed in the Qing dynasty, was an example. *Qingren yishi* 清人逸事 (Anecdotes of the Qing Dynasty People) recorded in its volume 5 that:

[This kind of water theatre in Qing dynasty Suzhou] had not appeared in the late Ming dynasty. [When people need] the performers to liven up the atmosphere in the activities of sacrificing to the gods or feasting the guests, then [the water theatre would] perform on the Shantang 山塘 River [from the Chang Gate 阊门 to] the Huqiu 虎丘 Mountain. The name of the performance boat is *Juanshao*, and the audience additionally hires small boats, such as *Shafei* 沙飞 and *Niushe* 牛舌, to surround it. Those boats ferrying people back and forth, which are as small as melon rinds, are called *Danghe Chuan* 荡河船.

明末尚无此。款神宴客，侑以优人，则于虎丘山塘演之。其船名卷梢，观者别雇沙飞、牛舌等小舟环伺其旁。小如瓜皮往来渡客者，则曰荡河船。⁵²¹

The performers on the *Juanshao Chuan* did not need a stage but performed directly at the prow. The cabin was used as the backstage, and the stern was used as a kitchen.

The third category is performance on the pleasure boats or water brothels related to the pleasure quarters, which is also the focus of attention in this chapter. The detailed case introduction will be gradually expanded later. Here in advance, it is imperative to underscore three points that need to be noted. First, there is an inevitable overlap between this type of boat-architecture as a stage and the literati boat-architecture in the previous chapter. This overlap provides an opportunity to enrich the understanding of boat-architecture from another side.

⁵¹⁹ See Li Dou, *Yangzhou huafang lu*, 295-296, 297-303.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁵²¹ Shanghai shudian 上海书店, ed., *Qingchao yeshi daguan 3: Qingren yishi* 清朝野史大观 (三): 清人逸事 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1981), 148.

Second, performances of this type, although discussed separately, are present in all of the aforementioned on-board performances. For the boat-stage performances in which the emperor or nobles are the audiences, all female performers may become the objects of their sexual demands at any time. For the folk boat-stage performances, the women participating are also often unable to refuse the requests from the powerful or the wealthy and even take the initiative to offer their bodies as commodity. Finally, the famous pleasure quarters in the Jiangnan region often form a harmonious relationship with pleasure boats and performances on board. Not only are most brothels located on the water's edge, which is convenient for boats to come and go, but some prostitutes even use the boat as their home,⁵²² performing or seducing customers on the deck. When there are gatherings on the water, prostitute boats often take the opportunity to attract their patrons,⁵²³ while a large number of painted boats gathering in pleasure quarters can also form a scene similar to a market.⁵²⁴

In general, despite receiving limited attention except from a few opera scholars, the utilization of boat-architecture as a performance stage boasts a long history. Only within this given context, the boats in the pleasure quarters discussed in this chapter possess architectural significance, establishing a certain sense of isomorphism with the river house buildings located near the water. This parallels the concept of “study/studio” introduced in Chapter 1, which connects the spatial design of a boat's structure with that of a study on shore designed to resemble a boat.

After establishing the premise of the aforementioned boat-architecture space, a necessary introduction should be provided to the primary occupants of this space, specifically the female entertainers on board. This will be further discussed in section 2.1.2.

2.1.2 Performers and Prostitutes

For the female entertainers on the boat-architectures associated with the pleasure quarter, there were subtle yet noteworthy differences beyond the bestowal of sexual favors in the services they offered.

⁵²² This will be further discussed in 2.3 and 2.4.

⁵²³ For example, the note of the “Huqiu zashi shi” (Huqiu Miscellaneous Poems) describes the scene of female performers on the pleasure boats joining the gatherings to showcase their talents in Huqiu Shantang in Suzhou. See Yuan Xuelan 袁学澜, “Huqiu zashi shi,” in *Gusu zhuzhici* 姑苏竹枝词, ed. Suzhoushi wenhuaju 苏州市文化局 (Shanghai: Baijia chubanshe, 2002), 369: 时有船载女优，并集画船鷁首演剧，锣鼓开场，昆腔弋调并奏。又有牵丝傀儡、象声鸟语，弄盆飞水诸戏法。同时呈技，观者为之神怡。

⁵²⁴ See Yu Huai 余怀, *Banqiao zaji* 板桥杂记, Zhuquan jushi 珠泉居士, *Xu Banqiao zaji* 续板桥杂记, Jin Sifen 金嗣芬, *Banqiao zaji bu* 板桥杂记补, one-volume edition (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 23: 嘉兴姚壮若，用十二楼船于秦淮，招集四方应试知名之士，百有余人，每船邀名妓四人侑酒，梨园一部，灯火笙歌，为一时之盛事。

2.1.2.1 Ji 伎 (performer)

Those female entertainers as performers were called *ji* 伎. The character *ji* 伎 refers to women with performing arts skills, among whose repertoire was often playing musical instruments, singing, and dancing. They were rigorously trained for performing at elegant banquets. Edward Schafer argued that the *ji*, especially Tang “*geisha*” 芸者 (*gei* 芸, meaning “art” and *sha* 者, meaning “person”) as he mentioned, referred to the “upper and more genteel range” of female entertainers.⁵²⁵

It can be seen from the previous literature that hosting music performances on boats had long been enjoyed by emperors and nobles. Such performances often require a troupe of performers or a combination of a lead singer and multiple musicians. These performers were officially designated as *yuehu* 乐户 (professional musicians) according to the law. Initially, they were either affiliated with the Jiaofang Si 教坊司 (Imperial Office of Music) or patronized exclusively by the nobility. Over time, starting from the Tang dynasty, “the *yuehu* performers gradually transitioned from a state-controlled semi-autonomous entity to ordinary individuals” 乐户最终由国家控制的半自由状态转为一般百姓.⁵²⁶

Given the prevailing circumstances, the practice of female performers entertaining folk audiences on boats was prevalent during the Tang dynasty.⁵²⁷ In his famous “*Pipa xing*” 琵琶行, the Tang dynasty poet Bai Juyi described a female performer whom the poet encountered and admired her skills of playing *pipa* 琵琶 (Chinese lute). Although she was married to a businessman when she met the poet, she was still cognized by other audience members as a female entertainer during the night’s *pipa* performance.

In the poetry narrative, she said she once studied *pipa* at Jiaofang Si in the capital and

⁵²⁵ According to Beverly Bossler’s research, Edward Schafer used the Japanese word “*geisha*” as the translation of *ji*; see Edward Schafer, “Notes on T’ang Geisha,” *Schafer Sinological Papers* (1984), nos. 2, 4, 6, and 7 (Library of University of California, Berkeley), no. 2: 4-5. Several scholars followed his suggestion, such as Victoria Cass; see Cass, *Dangerous Women: Warriors, Grannies and Geishas of the Ming* (New York: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999). However, Bossler felt that “the orientalist overtones of the anglicized Japanese word ‘*geisha*’ obscure rather than enhance understanding”, therefore he chose the word “courtesan”; see Bossler, “Shifting Identities: Courtesans and Literati in Song China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62, no. 1 (2002): 6. I agree with Bossler on his concerns of using Japanese word, but I also would like to distinguish the female performing artists *ji* 伎 from the “courtesan” *ji* 妓 whose service supposed to be more sexually involved. Therefore, in my thesis, I will employ “female performers” as the translation of *ji* 伎 and use “prostitute/courtesan” as the translation of *ji* 妓. Meanwhile, the term “female entertainers” will also be utilized to encompass both categories. Also, among that group Bossler loosely called as “courtesan”, I will specifically set aside the generally lower or higher classes. For the former who lived on boat, I will use the word *chuanniang* (boatman’s daughter), and for the latter, *nü jiaoshu* (female collator).

⁵²⁶ Ou Yan 欧燕, *Tangdai chengshi yueren yanjiu* 唐代城市乐人研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2016), 74. The same book, 74-120, provides additional details regarding this transition.

⁵²⁷ See Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu*, 395-397.

married a businessman when her beauty faded as she grew old. Her husband went to Fuliang 浮梁 county to do tea business last month, leaving her alone to guard the empty boat on the river – this boat was her day residence and night bedroom. On this night, she reflect upon the vibrancy of her youth in contrast to the current solitude, compelling her to instinctively grasp the *pipa* and resume playing it once more. The lack of privacy on the boat made her solo performance heard by the poet, who was seeing off the guests. Fascinated by her superb *pipa* skills, the poet moved his boat near hers. He invited her to come out and play *pipa* while reorganizing his feast to make an auditorium on his boat. When she walked from the cabin to the deck, although she was “half-covered her face with the *pipa*” 犹抱琵琶半遮面,⁵²⁸ her identity was still immediately transformed from a “wife,” who should not be shown to outsiders, to a “performer” who entertained the audience. Simultaneously, the boat-architecture transformed accordingly from a private residence into a public stage.

In this narrative, it is not so much that the vessel was an unsuitable temporary platform, but rather the spatial characteristics of boat-architecture on water prompting the development of the plot. Firstly, there is the transmission of the *pipa* sound from the non-soundproof boat cabin; secondly, other boats on the river can easily approach her boat residence; finally, the deck’s exposure as a display space and the centrality as a visual focal point.

The emergence of female performers who publicly entertained audiences on board during the Tang dynasty may have created a social context in which the poet and other spectators felt emboldened to directly request performances from the *pipa* woman. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, with the maturity and popularization of opera performance art, performing on board and serving the audience outside the boat became more common. *Chao Jia fengyue ji* 潮嘉风月记 (The Records of the Pleasure Quarters in Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou) once recorded that:

[...] a generous guest in Chenghai (nowadays Shantou 汕头 city), Li Jieyuan 李芥园, invited people from the regions along the Han 韩 River to feast under the Xiangzi Bridge 湘子桥. Whenever Yu Niang 玉娘 (literally, the girl of jade, the name of a female performer) sang a song, he cast ten rolls of brocades [on her boat]. When her mother (Yu Niang’s procuress) heard it, she crawled on the boat’s prow and chanted the venerable names of Buddha to show her gratitude.

澄海豪客李芥园，邀集韩江人士，张宴湘子桥下。玉娘每度一曲，掷锦十匹。其母闻之，匍匐船头，口呼佛号以谢。⁵²⁹

We read that Yu Niang was singing on the prow of her boat while the guest Li Jieyuan and other guests were watching on their boats gathered under the Xiangzi Bridge. The literature

⁵²⁸ Bai Juyi, “*Pipa xing*,” in *Baishi changqing ji*, vol. 12, 21a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵²⁹ Yu Jiao 俞蛟, *Chaojia fengyue ji*, in Wang Wenru 王文濡, ed., *Xiangyan congshu* 香艳丛书, punctuated and collated by Li Zhiliang 李之亮 and Xu Fei 徐飞 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1994), 207.

indicates that the esteemed patrons seated on the second level of the auditorium occasionally demonstrate their satisfaction with the performance by showering the stage with money, jewelry, or luxurious fabrics while enjoying music in *goulan* 勾栏 or *jiaofang* 教坊 (both are the pleasure quarters with folk theatres). Sometimes, this action can serve as a means of communication between the performers and the audience. For instance, in the *hezi hui* 盒子会 (a gathering where participants bring rare food or cuisine in a food box) depicted in Kong Shangren's *Taohua shan* 桃花扇 (The Peach Blossom Fan), when Hou Fangyu 侯方域 (1618-1654) was captivated by the performance, he elegantly tossed the valuable sandalwood pendant of his fan upstairs while the courtesan Li Xiangjun 李香君 (1624-1654) reciprocated by throwing several cherries wrapped in her handkerchief downstairs.⁵³⁰ This enables us to interpret Li Jieyuan's act of "discarding the ten rolls of brocade" in response to Yu Niang's performance as reflecting a situation where multiple boats together form a space resembling a theater in an architectural sense.

The stage and the auditorium were not always on separate boats – the performers and audiences could ride on the same boat. When the performers have a more intimate personal relationship with the audience, the narrower space in the boat can also promote the integration of the stage and the audience. In the tenth lunar month of 1634, Zhang Dai, the late Ming entertainment world's elite chronicler and connoisseur, borrowed Wang Ruqian's boat, Buxi Yuan, and took the famous actress Zhu Chusheng 朱楚生 to see the red maple leaves. When the boat came to Dingxiang Bridge 定香桥, in a chance encounter, they met eight guests. So Zhang Dai invited the guests to join them on the boat, Buxi Yuan, to drink. At the banquet, regardless of social status, everyone performed their talents to go with the wines. Some used brush and ink to create paintings, some played musical instruments, and some performed storytelling and opera. One of the guests laughed at himself that he had no artistic talent to show, so Zhang Dai invited him to perform martial arts as a general once did in a historical story. Then this guest presented a dance performance with his weapon, a heavy bamboo-shaped whip, to imitate the *huxuan* 胡旋 (Sogdian Whirl) dance.⁵³¹

From the previous chapter, we know that the "Buxi Yuan" was a small and exquisite pleasure boat, and it was also a water utopia in the minds of scholars and literati of the late Ming dynasty. The distinction of external status was eliminated here, and the performances, although the performers are all masters of their craft, were not meant to appeal to anyone's evaluation or criteria. All seemed to condense into a sincere and pure friendship. In this gathering, female performers such as Zhu Chusheng and Chen Suzhi 陈素芝 were not merely showcasing their talents and beauty, but rather providing a purely aesthetic experience for those with a discerning appreciation of the art performance. The audience, headed by Zhang Dai, also improvised as performers occasionally. Therefore, the stage and the auditorium space were integrated, presenting an intense but harmonious atmosphere of pleasure.

⁵³⁰ See Kong Shangren 孔尚任, *Taohua shan* 桃花扇, annotated by Jia Bingwen 贾炳文 and Ren Ailing 任爱玲 (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2005), 31.

⁵³¹ Zhang Dai, "Bao Hansuo," in Zhang Dai, *Tao An mengyi – Xihu mengxun*, 41.

2.1.2.2 *Ji* 妓 (prostitute)

Unlike the *ji* 伎, representing female performers, female courtesan entertainers were called *ji* 妓.

The book *Qinglou meng* 青楼梦 (Dream of the Blue Chamber) once described a scene in which the male protagonist and 36 beauties had a tour together in 15 painted boats during the dragon boat rally on the Double Ninth Festival. The title *Qinglou meng* shows an imitation of Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 (ca. 1715-1763) famous novel *Honglou meng* 红楼梦 (Dream of the Red Chamber). However, we should not ignore that the word *qinglou* 青楼 had been used from antiquity as a metonym for the brothel instead of the "exquisite, elegant building" it originally meant. In addition, the book's author, Yu Da 俞达 (d.1884), was a literate who had been lingering in pleasure quarters for his lifetime. Therefore, the scene of the gathering on the painted boat was obviously inspired by the author's own experience in the pleasure quarters and vividly unfolded a picture scroll about the gathering of courtesans on the boat-architecture in the pleasure quarter for readers:

At the mention of reconvening the *naohong hui*, 36 beauties were again delighted to participate. As there were many participants, 15 lantern boats were called. Jin (Jin Yixiang 金挹香, the male protagonist) and Niu (Niu Aiqing 钮爱卿, the female protagonist) were the host [and hostess]. Yuesu (Zhu Yuesu 朱月素, the reincarnation of the Plum flower fairy), Xiaosu (Ye Xiaosu 叶小素, the reincarnation of the Magnolia flower fairy), Huiqing (Wu Huiqing 吴慧卿, the reincarnation of the Peony flower fairy), Zhuqing (Wang Zhuqing 王竹卿, the reincarnation of the Angelica flower fairy), Lixian (Lu Lixian 陆丽仙, the reincarnation of the Coquelicot flower fairy), and Jiangxian (Jiang Jiangxian 蒋绛仙, the reincarnation of the Pomegranate flower fairy) sat in three boats. The [other] 29 beauties took 12 boats. The sculls swayed softly and gently, and the gongs sounded in unison. [The boats were] decorated with emeralds and flowers. The people on the bank looked [at the 15 boats] far away, all envious. After a while, [they] arrived at the Shantang River, where the dragon boats competed for victory, boasting luxury and splendor in Yefangbang 冶坊浜. [Jin] Yixiang asked the boats to stop and re-distributed everybody to different places. One boat was full of musical performers so that the beauties could play silvery music. On another boat, other beauties sang songs. At this time, the moon was charming, the flowers were beautiful, the music and songs seemed to make the water boil, and it was joyful. [People on] one boat recited poems and odes; on the other, [people] communicated chess skills according to the manual. On that side, [people on] a boat were competing *touhu* 投壶, and on this side, [people on] a boat were gambling *shuanglu* 双路. The [boats'] glass windows were close to the [other boats'] *hehe* 和合 windows, and the beauties in the cabin of different boats questioned and answered each other as if they were situated side by side. The more people there were, the more joy there was. On the boat on the east side, the actresses were in colorful costumes playing the role of a drunken imperial concubine; on the west side, beauties were playing the drinkers' wager game and competing for the name of the most talented woman. The boats' prows were connected, making people

associate with the grand view of the *chibi* 赤壁; the sterns were also connected, [making those boats] like an iron cable in the river.

话说重集闹红会，三十六美依旧乐从。因此番人多，唤了十五只灯舫，金、钮为主，月素、小素、慧卿、竹卿、丽仙、绛仙坐了三舟，二十九美分坐十二舫。柔橹轻摇，鸣锣齐进，真个花围翠绕。河梁上人多遐瞩遥观，尽皆艳羨。片时抵山塘，龙舟争胜，在着冶坊浜，夸奢争华。挹香即令停桡，重新各处分派：一只船上俱带丝竹，使美人毕奏清音。一只船上使几位美人度曲。斯时也，月媚花姣，笙歌沸水，不胜欢乐。一只船上吟诗作赋，一只船上按谱评棋。那一边船上角艺投壶，这一边船上双路斗彩。玻璃窗紧贴和合窗，舱中美人隔舟问答，如比邻然，人愈众而兴愈多焉。靠东那一只船上，彩衣扮戏，巧演醉妃；着西那一只船上，射覆藏钩，名争才女。船头与船头相接，或疑纵赤壁之大观；舵尾与舵尾相连，仿佛横江中之铁索。⁵³²

As the female courtesans will be discussed particularly later in this chapter, the detailed example in *Qinglou meng* given here only serves as a preliminary illustration in advance. The author almost did a collage of the courtesans' diversiform activities in the pleasure quarters in this description: these beauties were scattered on 15 "lantern boats," some played musical instruments, some sang songs, some recited poems, some played chess, some played games, and some chatted with the guests, some performed the opera, and some played the drinkers' wager game.

The intriguing observation is that all these women seemed to be entertaining themselves, as the sole male character in this description obviously could not simultaneously be present on different boats. However, it is plausible to assume that in reality, outside the realm of the novel, these beauties' activities were likely accompanied by different male patrons. The exclusive focus on the activities of those beauties in the entire description is solely due to the fact that the male protagonist was the only one who should have access to their company, while disregarding any presence of other potential male patrons.

Nevertheless, given that this description is derived from the author's firsthand experience in the pleasure quarters, one sentence within this depiction still alludes to the pre-boarding courtship among patrons: "The beauties in the cabin of different boats questioned and answered each other as if they were situated side by side." By introducing a male customer into their conversation, we can observe how these male patrons approached these pleasure boats. They would come from an adjacent boat and be allowed on board to meet these ladies. Once aboard, they could indulge in instrumental performances, singing, or opera if they had a preference for music. Alternatively, they could engage in reciting poetry, playing chess, drinking, playing games, or conversing with the courtesans.

In conclusion, the female performers and courtesans on the boats both offered diverse

⁵³² Muzhen shanren 慕真山人, *Qinglou meng* 青楼梦 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1988), 257-258.

forms of entertainment to their clientele as part of their profession in the field of entertainment. As highlighted by Judith Zeitlin, “Although in modern Chinese this character simply means ‘prostitute,’ etymologically *ji* [妓] combines the graph for woman (女) and the graph for entertainer (伎), and the function of a *ji* [妓] as a performer remained vital into the twentieth century.”⁵³³ The distinction between the two lies in the fact that, in comparison to pure performers, courtesans offered a more comprehensive range of services, encompassing activities such as socializing over drinks, engaging in conversations, participating in games, and more frequently involving sexual companionship.

2.1.3 The High and Low Ends on the Echelon of Courtesans on Boat

There were two special categories among these female entertainers who sold their bodies on the boat, which occupied the high and low ends of the profession and deserved to be introduced separately.

A low-class courtesan was also known as *chuanniang* 船娘. The literal translation is “boat girl” or “boatman’s daughter.” They were daughters born or purchased by families who made boats as their homes. Depending on their family’s occupation, they usually need to assist in the navigation of transport boats (cargo boats or passenger boats, more often both) or serve as cooks or service personnel for wine or vegetable boats.

Apart from being lower in rank, the *chuanniang* differed from the courtesan in using the “family” as the economic unit. Families dwelling on boats were said to be traced to the ethnic minority of the defeated side in the war. They were relegated as *jianmin* 贱民 (debased people with a social status lower than ordinary people) because of the punishment from the victorious side. They used the boat as their home for generations and were not allowed to go ashore. For example, the seven surnames of the *danhu* 蜑户 (households of the Dan 蜑 people) in Guangzhou 广州 are said to be the remnants of Xi’ou 西瓯 people, who were defeated by Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (Ying Zheng 嬴政, 259-210 BCE, the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, 221-207 BCE). *Chao Jia fengyue ji* recorded that:

The male offspring [of the *danhu*] would be exclusively trained as a boatman, earning their livings by transporting goods within 500 *li* between Chaoyang and Qingxi. When giving birth to daughters, they rely on their daughters’ physical appearance as a determining factor in deciding whether to raise or sell them to neighboring boats. [In the latter case,] the parents and brothers would still visit [her] occasionally. After maturing a little, [they] would acquire the art of applying cosmetics and master various musical instruments. Due to their people’s cultural practices, they are inevitably drawn into the world of prostitution. [...] Therefore, when encountering suitable patrons who liked them, they would choose the honest and reliable one to entrust him for lifelong

⁵³³ Judith Zeitlin, “The Gift of Song Courtesans and Patrons in Late Ming and Early Qing Cultural Production,” in *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry*, vol. 4, ed. Grace S. Fong (Centre for East Asian Research, McGill University, 2008), 2.

commitment instead of waiting until “old age” to marry a businessman.

生男专事篷篙，只在清溪潮阳五百里内，往来载运货物，以受值。生女则视其姿貌之妍媸，或留抚畜，或卖邻舟。父母兄弟，仍时相顾问。稍长，辄勾眉敷粉，搯厌管调丝。盖其相沿之习，有不能不为娼者。……故遇交好者，择纯谨可倚，即托以终身，不俟“老大”始“嫁作商人妇”也。⁵³⁴

Even though the Qing government ordered to substitute the *jianmin* identity of the Dan people with *liangmin* 良民 (respectable commoner) in the seventh year of Yongzheng reign, their customs were rooted too deeply to be wholly changed. The dominant reason was their lack of land or property. Therefore, they remained a group wandering on the water. To survive, women from *danhu* families became prostitutes, and prostitution became an essential means of making a living for their families. Zhao Yi 赵翼 (1727-1814) of the Qing dynasty mentioned in his *Yanpu zaji* 檐曝杂记 (The Miscellany of Basking Under the Eaves): “The Dan (people’s) boats in Guangzhou are no less than seven or eight thousand. They are all involved in prostitution for their livelihood, and it is hard to ban suddenly” 广州蜃船不下七八千，皆脂粉为生计，猝难禁也。⁵³⁵ But he was not convinced that all these boatmen families engaged in the sex industry were real *danhu*; he considered them as impostors. Origin, background, living conditions of these boat girls appear to have been far more complicated than the so-called “boat households” or *jianmin*.⁵³⁶

Hu Pu’an 胡朴安 (1878-1947) had a detailed record of the daily life of the boat girls in his *Zhongguo fengsu* 中国风俗 (Customs Throughout China):

There are so-called *shuiji* 水鸡 (literally, water chicken, refers to the prostitute on the water) in Guangdong, that is, the so-called *dan(hu)* women. [They are] named [*shuiji*] because they live waterfront. [...] The boat they navigate by using a pole is named *heting* 河艇, beautifully decorated and kept clean. Whenever the sun goes down, all lights are turned on, [one] can see [the *danhu* women] in groups everywhere along the river, such as Xihaokou 西濠口, Changdi 长堤, Shaji 沙基, etc. The ordinary young *dan* women, adorned in elegant attire, patiently sit and await the arrival of their guests. Some sing their songs of *xianshui* 咸水 (literally, salty water, refers to the sea), or calling with the sweet sound of soliciting.

粤有所谓水鸡者，即所谓蜃妇也，以其居水滨故名……所撑之艇曰河艇，装潢美丽，洁净非常，每当夕阳西下，则灯火齐明，沿河一带，如西濠口、长堤、沙基等处，济济溶溶，触目皆是。一般青年蜃妇，盛服艳装，坐以待客，或高唱

⁵³⁴ Yu Jiao, *Chaojia fengyue ji*, in Wang Wenru, ed., *Xiangyan congshu*, 198.

⁵³⁵ Zhao Yi, *Yanpu zaji*, cited in Lu Lin 陆林, ed., *Qingdai biji xiaoshuo leibian: Yanfen juan* 清代笔记小说类编：烟粉卷 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1994), 158.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

其咸水之歌，或娇呼其唤渡之声。⁵³⁷

Similar to Guangzhou's *danhu* was the “Jiangshan 江山 boat” in eastern Zhejiang. According to the records of *Qingbai leichao* 清稗类钞, their origin was related to Chen Youliang 陈友谅 (1320-1363), a fisherman who raised an insurrectionary army at the end of the Yuan dynasty.⁵³⁸ Chen Youliang rebelled during Emperor Shun's 顺帝 (孛儿只斤·妥懽帖睦尔 Borjigidai Toghon Temür, 1320-1370, r. 1333-1370) rule of the Yuan dynasty and declared himself emperor in Caishiji 采石矶 (in nowadays Ma'anshan city, Anhui province). Later, he was defeated by Zhu Yuanzhang, the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty, and died in 1363. Nine families of his subordinates, Chen 陈, Qian 钱, Lin 林, Yuan 袁, Sun 孙, Ye 叶, Xu 许, Li 李, and He 何 were demoted by Zhu Yuanzhang to be *jianmin*. They were dispossessed of their properties on land and were only allowed to live on the water. Families on the Jiangshan boats were said to be their descendants. Jiangshan boats mainly made their living by carrying merchants along the Yangtze River. However, “boat girls are on every boat, all enchanting women of 17 or 18. They are namely the family members of the boatmen but actually are the bait for [cajoling] the merchants” 船上都有船娘，都是十七八岁的妖娆女子，名为船户的眷属，实是客商的钩饵。⁵³⁹ For the merchants who knew the rules behind it, these boat girls were approachable and could accompany them to drink or sleep, just like the prostitutes on the Suzhou and Wuxi flower boats. They only needed to pay a little money for this solace in the lonely journey. However, if encountering the young men, who were naive and immature, the boat girl often joined with her parents to set up a conspiracy – pretending to be a good family woman but seducing the guests. Then those impetuous young men would be blackmailed for their bold moves, and the boat family would profit from it.⁵⁴⁰

High class courtesans are called *nü jiaoshu* 女校书 (*nü* 女, women or female; *jiaoshu* 校书, the book reviser), literally translated as “female collator” or “female book reviser.” This honorific title alluded to the Tang dynasty courtesan poet Xue Tao 薛涛 (768-ca.832). She was the daughter of an official family and followed her father to Sichuan province. Her father died, and she could not return to her hometown, so she lived in Chengdu 成都 city and became a famous prostitute. The title *jiaoshu* referred to the official in charge of revising ancient books, *jiaoshu lang* 校书郎 (*lang* 郎, an ancient official title, which also has the meaning of “man”).

⁵³⁷ Hu Pu'an, *Zhongguo fengsu* 中国风俗 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2007), 277.

⁵³⁸ See Xu Ke, *Qingbai leichao*, vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1904. There are numerous historical records of such a legend. For more information, see *Xihu wenxian jicheng* 西湖文献集成, vol. 11, *Minguo shizhi Xihu wenxian zhuanji* 民国史志西湖文献专辑, comp. Wang Guoping (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2004), 1126-1127; Zhu Muqing 朱睦卿, *Qiantangjiang guzhen Meicheng* 钱塘江古镇梅城 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2013), 229-236; Jing Junjian 经君健, *Qingdai shehui de jianmin dengji* 清代社会的贱民等级 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2021), 244-248.

⁵³⁹ Zeng Pu 曾朴, *Niehai hua* 孽海花 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2005), 48.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

According to the *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子传 (Biography of Tang Talented Literati), “Sichuan people called prostitutes *jiaoshu*, starting from Tao” 蜀人呼妓为校书，自涛始。⁵⁴¹ It is said that the Prime minister and poet in the Tang dynasty, Wu Yuanheng 武元衡 (758-815), once petitioned the emperor to let Xue Tao be the *jiaoshu lang*. There was also a saying that Xue Tao was appointed the *jiaoshu lang* when Wei Gao 韦皋 (745-805) was the Governor of Xichuan 西川 (central and western Sichuan). Therefore, later literati used *nü jiaoshu* to refer to those courtesans such as Xue Tao, who “would assist their literati patrons, lovers, or husbands in preparing for the examinations or help out in their studios.”⁵⁴²

Wang Tao 王韬 (1828-1897) described in *Songbin suohua* 淞滨琐话 (The Chitchat on the Song River’s Edge) Volume 1 “Huachuan jiyuan” 画船纪艳 (The Records of Beauties on the Pleasure Boat) that:

The painted boats on the Qian River have long been famous. From the [Qiantang 钱塘] River in Hangzhou and goes upstream, [one can find these boats around places] such as Yiqiao 义桥, Fuyang 富阳, Yanzhou, Lanxi 兰溪, Jinhua 金华, Longyou 龙游, Quzhou 衢州, to Changshan 常山, along the distance of 600 miles. In each place, these boats range from dozens to several. There are three or four, sometimes one or two, *nü jiaoshu* in each boat. The more or fewer painted boats depend on the prosperity of the place. [When the boats] moor in the berths, [they look like] a stream of fish, a sequence of geese. [Those beautiful girls with] pink white [faces] and dark green [hair], live on these boats.

钱江画舫，夙着艳名。自杭州之江干，溯流而上，若义桥，若富阳，若严州，若兰溪，若金华，若龙游，若衢州，至常山而止。计程六百里之遥。每处多则数十艘，少或数艘。舟中，女校书或三四人，或一二人。画船之增减，视地方之盛衰。停泊处如鱼贯，如雁序。粉白黛绿，列舟而居。⁵⁴³

Nü jiaoshu here had become an elegant denomination of those high-level prostitutes. However, according to the research of many scholars on representative figures such as Liu Rushi, Wang Wei 王微, Ma Xianglan 马湘兰, Dong Xiaowan 董小宛, etc.,⁵⁴⁴ we know that

⁵⁴¹ Xin Wenfang 辛文房, *Tang caizi zhuan*, vol. 8, 26a. See *SKQS*.

⁵⁴² Daria Berg, “Courtesan Editor: Sexual Politics in Early Modern China,” *T’oung Pao* 99, no. 1/3 (2013): 180.

⁵⁴³ Wang Tao, *Songbin suohua*, punctuated and collated by Liu Wenzhong 刘文忠 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1986), 18-19.

⁵⁴⁴ On Liu Rushi, see Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn* 柳如是别传 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2021). On Wang Wei, see Xu Sufeng, “The Courtesan as Famous Scholar.” On Ma Xianglan, see Wilt Idema and Beata Grant, *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Asia Center, 2004), 364-68. For an in-depth study of Dong Xiaowan, see Ōki Yasushi 大木康, *Bo Jo to “Eibaian okugo” no kenkyū* 冒襄と「景乡梅庵憶語」の研究 (Tokyo: Kyuko shoin 東京: 汲古書院, 2010).

nü jiaoshu, especially those in the late Ming dynasty, held a relatively high social status and were regarded as a cultural ideal of refinement. Following we will concentrate on a discussion how the *nü jiaoshu* were integrated into the literati's cultural discourse about boats and boat-architectures.

In the article "The Late Ming Courtesan: invention of a Cultural Ideal," Wai-ye Li 李惠仪 highlighted Liu Rushi's boat as a symbol of the freedom of self-definition.⁵⁴⁵ This freedom was first reflected in the objective physical level. The tiny bound feet that Liu Rushi was proud of were inconvenient for walking. Travelling in the mountains was impossible for her. However, Li mentioned that "this restriction was recompensed by her boat excursions,"⁵⁴⁶ which she undertook to visit friends and lovers. The images of "boat" appeared repeatedly in her correspondence and poetic exchanges with Wang Ranming and Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 (1582-1664), "figures prominently," as Li put it.⁵⁴⁷ Most of the boats in her text borrowed the allusions commonly used by literati, such as Fan Li's *wuhu chuan*, which represents a reclusive life. But Li also mentioned that Liu Rushi quoted the story of Prince of E 鄂 in Liuxiang's 刘向 (77-6 BCE) *Shuoyuan* 说苑 (Collection of Stories) to convey "the joy of mutual appreciation that overcomes all social barriers."⁵⁴⁸

This kind of "joy of mutual appreciation" was also constructed by the Buxi Yuan (as a cultural space) given to Zhu Chusheng and other performers (see 1.4.3 and 2.1.2). For these female entertainers who entered the literati world with their own artistic or cultural talents, boat-architecture not only provided them with the convenience to transcend the constraints of their bodies, but also gifted them with cultural power that transcended the constraints of social status, enabling them the freedom to use their acquired skills to climb the social ladder.

However, they had to accept the male gaze while obtaining these freedoms. Because of the feudal oppression of their gender, they had to look at themselves from the perspective of male literati. Their behavior and even their thoughts were disciplined. If we agree with the scholars who find the epitome and projection of the literati themselves in these *nü jiaoshu*, it will be easy to find further that they naturally inherit the spiritual symbolism of boat-architecture from the literati. This kind of inheritance is, of course, related to the fact that the *nü jiaoshu* were often active in the pleasure boats on the water. But its connotation is far more complicated than this. The core lies in the relationship between women and boats (water) in traditional Chinese culture and the literati's sexual fantasy about the goddess of water, which

⁵⁴⁵ She suggests that "Whereas Gu Mei's house represents pleasure, select company, and upward social mobility, Liu Rushi's boat symbolizes freedom and independence of spirit." See Wai-ye Li, "The Late Ming Courtesan," 54.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ See *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, 55. Li's account of the story goes as follows: the Prince of E, as he is being ferried across a river, hears the boatman sing a song in the Yue dialect, which expresses his gladness over sharing the boat with the prince. At first uncomprehending, the prince is so moved when the song is translated into the Chu dialect that he embraces the boatman and gives him sumptuous gifts.

will be discussed further in the next section. In the following, we will only discuss *nü jiaoshu*'s internalization and manifestation of the literati's symbol of boat-architecture regarding the two precedents: Huafang Zhai and Mijia Chuan.

Literati often used the character *fang* in their name to express their attitude of "escaping the world" after the spread and popularity of "Huafang Zhai." Likewise, *nü jiaoshu* often used the character *yin* 隐 (hidden) in their names. For example, among Liu Rushi's many names, there was the name "Liu Yin" 柳隐 (hidden in the willows). Chen Yinke's 陈寅恪 (1890-1969) *Liu Rushi biezhuàn* 柳如是别传 (Liu Ru Shi's Biography) wrote: "As for the meaning of 'being hidden,' the famous ladies of that day were quite fond of taking them as aliases. For example, Huang Jiling's 黄皆令 (Huang Yuanjie 黄媛介, d. ca. 1669) 'Li Yin' 离隐 and Zhang Wanxian's 张宛仙 'Xiang Yin' 香隐 were all examples. It was caused by the social ethos at that time" 至若隐遁之意, 则当日名媛, 颇喜取以为别号。如黄皆令之 "离隐", 张宛仙之 "香隐", 皆是例证。盖其时社会风气所致。⁵⁴⁹ For *nü jiaoshu* trying to transcend the stigma and constraints of the prostitution industry, their boat-architectures (as their self-projection) seek support from the symbolic meaning (escaping the world) of the literati "boat." This act of segregation helps them to gain an inward distance from those painted boats, which belong to the pleasure quarters.

On the other hand, those alluring women who actively seek *yin* can also be perceived as providers of *yin*. For those talents in the Ming dynasty who were not favored on the road to the imperial examination, the *nü jiaoshu*'s boats, and even the *nü jiaoshu* herself, was where they sought solace and comfort. In his *Yuerong bian* 悦容编 (The Compilation of Delightful Beauties), Wei Yong 卫泳 (late Ming and early Qing dynasties) for the first time proposed the concept of *seyin* 色隐 (hidden in beauty), in which beautiful women were regarded as a place of seclusion.⁵⁵⁰ He considered his appreciation for beautiful women to be a pastime, akin to the pursuits of renowned hermits throughout history. He said:

Xie An's 谢安 (320-385) *ji* 屐 (refers to the *xiegong ji*, which is a special kind of clog for climbing mountains invented by Xie An), Ji Kang's 嵇康 (224-263) *qin*, and Tao Qian's 陶潜 (365-427) *ju* 菊 (chrysanthemums), are all [objects] on which they projected themselves and then became their *pi* 癖 (the strong taste or intense fondness towards something, characterized by an obsessive manner).⁵⁵¹ Throughout history, I have never heard of anyone being a hermit in *se* 色 (refers to beautiful women), but is

⁵⁴⁹ Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*, 114.

⁵⁵⁰ Regarding the concept of *seyin*, see Xue Qingtao 薛青涛, "Kunjing yu chaoyue: Lun wanming shiren de 'seyin' sixiang" 困境与超越: 论晚明士人的 "色隐" 思想, *Journal of Social Sciences*, no. 09 (2016): 183-191.

⁵⁵¹ The concept of *pi* is an important Chinese cultural construct that underwent a long development and reached its height of influence during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. It was seen as the defining factor that set apart individuals of refined taste from the general populace. For further reading, see Judith Zeitlin, "The Petrified Heart: Obsession in Chinese Literature, Art, and Medicine," *Late Imperial China* 12, no. 1 (1991): 1-26.

there anything more suitable than a beautiful woman [for a man to indulge in and] to be seclusive [from society]? Encountering beauty weakens men's resolve to pursue fame and fortune – [they would] see those who chase trivial interests as people who have no *pi* in their chests and feel melancholy because there is no outlet to project their emotions. A true hero would retreat into the forest hand in hand [with his soulmates] and take a beautiful woman as a confidant to spend the whole day without purpose. [...] It should be noted that there is a *taoyuan* 桃源 (which refers to the utopia land of peace and happiness) in the *se*, and it is absolutely better than abstinence and the pursuit of truth. In comparison, what [good] comes from those who buy mountains and reside in seclusion?

谢安之履也，嵇康之琴也，陶潜之菊也，皆有托而成其癖者也。古未闻以色隐者，然宜隐孰有如色哉？一遇冶容，令人名利心俱淡，视世之奔蜗角蝇头者，殆胸中无癖，怏怏靡托者也。真英雄豪杰，能把臂入林，借一个红粉佳人作知己，将白日消磨。……须知色有桃源，绝胜寻真绝欲，以视买山而隐者何如？
552

Calling herself “Liu Yin,” Liu Rushi not only expresses “a genuine preoccupation with escape from her milieu,”⁵⁵³ but also makes a suggestion similar to Wei Yong’s *seyin*. “Liu” 柳 (willow, which refers to the pleasure quarters) implies her “hiding her true aspiration behind the façade of her existence in the pleasure quarters.”⁵⁵⁴ Therefore, Liu Rushi’s boat was not only a symbol of the pursuit of freedom but also a performance stage, where she put on a mask to deal with the men’s world. The double meaning of “hidden” in this famous *nü jiaoshu* forms an excellent, yet ironic, contrast with the contradiction of “entering/escaping the world” represented by the symbol of Huafang Zhai.

If we turn to the “Mijia Shuhua Chuan,” its connotation can also be seen in the boat of the *nü jiaoshu*. On the one hand, it is related to the cultural creation of the *nü jiaoshu*. These talented women actively participated in art productions, such as poems, calligraphy, paintings, and music. Sometimes, they even took the role of editors, which enabled them to “take on the male role of master connoisseur collector of beautiful things.”⁵⁵⁵ The artistic creation and connoisseurship of the *nü jiaoshu* made their boat also known as a “boat of paintings and calligraphy” (see 1.2.3). However, there was no competition for cultural capital between the literati and the *nü jiaoshu*. Using Xue Susu’s example, Daria Berg pointed out that the *nü jiaoshu* “as a woman poet and editor does not oppose male cultural dominance but joins male elite discourse while adding the female editorial voice.”⁵⁵⁶ The gatherings and banquets with

⁵⁵² Wei Yong, *Yuerong bian*, in *Zhongguo xiangyan quanshu*, comp. Chong Tianzi, 32.

⁵⁵³ Wai-ye Li, “The Late Ming Courtesan,” 57.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Daria Berg, “Courtesan Editor,” 197.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 191.

the literati on their boats not only provided an ideal opportunity for mutual appreciation and recognition, transcending all social barriers, but also served as a social stage to publicize the talents and works of the *nü jiaoshu*. For example, in Wang Ranming's friendship with many *nü jiaoshu* in the late Ming dynasty, the significant contributions of his multiple boats could not be overlooked. These boats were not mere vehicles but architectural spaces which provided the *nü jiaoshu* with shelters. These boat-architectures concealed the *nü jiaoshu* from patrons who solely sought their erotic appeal, while simultaneously presenting them to the literati as, more or less, dignified companions.

However, on the other hand, it should not be ignored that the *nü jiaoshu* had also become the collector's items in those educated patron's gaze. In his *Yuerong bian*, the literati's infatuation with those alluring women, who could serve as their confidantes, was perceived by Wei Yong as a kind of *pi* – an intense fixation or obsession that veered away from their conventional or routine lives and bordered on addiction. For the ancient literati, especially those of the Ming dynasty, having *pi* represented their individuality and humaneness. They chose to live a different life compared to mainstream's striving for imperial examinations and opposed against the material world. Those devotees who embraced the concept of *seyin* saw the *nü jiaoshu* as the best objects for their *pi*. Although the best ones among the *nü jiaoshu* were disdainful of the secular life and tried to break away from their peers in the industry, the appearance and talents of these educated beauties were actually still catering to the *pi* of literati who mastered cultural capital – beauty, poetry, calligraphy, and painting, etc. Even their disdain and struggles had become the projections of those disenfranchised literati on their own encounters and feelings. The literati's compassion and concern for the *nü jiaoshu* expressed their frustrations and self-vindication for living a rather marginalized life. At this level, the materialized *nü jiaoshu*, as the objects of literati's *pi*, actually have the same attribute of the “collectibles” as famous calligraphy and paintings.

Just as the collections of famous calligraphy and paintings can give a simple boat the name “(Mijia) Shuhua Chuan,” the famous *nü jiaoshu* could also add luster to the boat on which they boarded. Combining the concept of *seyin*, the *nü jiaoshu* with their charms and talents made their boat-architecture a *taoyuan* of those literati who indulge in landscapes, arts, and beauties.

This section initially provides an overview of the historical development of boat-architecture as a performance stage. Subsequently, it delves into the nuanced yet distinct identities of the women on boat stages, thereby establishing and elucidating the primary focus group for this chapter – “female entertainers.” Lastly, as illustrative examples, the two extremes in status within this group are introduced beforehand given that the research content predominantly revolves around these two categories.

The primary objective of this section is to systematically organize pertinent materials as a foundational basis for subsequent discussion. However, it is imperative to underscore a perspective made at its conclusion: an examination of the symbolic significance of boat-architecture among female entertainers in comparison with that of literati officials, which will provide distinct guidance for comprehending all further research in this chapter.

2.2 Goddess of Water: Boat-architectures and the Cultural Metaphor in Female Context

Water is associated with fertility all over the world. Thales, the ancient Greek philosopher, believed that “the permanent entity is water.”⁵⁵⁷ The hymn in the *Rig Veda* of India said: “The waters set down that first embryo where all the gods were assembled.”⁵⁵⁸ The *Liuzu shishi* 六祖史诗 (the Epic of Six Ancestors), an old record of the Yi 彝 people in China, contains a lyric that states “Human ancestors originated from water, while my own ancestors were born within its depths” 人祖来自水，我祖水中生。⁵⁵⁹ It was also recorded in *Guanzi* 管子 that: “Water, the vitality quintessence of the earth, [...] the genesis of all things emanates from it, [...] Water is what? [It is] the fundamental source of all forms of existence” 水者，地之血气……万物莫不以生……水者，何也？万物之本原也。⁵⁶⁰

All these records provide compelling evidence for the association between water and the life-giving essence of a mother. Furthermore, the rhythmic ebb and flow of tides have fostered a connection between water, the moon, and women’s menstrual cycles since the ancient times. Henceforth, water and women remain intricately intertwined across diverse cultures.⁵⁶¹

Under this background, this section will commence by examining the connection between women and water in Chinese culture, followed by highlighting the idealized portrayal of female entertainers as “water goddesses” envisioned by male literati. Subsequently, it will delve into how boat-architecture space both reinforces and is influenced by this “water goddess” fantasy.

2.2.1 The Connection Between Women and Water in Traditional Chinese Culture

The *yin-yang* 阴阳 culture of ancient Chinese philosophy advocates for individuals to

⁵⁵⁷ Aristotle, *The Metaphysics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 19.

⁵⁵⁸ *Rig Veda* 10.82.6, the English translation see W. Norman Brown, “Theories of Creation in the Rig Veda,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85, no. 1 (1965): 31.

⁵⁵⁹ Yunnansheng shaoshuminzu guji zhengli chuban guihua bangongshi 云南省少数民族古籍整理出版规划办公室, comp., *Yunnansheng shaoshuminzu guji yicong* 云南省少数民族古籍译丛, vol. 4, *Yi Bo quepu* 夷夔樵濮 (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986), 15.

⁵⁶⁰ Guan Zhong 管仲, *Guanzi*, vol. 14, 1a, 4b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵⁶¹ In Western psychology’s archetypal studies, the correlation between women and water is linked to the archetype of the Great Mother Goddess, see Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955), 47-48. For a concise overview of the correlation between women and water, particularly in China, see Yan Jiexiong 晏杰雄 and Liu Youhua 刘又华, “Analyses of the Archetypal Meanings of Water,” *Journal of Nanhua University (Social Science Edition)*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2005): 100-103.

adopt a perspective based on the principles of opposing forces when examining objects and phenomena, namely *yin* and *yang*. Under this dichotomous worldview, a “*yin-yang*” correspondence can be established between all binary relative things, such as “female-male,” “earth-sky,” “water-fire,” etc. The established corresponding relationship between “female-male” and “*yin-yang*” also makes other things endowed with an intense gender color – the things with a *yin* nature correspond to women and feminine, while *yang* things correspond to men and masculine. The “water” in the *wuxing* 五行 (the five primary elements, gold, wood, water, fire, and earth) is classified into the *yin* category. *Baihu tongyi: wuxing* 白虎通义·五行 (The Verdicts of the Debates in the White Tiger Temple in 79 BC: Five Elements) states: “Water is *yin*” 水者，阴也。⁵⁶² Therefore, “water,” which belongs to the *yin* category, has also been regarded as feminine.

Based on such philosophy, as pointed out by many scholars, in traditional Chinese culture, women and water also are metaphorically identified in mutual reference. The coexistence and co-occurrence of water and women have become rooted in the collective subconscious, fixed and handed down by the Chinese people from their very early ancestors and contains millennia of historical and cultural condensation and enrichment.

The metonymy of using water to refer to women can be found in countless historical documents. Through the introduction and summary of previous studies, we can know that the relationship between water and women in traditional Chinese culture mainly occurs in the following three aspects, namely sexuality, aesthetics, and ethics.

2.2.1.1 Sexuality

The ancient Chinese people had an early recognition of the generative power of water for all things. Just as the world generally associates water with female fertility, traditional Chinese culture also associates water with reproduction because of its characteristic of nourishing everything on earth.

Let us have a look at the numerous myths in which women conceive and bear children through various contact with water. For example, *Shanhai jing* 山海经 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas) records that in the *Nüzi guo* 女子国 (The country of women), “there is a Huangchi 黄池 (Yellow Pond). If a woman takes a bath [in it], she will be pregnant when she comes out” 有黄池，妇人入浴，出即怀妊矣。⁵⁶³ The record of *Nüzi guo* also inspired Wu Chengen 吴承恩 (1500-1582) in writing the *Nü'er guo* 女儿国 (The country of women) in his famous *Xiyou ji* 西游记 (Journey to the West) – women in the *Nü'er guo* drank the river in the city to be pregnant. The *Shiji* 史记 (Historical Records) recorded another kind of women’s contact with water and its impact on conception: “Qi 契 of the Yin 殷, whose mother was Jian Di 简狄. [Jian Di,] a daughter of the Yousong tribe, was the second concubine of Emperor Ku 纣 (Ji Jun 姬俊, 23rd c. BCE). [One time], when the three of them (the emperor, his wife, and the second concubine) were bathing, they saw a mysterious bird laying its egg. Jian Di took it and swallowed it. Because of [this egg], she got pregnant and gave birth to Qi” 殷契，母曰简

⁵⁶² Ban Gu 班固, *Baihu tongyi*, vol. A, 38b. See *SKQS*.

⁵⁶³ Guo Pu 郭璞, *Shanhai jing*, vol. 7, 2b. See *SKQSHY*.

狄，有娥氏之女，为帝誉次妃。三人行浴，见玄鸟堕其卵，简狄取吞之，因孕生契。⁵⁶⁴

Similarly, the ancients regarded rainfall as the result of the intercourse of heaven and earth. In *Laozi* 老子, it is mentioned that “When heaven and earth mingle, sweet dew will fall” 天地相合，以降甘露。⁵⁶⁵ The *Book of Changes* also gave a symbolic description of the intercourse of *yin* and *yang* with the saying that “The cloud moves and the rain falls, all things are nourished and change in motion” 云行雨施，品物流行。⁵⁶⁶ The concept established a close connection between water (cloud and rain) and the fundamental principle of reproduction – sex. As a prototype of a sex symbol with a fixed metaphor, *yunyu* 云雨 (cloud and rain) originated from “Gaotang fu” 高唐赋 (The Ode of the Gaotang) and “Shennü fu” 神女赋 (The Ode of the Goddess) created by Song Yu 宋玉 (298-222 BCE). According to legend, the goddess of Gaotang was the daughter of Emperor Chi 赤 (i.e., Emperor Yan 炎, Emperor of the Southern Heaven), named Yao Ji 瑶姬, who died before marrying and was buried in the south of Wu 巫 Mountain. Song Yu wrote in “Gaotang fu” that when the former king of Chu 楚 (said to be King Huai 怀 of Chu, Xiong Huai 熊槐, d. 296 BCE, r. 329-299 BCE) visited Gaotang 高唐, he once fell asleep in the daytime, and the goddess entered his dream, proposed herself, and had sex with him. On the occasion of parting, the goddess introduced herself: “[I am] in the south of Wu Mountain, where the highest and steepest. In the sunrise, [I] am the morning cloud; in the sunset, [I] am the falling rain. Every morning and evening, [I] wander under the elevated platform of Wu Mountain” 在巫山之阳，高丘之阻，旦为朝云，暮为行雨。朝朝暮暮，阳台之下。⁵⁶⁷ Since then, *Wushan yunyu* 巫山云雨 (the clouds and rains in Wu Mountain) has become an expression of love and sex between men and women and the synonymy of the intersection of *yin* and *yang*. It further produces words such as *zhaoyun muyu* 朝云暮雨 (cloud in the morning and rain in the evening), *yunyu Gaotang* 云雨高唐 (cloud and rain of Gaotang), *yunyu Wushan* 云雨巫山 (cloud and rain in Wu Mountain), *yunqing yuyi* 云情雨意 (the love and affection of the cloud and rain), etc., which are generally referred to as *yunyu*.⁵⁶⁸ The use of *yunyu* to refer to sex came up in the literary creation or studies of ancient literati and scholars in the early days and then gradually spread to the folk.⁵⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the Goddess of Gaotang

⁵⁶⁴ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 3, 1a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵⁶⁵ Laozi, *Daode jing* 道德经, trans. Xu Yuanchong 许渊冲 (Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chubanshe, 2018), 38.

⁵⁶⁶ Liang Haiming 梁海明, translated and annotated, *Yijing* 易经 (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2000), 4.

⁵⁶⁷ Song Yu, “Gaotang fu,” in Xiao Tong, *Wenxuan*, vol. 19, 1b-2a. See *SKQS*.

⁵⁶⁸ The metaphorical association between sexuality and water has been consistently present throughout various contexts. Another example of this can be seen in the slang phrase *yushui zhi huan* 鱼水之欢 (the pleasure between fish and water).

⁵⁶⁹ Both Chinese and foreign scholars agree that *yunyu* archetype is the most representative Chinese “sexology vocabulary.” See Robert Hans van Gulik, “Chinese Terminology of Sex,” in *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* (Tokyo: Private, 1951); Eric Chou, *The Dragon and the Phoenix: Love, Sex and the Chinese* (London: Michael Joseph, 1971), 203-204; Ye Shuxian 叶舒宪, *Gaotang shennü yu Weinasi: Zhongxi wenhua zhong de*

– a water spirit with an image of “morning cloud and evening rain” – evolved into the prototype of the Chinese sex goddess.

2.2.1.2 Aesthetics

The *qian* 乾 hexagram of *The Book of Changes* symbolizes *yang*, representing strength and perseverance, while the *kun* 坤 hexagram, placed after the *qian* hexagram, is a symbol of *yin*, representing broadness and obedience. *Yi zhuan* 易传 (The Explanations of *The Book of Changes*) writes: “The way of *qian* forms a man, and the way of *kun* forms a woman” 乾道成男，坤道成女。⁵⁷⁰ From the perspective of hexagrams, ancient Chinese believe that women are *yin*, attached to men (*yang*), and have a tolerant and submissive temperament.⁵⁷¹ Water is of supple consistence and therefore consistent with the sensuality intuitively attributed towards women in ancient aesthetic concepts. Consequentially, “water” has become an indispensable aesthetic symbol to shape the female image: the water waves and the curves of the female body are seen as resembling each other; the water flows are also used to describe the women’s line of sight. In ancient Chinese literary works, “water” was frequently used as a metaphor or an intermediary agent to express women’s femininity, agility, and passion.⁵⁷²

Flowing water is regarded as a symbol of love, lovesickness, and melancholy because of its continuous nature. It can often be seen in *Shijing* 诗经 (The Book of Songs) that the author uses the waterside as a place for love to happen or uses the flowing water as an image to express and set off love and longing.⁵⁷³

The rhetorical device of “water” to express love can be seen in many poems in every

ai yu mei zhuti 高唐神女与维纳斯：中西文化中的爱与美主题 (Xi’an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2005), 345-382.

⁵⁷⁰ Zhu Xi, *Zhou Yi benyi*, vol. 7, 1b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁵⁷¹ According to Ye Shuxian’s research, the primary version of *Yi* once placed the *kun* hexagram in first position, reflecting primitive society’s worship of fertility and the “original mother God” (earth goddess), which corresponded to the relationship between women and water in terms of sexuality. However, as human civilization entered a male-dominated society, the *qian* hexagram representing *yang*/male was given priority and has continued since then. Therefore, *yin*/female has been regarded as possessing characteristics of compliant and subordinate since the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BCE). See Ye Shuxian, *Gaotang shennü yu Weinasi*, 61-62.

⁵⁷² For examples, see Yang Chen 杨沉, “Shui yixiang de nüxing wenhuaxue jiedu” 水意象的女性文化学解读, *Journal of Huainan Normal University* 56, no. 04 (2009): 41.

⁵⁷³ For examples, see Tang Lingbo 唐令波, “*Shijing: Guofeng aiqingshi zhong shui yu nüxing guanxi zhi chutan*” 《诗经·国风》爱情诗中水与女性关系之初探, *Xiangchao* 湘潮, no. 6 (2008): 75-76, and Wang Ying 王莹, “*Shijing: Guofeng nüxing xingxiang yu shuiwenhua yixiang guanxi zhi tanwei*” 《诗经·国风》女性形象与水文化意象关系之探微, *Journal of Jiangsu Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, no. 01 (2002): 76-80.

dynasty.⁵⁷⁴ For example, Jiang Yan's 江淹 (444-505) "Bie fu" 别赋 (The Ode of Farewell) wrote: "[The parting sorrow is endless such as] the green color of the grass and waves in spring. South of the water, I farewelled my beloved one. What a kind of sadness is it" 春草碧色，春水绿波，送君南浦，伤如之何？⁵⁷⁵

2.2.1.3 Ethics

Based on the first two aspects, "water" further developed an ethical connection with women's chastity and infidelity. This will be discussed in three aspects.

First, in ancient China, the word *qingbai* 清白 (innocence, literally clear and white) was often used to refer to pure conduct without blemish. The "innocence" of a woman refers to her chastity. The original meaning of the word *qing* 清 in *qingbai* indicates the transparent and pure appearance of clear water. The description of *qingbai zhi shen* 清白之身 (the body of *qingbai*) of a virgin is to use the clear water as a metaphor for a woman's chastity. In *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the author announces the famous sentence through the male protagonist Jia Baoyu's 贾宝玉 mouth: "Girls are flesh and blood made of water, and men are flesh and blood made of mud. When I meet a girl, I feel refreshed, and when I meet a man, I feel filthy and stinky" 女儿是水作的骨肉，男人是泥作的骨肉，我见了女儿，我便清爽，见了男子，便觉浊臭逼人。⁵⁷⁶ In contrast to men made of "mud," women, especially virgins made of "water," symbolize innocent and pure beauty.

In addition, according to the study of the *Book of Songs* by scholars such as Huang Yongwu 黄永武, the barrier of water was regarded as a symbol of *li* 礼 (etiquette) when Confucianists edited the *Book of Songs*. "Han guang" 汉广 in the *Book of Songs* wrote: "There are wandering girls along the Han River, and you should not think about courting them. The Han water is wide, and you cannot think about swimming across it. The Yangtze River flows forever, and you cannot think about rafting across it" 汉有游女，不可求思。汉之广矣，不可泳思。江之永矣，不可方思。⁵⁷⁷ The preface of "Hanguang" in *Shijing* annotated by Mao Heng 毛亨 (Late Qin and early Han dynasty) said: "'Han Guang,' [which is a result of] the reach of the great Virtue. The teachings of King Wen 文王 (Ji Chang 姬昌, 1152-1056 BCE) were adopted in the southern country, and the ideal morality was carried out in the territory of Jiang and Han Water. There is no thinking of violating the etiquette. Therefore one cannot get [the girls] one desires" 《汉广》，德广所及也。文王之道被于南国，美化行乎江汉之域，

⁵⁷⁴ For examples, see Gao Mingyue 高明月, "An Analysis of the Relationship between the Imagery of Water and Aesthetic Appreciation for Female in Chinese Culture," *Journal of Shandong Women's University*, no. 04 (2007): 57.

⁵⁷⁵ Jiang Yan, "Bie fu," in Xiao Tong, *Wenxuan*, vol. 16, 51a. See *SKQS*.

⁵⁷⁶ Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鹗, *Honglou meng* 红楼梦, punctuated by Li Quanhua 李全华 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1987), 13.

⁵⁷⁷ "Han guang," in *Mao Shi zhushu* 毛诗注疏, annotated by Mao Heng 毛亨, vol. 1, 60b-61a. See *SKQSHY*.

无思犯礼，求而不可得也。⁵⁷⁸ It meant that the girls of Jiang and Han Water, who were moralized by the teachings of King Wen, could not be courted without proper etiquette. “Jian jia” 蒹葭 also used the beauty on the other side of the river (or in the water) to express the sanctity, which was unattainable for men.⁵⁷⁹ Canadian scholar N. Frye pointed out the symbolism of water as a barrier between men and women in his book *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*: “Water symbolism features chiefly fountains and pools, fertilizing rains, and an occasional stream separating a man from a woman and so preserving the chastity of each, like the river of Lethe in Dante.”⁵⁸⁰

Secondly, in ancient times, women were often criticized for their “capricious” nature, lack of self-control and tendency towards degeneracy by comparing them to the ever-changing flow of water which lacks a fixed form and tends to follow the current trend.

For example, people used the term *shuixing* 水性 (water nature) to describe the changeable affections attributed to women. Such descriptions abound in Yuan, Ming, and Qing operas, novels, and other works. For example, Chapter 81 in the *Shuihu zhuan* 水浒传 (Water Margin) wrote: “It turns out that this Li Shishi is a prostitute, a *shuixing* person” 原来这李师师是个风尘妓女，水性的人。 “Du Shiniang nuchen baibaoxiang” 杜十娘怒沉百宝箱 (The Courtesan’s Jewel Box) in *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (Tales to Warn the World): “As the ancients said, ‘women are *shuixing* and fickle,’ let alone [the singsong girls] in the pleasure quarters are likely to prove untrue” 自古道妇人水性无常，况烟花之辈，少真多假。⁵⁸¹ The Chapter 64 of *Dream of the Red Chamber* wrote: “Besides, the second sister is also a *shuixing* person, and she was not satisfied with her husband earlier” 二姐儿又是水性人儿，在先已和姐夫不妥。⁵⁸²

It is precisely because of a woman’s “water nature” that she must accept external restraints to “keep” her morality. For those *shuixing* women who are “naturally” lewd, once they are not restrained by “dams,” it is conceivable that they will become an evil force that disrupts the government and even the entire national order like a flood. Literati had long attributed the overthrow of state power to the fact that the king was seduced by women’s lust, indulged in it, and abandoned the government. Therefore, the literati described beautiful women causing trouble like floods as *huoshui* 祸水 (literally translated as “disaster water”). The famous *huoshui* in history include Daji 妲己, who “destroyed” the Shang 商 dynasty, Baosi 褒姒, who “destabilized” the Zhou 周 dynasty, Xishi who “undermined” Wu Kingdom’s rule, as well as Zhao Feiyan 赵飞燕 (1st c. BCE) in the Han dynasty, Zhang Lihua 张丽华 (559-589) in Chen 陈 of the Southern dynasty, Yang Yuhuan 杨玉环 (719-756) in the Tang dynasty,

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 60a.

⁵⁷⁹ “Jian jia,” in *ibid.*, vol. 11, 16b-20a.

⁵⁸⁰ Herman Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton University Press, 1957), 153.

⁵⁸¹ “Du Shiniang nuchen baibaoxiang,” in Feng Menglong 冯梦龙, comp., *Jingshi tongyan*, (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1995), 310.

⁵⁸² Cao Xueqin and Gao E, *Honglou meng*, 516.

and Chen Yuanyuan 陈圆圆 (1623-1689) in the late Ming dynasty and so on. The historical expectation for women was twofold: to captivate men with their physical beauty and artistic talents, while simultaneously facing moral condemnation due to their perceived seductive allure – a construct imposed by the male-dominated society.

The third ethical aspect is reflected in the culture and customs related to female drowning. Following the customs of the southern region, women who violated the moral code by their “unchastity,” were punished by the clan family law, using the methods of *chentang* 沉塘 (sink somebody into the ponds), *jin zhulong* 浸猪笼 (drown somebody in a wicker basket), and *piao hedeng* 漂河灯 (drift somebody on the rafter until she dies). For example, Liu Xianting’s 刘献廷 (1648-1695) *Guangyang zaji* 广阳杂记 (Miscellaneous Notes of Guangyang) mentioned that the Zhao 赵 clan in Dagang 大港, Zhenjiang, treated “those who violate Confucian ethics” 干名教、犯伦理者 by “binding and sinking into the river” 缚而沉之江中.⁵⁸³ Yu Yue’s *Youtai xianguan biji* 右台仙馆笔记 (Notes of House of Mourning in Youtai Mountain) recorded the execution method of *piao hedeng*. The “licentious” woman was locked on a wooden board, and then the board was thrown into the river and left to drift. A note was left on the board announcing the woman’s sin and warning others that help was forbidden.⁵⁸⁴ These punishments used the horror of facing death to warn women to observe rules. It also implies that the water will wash away the disgraceful stains the deceased cast on her and her husband’s family.

Compared with forced drowning, virtuous women often choose to drown and die when faced with the danger of losing their virginity or when they are desperate. It may be because *toushui* 投水 (throwing oneself into the water) is a death method with a “self-proof (of innocence)” effect. Compared with the overly violent death methods such as suicide with a murder weapon, throwing oneself into the water is no danger to others (perpetrator, bystander); compared with the stealthy way of hanging in the woods, which seems like a confession of guilt or crime, it shows a substantial gesture of defiance from an innocent will. For those ancient women who were physically weak and unable to protect themselves but bore the moral shackles of guarding chastity and were not even allowed to have “dangerous” intentions or means that could harm male domination, *toushui* was the only way they could rebel and “proved” their resistance.

In folklore, women who die in the water may become the gods of the water areas. For example, Fu Fei 宓妃, the daughter of the Fu Xi 伏羲 clan, fell into the water and died (it is said that she was killed by He Bo 河伯, the male river god who coveted her beauty), and later became the goddess of Luo 洛 Water, Luoshen 洛神. The Xiang 湘 River goddesses of the Xiang River were said to be the sisters, Ehuang 娥皇 and Nüying 女英, who committed suicide

⁵⁸³ Liu Xianting, *Guangyang zaji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), vol. 4, 215.

⁵⁸⁴ Yu Yue, *Youtai xianguan biji*, punctuated and collated by Liang Xiu 梁修 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2004), 192-193: 光绪六年五月间……江中流下一木版。其版凡数重，以巨纆缠束之。上卧一女子，貌颇娟好，四肢皆贯以铁环，钉著于版，不能展动。……版上插木为标，书其上曰：“……见者不必救，救而收留之者，男盗女娼。”于是见者皆不之救，任其漂流而去。

in the water for their husband, Emperor Shun 舜.

In addition, women who were in desperate conditions and threw themselves into the water often could not be reincarnated because of their anger, grievance, or unwillingness before their death, and thus became local water spirits. Some stories mentioned that those who drowned clung to the waters and had to wait for the next victim to drown before being reincarnated.⁵⁸⁵ In certain instances, these women's spirits exerted dominance and control over the waters, exhibiting a strong sense of territoriality and retribution. For example, in the tale of Du Wei 杜韦, she once possessed and punished a servant boy who dared to urinate into her domain. The boy collapsed unconscious onto the ground but spoke in the local Wu dialect. Only after his master made offerings to appease Du Wei did he finally regain consciousness.⁵⁸⁶

The narratives of women drowning during the Ming and Qing dynasties are infused with intense dramatic elements, evoking the horrors of death by water, serving as a cautionary tale to safeguard innocence, and shrouding reincarnation as spirits in enigmatic allure. Consequently, these themes have permeated numerous novels and operas, garnering widespread popularity. The female associations with water, encompassing sexuality, aesthetics, and ethics, intricately interweave a complex discourse on the severely limited choices faced by women in their life, death, and rebirth.

While there may be a universally recognized connection between women and water at the reproductive level, it is crucial to acknowledge that women's relationship with water is shaped by cultural discourse construction. In patriarchal societies like feudal China, the image of femininity was established by men, especially by male literati. As Cheng Yongzhen 程勇真 pointed out:

[...] Men strive to establish a distinct femininity by likening women to water, thereby constructing a fragile and illusory image of women in order to foster their dependence on men. Comparing women to water is thus a sexual political strategy for men to control and dominate them, as well as a form of discourse used by men to suppress them. As a result of male gender imagination, the notion that “woman is like water” typically reflects the idea that women themselves are constructed as texts created by men.

……通过把女人比作水，男性企图塑造一种独特的女性气质，建构一种脆弱、不真实的女性形象，以使女性附属于自我。在这个意义上说，把女人比作水，

⁵⁸⁵ This is a widely recognized perspective in Chinese culture, and the tale of “Wang Liulang” 王六郎 in *Liaozhai Zhiyi* 聊斋志异 serves as a quintessential example. See Pu Songling 蒲松龄, *Liaozhai zhiyi*, punctuated by Zhang Shimin 张式铭 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1988), 7-9.

⁵⁸⁶ See Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 640-641: 近日江西一仕客过此，有小溪临江小遗，忽僵仆作吴语曰：“汝何人敢污我头鬓，我名杜韦，游戏水府者将三十年，乃一旦见辱至此。”仕客大骇，且不解吴音，急泊舟询故老，知其事者为述始末，仕客具牲醴拜奠首过，小溪始苏。

是男性控制和支配女性的一种性政治策略，是男性压抑女性的一种话语形式。作为男性性别想象的结果，“女人如水”典型反映了女性本身就是男性创造出来的一个文本。⁵⁸⁷

Therefore, the primary objective of the second chapter is to present a contrasting perspective to that of the first chapter and employ the writings on female entertainers' boat-architecture as a reflective tool for scrutinizing literati's boat-architecture. Just as Simone de Beauvoir highlighted that:

Woman has often been compared to water because, among other reasons, she is the mirror in which the male, Narcissus-like, contemplates himself: he bends over her in good or bad faith. But in any case what he really asks of her is to be, outside of him, all that which he cannot grasp inside himself, because the inwardness of the existent is only nothingness and because he must project himself into an object in order to reach himself. Woman is the supreme recompense for him since, under a shape foreign to him which he can possess in her flesh, she is his own apotheosis.⁵⁸⁸

2.2.2 Goddess Fantasy and the Wonderland of the Desire Realm

Edward Hetzel Schafer's *The Divine Woman: Oregon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature* uses the religious and literary works of the Tang dynasty as research materials to study the goddesses related to water in traditional Chinese culture. He believes that these mythical goddesses were once worshipped as religious gods in real life. However, over time, the religious color of the goddess became less and less. They were gradually ignored as goddesses, but their unique, mysterious, and beautiful characteristics as females were still remembered by people. These goddesses all show secularized characteristics in the creation of literati, especially the goddess of Wu Mountain – “the erotic element became increasingly explicit, the supernatural element less so,” as Edward pointed out when referring to the poems about goddesses of Wu Mountain.⁵⁸⁹

Chinese scholars Wen Yiduo 闻一多 (1899-1946) and Chen Mengjia 陈梦家 (1911-1966), in their research on the myth of the goddess of Wu Mountain, believed that the origin of the deification was related to the sexual intercourse of men and women in front of the Gaomei Temple 高禘庙 (the temple of blessing people with children) in folklore, and pointed out the connection between the goddess of Wu Mountain and sex/reproduction.⁵⁹⁰ Ye Shuxian

⁵⁸⁷ Cheng Yongzhen, “A Discussion on the Origin of Gender Color of Water Culture,” *Journal of Northwest A&F University (Social Science Edition)*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2009): 134.

⁵⁸⁸ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 209-210.

⁵⁸⁹ See Edward Hetzel Schafer, *The Divine Woman: Oregon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 34-38.

⁵⁹⁰ See Chen Mengjia, “Gaomei jiaoshe zumiao tongkao” 高禘郊社祖庙通考, *Journal of Tsinghua University (Science and Technology)*, no. 3 (1937): 446-449; Wen Yiduo,

叶舒宪 also pointed out in *Wushan shennü yu weinasi* 巫山神女与维纳斯 (Goddess of Gaotang and Venus) that the Goddess of Gaotang acts, in a way, as the goddess of love and beauty in China but is not as revered as Aphrodite and Venus in the West. In the ritual culture of the male-centered Han nationality, she was gradually relegated to *wunü* 巫女 (witches) and *bennü* 奔女 (women who elope for love), so that finally “goddess” and “prostitute” are not far away from each other.⁵⁹¹

In the literary creation of the water goddess, the literati gradually developed a “romantic encounter” motif between a man and an ethereal and beautiful goddess, due to her association with beauty and projected image for sexual desire. In the story of the Goddess of Han water of Liu Xiang’s 刘向 (77-6 BCE) *Liexian zhuan* 列仙传 (Legend of the Immortals), Zheng Jiaofu 郑交甫 encountered two beautiful women who were wearing beads as large as chicken eggs. Attracted by their beauty, he came forward to flirt and asked for their beads (as a token of love). After hearing this, the goddesses handed the bead (a promise symbolizing affection) to Zheng Jiaofu. Zheng Jiaofu put the beads in his arms and turned to leave, but then he found that the beads in his arms were missing, and when he looked back, the two women were also disappeared.⁵⁹²

The literati’s description of Luoshen, the Goddess of Luo water, reflected this motif. The most important work which put Luoshen in the same status as the Goddess of Gaotang is Caozhi’s 曹植 (192-232) “Luoshen fu” 洛神赋 (The Ode of Luoshen). When Cao Zhi passed through Luo water, he recalled what Song Yu wrote about the goddess of Gaotang and created “Luoshen fu.” In this famous ode, Cao Zhi charmingly describes his encounter with the elusive and beautiful Luoshen, whom only he can see, and expresses the longing and love for each other, as well as the sadness and melancholy of the final parting. Although she is such an elusive spirit who comes and goes without a trace, she has no awe-inspiring divine aspect but rather a symbol of extreme femininity that projects male desire.

In the annotations of *Wenxuan* 文选 (Selected Works) in the Tang dynasty, Li Shan 李善 (630-689) combined the Luoshen with Cao Zhi’s sister-in-law *née* Zhen 甄. He suggested that this ode was Cao Zhi’s farewell elegy to the dead *née* Zhen’s soul.⁵⁹³ This idea made Luoshen a phantom – she can be Fu Fei (in the ancient myth), *née* Zhen (in Cao Zhi’s

“Gaotang shennü chuanshuo zhi fenxi” 高唐神女传说之分析, in *Shenhua yu shi* 神话与诗 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 87-89.

⁵⁹¹ Ye Shuxian, *Gaotang shennü yu Weinasi*, 363.

⁵⁹² See Liu Xiang, *Liexian zhuan*, in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 丛书集成初编, comp., Wang Yunwu 王云五 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 19-21.

⁵⁹³ See Caozhi, “Luoshen fu,” in Xiao Tong, *Wenxuan*, vol. 19, 14b: 魏东阿王，汉末求甄逸女，既不遂。太祖回以五官中郎将。植殊不平，昼思夜想，废寝与食。黄初中入朝，帝示植甄后玉缕金带枕，植见之，不觉泣。时已为郭后谗死。帝意亦寻悟，因令太子留宴饮，仍以枕赍植。植还，度辑辮，少许时，将息洛水上，思甄后。忽见女来，自云：“……”言讫，遂不复见所在。遣人献珠于王，王答以玉佩，悲喜不能自胜，遂作《感甄赋》。后明帝见之，改为《洛神赋》。 See *SKQS*.

projection), or any beautiful woman, thus becoming the perfect lover in a man's fantasy.

Traditional Chinese male literati construct such a “water goddess fantasy” because Confucian etiquette and morality exclude and imprison any non-marriage love and punish any infringement. Marriage in ancient China was about “*fumu zhiming, meishuo zhiyan*” 父母之命，媒妁之言 (the decision of the parents and the introductions of the matchmaker), which did not support free love. Therefore, under the shackles of feudal etiquette, literati who lost their freedom of courtship sought sensual pleasure – sex – from ordinary prostitutes in pleasure quarters, while on the other hand, they searched for spiritual happiness – love – with various “goddesses and fairies” in fantasies. When unsatisfied with the separation of sensual pleasure and spiritual happiness, they tried to regard those beautiful, talented, and hard-to-see prostitutes as the embodiment of “goddesses/fairies.” The pleasure quarters where the prostitutes were located thus became the goddess's residence and the place where “the dream of encountering the goddess” happened. Love (represented by the goddess) and lust (represented by the prostitute) were communicated and united in the dream of their desire.

At least since the beginning of the Tang dynasty, many descriptions can be seen comparing prostitutes separated from secular marriage and family life as *xian* 仙 (goddesses) and brothels separated from daily social life as *xianjing* 仙境 (wonderlands). In the Tang dynasty legend “You xianku” 游仙窟 (Wandering in the Immortals' Cave), Zhang Zhuo 张鷟 (ca. 660-740) recounted his romantic encounter in a *shenxian ku* 神仙窟 (the immortals' cave). Namely, the story is about “wandering with the immortals,” but it is actually a romantic affair in the pleasure quarters: two women in the story are prostitutes; the poems chanted by the three are all reminders and arias for love and sex.

Zhang Zhuo called the pleasure quarters *xianku* 仙窟 (the immortals' cave). The character *ku* 窟, which means “hole, cave, chamber,” etc., reminds us that the imagery of entering a cave, grotto, chamber (or similar terrain, such as an abyss or a canyon) through a certain entrance had been long regarded by many scholars as a symbol of “return to the mother's womb.”⁵⁹⁴ The “cave” is likened to the mother's womb, and a safe and complete experience can be obtained by returning to it. At the same time, we also know that in Tao Yuanming's “Taohuayuan ji” 桃花源记 (Tale of the Peach Blossom Spring), the *taohuayuan* 桃花源, which is the place of seclusion in the minds of literati, and it can only be entered by, at first drifting along the river by boat and then going through the cave at the end of the water.

Since the Tang dynasty, Tao Yuanming's *taohuayuan* imagery in literati writings has been divided into several branches, and one branch had its allusion merged with the story of “Encounter Immortals in Tiantai Mountain” in Liu Yiqing's 刘义庆 (403-444) *Youming lu* 幽明录 (A Story Collection of Ghosts and Gods) in the Song of the Southern dynasty.⁵⁹⁵ It changed the narrative of *tao(hua)yuan* 桃(花)源 from seclusion to a love affair between

⁵⁹⁴ See Hans Biedermann, *Dictionary of Symbolism : Cultural Icons and the Meanings Behind Them* (New York: Meridan, 1994), 60-62; Wang Huaiyi 王怀义, *Zhongguo shiqian shenhua yixiang yanjiu* 中国史前神话意象研究 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2018), 263-291.

⁵⁹⁵ See Liu Yiqing, *Youming lu*, ed. Zheng Wanqing 郑晚晴 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1988), 1-3.

men and women – the love fantasy of literati who strayed into the *taoyuan* wonderland and had a love affair with the charming goddess. It is also the so-called *tiantai taoyuan* 天台桃源 allusion.⁵⁹⁶ Later, *tiantai taoyuan* became another essential allusion in Chinese literature as a metaphor for the love affair between men and women, just like *Gaotang yunyu* mentioned before (see 2.2.1.1).

From the perspective of the *taoyuan*, we can better understand the concept of *seyin* proposed by Wei Yong in the late Ming dynasty mentioned above (see 2.1.3). Since the advent of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism from the Southern Song era has been widely revered. Consequently, his emphasis on “preserving the principles of nature and eliminating human desires” 存天理，灭人欲 became valued as a moral code. However, this has resulted in a growing suppression of human emotions due to the influence of feudal ethics and asceticism. In the late Ming dynasty, with the development of Wang Yangming's *xinxue* 心学 (School of Mind), the new trend of opinion began to oppose the confinement of individual thoughts and desires by traditional Neo-Confucianism. Literati began to emphasize freedom and the release of human nature and admired *qing* 情 reflected in literary works.⁵⁹⁷ The word *qing* can be translated as “passion,” “feeling,” “sentiment,” or “sensitivity.”⁵⁹⁸ It “signified the plain expression of fresh, natural, romantic and unsophisticated emotions,” while the *li* “represented stale didacticism, rigid dogmatism, and artificial regulation.”⁵⁹⁹

With the emergence of new social ideologies during the late Ming dynasty, courtesans personifying the allure of goddesses became objects of both “love” and “desire” for literati. Simultaneously, these pleasure quarters offered a distinct realm for literati to escape from their familial and official obligations: devoid of ethical constraints, domestic responsibilities, and fluctuations in their bureaucratic careers.

This won freedom found another kind of expression. Some literati at that time used to describe pleasure quarters (at least the high-class ones) as a “wonderland” in their numerous *xiaxie* 狭邪 (narrow streets and crooked alleyways, which refers to the brothels) novels that described the life of prostitutes there. In their writings, the pleasure quarters on water were seamlessly integrated with the symbol of “escaping the world” embodied in literati boat-architecture.

⁵⁹⁶ For more information about the *taoyuan* image in Chinese ancient pottery, see Yin Xueguo 殷学国, *Qingshan qingshi: Zhongguo shixue yuqiao muti yanjiu* 青山青史：中国诗学渔樵母题研究 (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 2017), 189-206.

⁵⁹⁷ The period of Wanli reign is an era when the concept of “passion” (*qing* 情) acquired a special value in the eyes of many younger literati in the Jiangnan region. For more information, see Paolo Santangelo, “The Cult of Love in Some Texts of Ming and Qing Literature,” *East and West* 50, no. 1/4 (2000), 439-499.

⁵⁹⁸ For more details, see Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁵⁹⁹ Hsü Pi-ching, “Courtesans and Scholars in the Writings of Feng Menglong: Transcending Status and Gender,” in *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in China* 2, no. 1 (2000): 52.

After acknowledging the homology between goddesses and prostitutes, as well as considering the cultural context in which pleasure quarters were widely perceived as enchanting realms, this subsequent discussion will delve deeper into how the space of boat-architectures reinforced the concept of pleasure quarters on water as a metaphorical representation of heterotopia.

2.2.3 Wonderland on Water: The Heterotopia Metaphor Reinforced Through Boat-Architecture Space

We commence by examining the concepts of goddess-prostitutes and wonderland. The activities of the prostitutes aboard the vessel undoubtedly facilitated literati in associating them with water goddesses. Yu Jiao 俞蛟 (b. 1751) wrote in his poem:

Lanqiao (refers to where the lovers meet each other) is originally an immortal's cave, [May I] ask who can meet the goddess? [...] Look at the fluffy earlocks and charming fragrance [of the girls] on the painted boats across the waves, [people] would mistake them as the goddess of the Han Water who gave [Zheng Jiaofu] their beads [...]

蓝桥本是神仙窟，为问阿谁能遇？……鬋鬟影脂香，轻盈媚妩；画舫横波，错疑解佩汉滨女……⁶⁰⁰

The aquatic environment is characterized by its inaccessibility to mortals, with boats providing the closest proximity to the water. Nevertheless, discerning specific activities on a distant boat proves impossible. As per Yu Jiao's account, pleasure boats traversing the waves led people to mistakenly perceive the prostitutes aboard as goddesses of the Han River. (see 2.2.2).

The nimbleness of the boat's movement and the absence of its trace endows the courtesans with the characteristics of those elusive spirits, who are unpredictable in coming and going. As Wai-yee Li mentioned in her article, Chen Yinke, when studying Liu Rushi and her poems, "is obviously also tempted to compare Liu, and perhaps by extension other courtesans, with the ambivalent divine women from the Chinese literary tradition, such as Du Lanxiang and E lvhua (LRS, 502, 621-22), who 'came not to any fixed abode' and 'left not at any appointed time' 萼绿华来无定所，杜兰香去未移时 (Chen is alluding to lines from Li Shangyin's [812-58] 'Passing Again the Temple of the Goddess' ['Chongguo Shengnü ci'], LRS, 196, 200)."⁶⁰¹ It can be seen that Liu Rushi's boat is not only an aid to her limited mobility with bound feet but also strengthens her connection with the goddess in the male fantasy.

Secondly, the boat itself is a "tool" used by the ancients to find and lead to the wonderland. *Shiji* wrote:

⁶⁰⁰ Yu Jiao, *Chaojia fengyue ji*, 208.

⁶⁰¹ Wai-yee Li, "The Late Ming Courtesan," 56.

Since Wei 威 (King Wei of the Qi 齐, Tian Yinqi 田因齐, 378-320 BCE, r. 356-320 BCE), Xuan 宣 (King Xuan of the Qi, Tian Pijiang 田辟疆, d. 301 BCE, r. 320-301 BCE), and Yan Zhao 燕昭 (King Zhao of the Yan 燕, Yan Zhi 燕职, d. 279 BCE, r. 311-279 BCE), [the emperors started to] send people into the sea to seek the mountains of Penglai 蓬莱, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 瀛洲. These three sacred mountains were said to be in the Bohai Sea, not far from where people [can reach]. The problem was that [when the boats got] close [to these mountains], the wind would lead the boat away [from the mountains]. However, [according to] those who had been [on those mountains], the immortals and the elixir were all there.

自威、宣、燕昭使人入海求蓬莱、方丈、瀛洲。此三神山者，其传在渤海中，去人不远；患且至，则船风引而去。盖尝有至者，诸仙人及不死药皆在焉。⁶⁰²

It is rumored that Xu Fu 徐福, under the order of Qin Shihuang, took three hundred boys and girls out to sea by boat, looking for the wonderland to the east. He meant to search for the elixir of immortality for the emperor but never returned.

All these legends and stories, coupled with people's yearning for immortality (elixir), have made the story of the *haishang sanshan* 海上三山 (Three Mountains at Sea) receive considerable attention and belief. In turn, the means of transportation at sea – boats – also were given great religious or mythological colors and became the medium of communication between the mundane and the wonderland. For example, in “Luoshen fu,” Cao Zhi chased Luoshen away by boat but unfortunately could not catch up with Luoshen's cloud carriage. Moreover, Zhang Hua (232-300) recorded the story of someone who successfully reached the heavens with the help of boat-architecture. He wrote:

The traditional belief holds that the *tianhe* 天河 (Celestial River, refers to the Milky Way) is interconnected with the sea. In recent times, there was a man who lived on the seashore and [saw] a floating *cha* 槎 (raft) coming and going in the eighth lunar month every year with no exception. This man had great aspirations. He set up a high pavilion on the *cha*. Then he stored ample supplies and went [to the celestial palace] by the *cha*.

旧说云天河与海通。近世有人居海渚者，年年八月有浮槎去来，不失期，人有奇志，立飞阁于槎上，多赍粮，乘槎而去。⁶⁰³

In this story, the *cha* 槎 refers to the small raft. After the *feige* 飞阁 (high pavilion) was built on it, the raft was transformed into a boat-architecture that could accommodate and protect passengers and their supplies. Because of the mysterious power (such as the wind that drives the boat away from the Three Mountains recorded in *Shiji*), the wonderland is often inaccessible. Therefore, when the boat that leads to the wonderland is transformed into a

⁶⁰² Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 28, 13b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁶⁰³ Zhang Hua 张华, *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 35.

habitable boat-architecture, it becomes the space closest to the wonderland, thus gradually becoming a substitute for it.

The story “Lu Yuefang” 陆月舫 by Wang Tao skillfully employs the image of a boat capable of traversing between the Celestial River and the mundane world, establishing a connection between the celestial palace and the pleasure quarter.⁶⁰⁴ The title of the story coincides with the name of its female protagonist. She was a courtesan who serves as an embodiment of Goddess Jiangyun 绛云 (literally translated as “crimson cloud”) descending to the earthly realm.

In the story, Cao Liuping 曹柳平, the son of a prominent Hangzhou official, witnessing the descent of a celestial pleasure boat onto a lake within his private garden while contemplating the moon during the Mid-Autumn Festival. Upon approaching it in a small boat, he was cordially invited to join the company of immortals on board and journeyed to West Lake. Cao Liuping asked the immortals if the boat originated from the Celestial River, and in response, they stated that it was the “pleasure boat of the moon” 月中画舫,⁶⁰⁵ a boat made by Chang E 嫦娥 (the goddess lives in the Moon Palace) to welcome her husband Houyi 后羿 (a human hero in ancient myth) every night. They embarked on a boat excursion to the Celestial River and gained entry into the Moon Palace at Cao Liuping’s entreaty. One of the immortals mentioned in their conversation that it was predestined for Goddess Jiangyun and Cao Liuping to unite in a 20-year matrimony. Agreeing upon a rendezvous in Hangao 汉皋 (now Hankou 汉口, Wuhan city) three years later, Cao and Goddess Jiangyun each laid claim to one half of an exquisite pair of jade discs⁶⁰⁶ as an emblematic testament to their vows.

Three years later, Cao journeyed to Hangao in search of Jiangyun who had descended upon earth, carrying with him his half of the precious jade disc. Interestingly, Jiangyun chose to perform as an entertainer in the brothel of Madam Lu 陆, situated within the pleasure quarter, rather than pursuing the status of being born into an affluent merchant, official or other prominent families. She soon acquired proficiency in playing the *pipa* and gained renown for her beauty and talent. Despite numerous offers of substantial sums from clients seeking her company overnight, she showed the jade disc, indicating that she only performed in the pleasure quarter to find a partner with a matching piece. When Cao Liuping was informed of this, he promptly sought a meeting with her and successfully entered into the destined matrimony. Towards the conclusion of the narrative, it is mentioned that Cao Liuping bestowed upon Goddess Jiangyun’s incarnation the name “Yuefang” 月舫 (pleasure boat of the moon) as

⁶⁰⁴ See Wang Tao, “Lu Yuefang,” in *Songyin manlu* 淞隐漫录, punctuated and collated by Wang Siyu 王思宇 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1999), 265-269.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 266.

⁶⁰⁶ The jade discs are described as being cultivated like crops in the lunar soil, which alludes to another story of *zhongyu* 种玉 (planting the jades). In this allusion, the jade discs were grown from stone “seeds” bestowed by an immortal to Yang Boyong 杨伯雍, serving as a betrothal present for his proposal to the daughter of a noble family. This additional information is provided merely as evidence showcasing how the literati incorporated diverse stories into their own narratives.

she embodied a “person in the pleasure boat of the Moon Palace” 月宫画舫中人.⁶⁰⁷

In this narrative, Wang Tao explicitly aims to establish a correlation between the pleasure quarters and the wonderland, while drawing a parallel between the prostitute and the goddess. The term “person in the pleasure boat of the Moon Palace” not only refers to the woman being a goddess he encountered on a celestial pleasure boat, but also signifies her subsequent role as a prostitute in the pleasure quarter. The connection between the goddess and her prostitute incarnation transforms the “pleasure boat of the moon” 月舫 from being a representation of the celestial realm to becoming a metaphorical embodiment of a sublunary pleasure quarter.

This interpretation is not at all exaggerated, as Wang Tao’s use of wordplay permeates the entire narrative. First of all, the character “Liu” 柳 in the male protagonist’s name “Liuping” 柳平 is widely recognized as one of the most renowned monikers associated with pleasure quarters (see 2.1.3), while “ping” 平 signifies his ability to captivate the women there. The name of the Goddess Jiang Yun, clearly alludes to the goddess of Wu Mountain (see 2.2.1). The location of Hangao, where the two made a promise to reunite, serves as the backdrop for Zheng Jiaofu’s encounter with the two goddesses from the Han River in mythology (see 2.2.2). These elements vividly demonstrate that the author has infused this story with an enchanting ambiance of literati’s fantasy of the “water goddess,” while also drawing parallels between the ethereal realms, boats, and the pleasure quarters.

As a substitute for the inaccessible wonderland, the boat-architecture space provided at least a transitional stage toward the “ultimate state of emptiness and enlightenment.”⁶⁰⁸ The Boat-architecture space that used as a brothel and the female entertainers in it construct a metaphorical dream for male customers, which sustains their romantic feelings and embodies the carrier of their ideal life. The pleasure quarter on water, described as a wonderland and drawing inspiration from the literati’s boat-architecture, further solidifies its essence as a *taoyuan* utopia free from formalities and unaffected by worldly affairs. However, similar to the inherent futility of all utopian ideals, the boat-architecture space ultimately failed to fulfill its potential as a utopia for both the literati, who yearned to make societal contributions but were hindered by their inability to pass the imperial examinations, and the courtesans, whose immense talents were constrained by their marginalized social status. It ended up as a heterotopia for both female entertainers and male patrons in it.

The research on Buxi Yuan has explored the impact of heterotopia on men, including the required aesthetic connoisseurship and the *minshi* demeanor (see 1.4.3). Meanwhile, in the pleasure quarters, perceived as “wonderlands,” the self-discipline of female entertainers gazed at by men was manifested as a kind of self-invention of a *xian* persona. For example, *Chao Jia*

⁶⁰⁷ Wang Tao, “Lu Yuefang,” 269.

⁶⁰⁸ In his studies of the dream world invented by courtesans and their patrons, Wang Ying takes a poem in *Honglou meng* as an example and uses the “ultimate state of emptiness and enlightenment” to describe “the world of the real” when compared with “the world of the unreal.” In this example, the latter is sometimes truer than those Jia Baoyu experiences in the mundane world. See Ying Wang, “Simulation of Love and Debasement of the Courtesan in ‘Flowers of Shanghai,’” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 32 (2010): 122.

fengyue ji recorded a boat prostitute named “Juntian” 俊添, whose “appearance and talents are not very good, but has an unrestrained temperament” 色艺不甚佳, 而性情豪放.⁶⁰⁹ On beautiful moonlit nights, she would even take her clothes as pawns in exchange for wine and invite literati and beauties along the Han River for a reunion party. They endlessly sang loud and clear songs at the party, even for several nights. Later, she contracted diabetes, and before she died, she said to her sister Xiaofeng 小凤: “I was once a maid of Yaochi 瑶池 (a celestial garden of the Queen Mother of the West). As I mistakenly fell in love with the human world of color and fragrance (sensual pleasure), I was cast out of heaven to the earth as punishment. Now my sentence expired, and I will go back to heaven” 我本瑶池侍女, 误爱色香世界, 谪堕人间。今限满当去。⁶¹⁰

People may understand that some very beautiful prostitutes will gradually compare themselves with “goddesses” because men often praise them as “goddesses descended to the world.” But how can Juntian dare, who was not very beautiful, to compare herself to a goddess? In fact, Juntian was convinced that she was the reincarnation of the Maid of Yaochi. She was accustomed to performing this way, substituting herself into a certain kind of *xian* persona. Yu Jiao’s comparison of Juntian’s “unrestrained” temperament with her “not very good” appearance and talent, demonstrates that literati’s respect for her temperament outweighed her “insufficiency,” resulting in Juntian gaining a higher reputation than she initially “deserved.” Even her name showed this compensation clearly: “Juntian” means *tianjun* 添俊 (*tian* 添 means “add,” *jun* 俊 means “glamour,” together they mean “adding glamour”). Moreover, the proof of Juntian’s so-called “unrestrained” temperament in the text – pawning clothes for fine wine – was nothing new if putting aside the differences in genders (female, not male) and identities (prostitute, not literati). It was nothing more than a kind of *mingshi* persona that literati have been creating, interpreting, and perfecting since the Wei and Jin dynasties. Juntian must have known that her appearance and talent were not her strengths. Compared with sharpening her skills, she wisely used her character advantages. However, she deeply understood that the “unrestrainedness” in character did not mean that she could do whatever she wanted, but it must be displayed in a way that men recognized.

Therefore, to gain a certain advantage among her peers, Juntian had to be familiar with substituting a certain *xian* (comparable to *mingshi*) persona for so long that it became her unconscious alter ego. When faced with death, just as desperate women had the chance to be reincarnated as water goddesses after throwing themselves into the water, Juntian saw herself as the reincarnation of a *xian* and saw the miserable life in the mundane world as a kind of punishment or atonement before her return to the wonderland of heaven, hoping for a touch of consolation.

Through examining the three aspects of Chinese culture that associate women with water – namely, sexuality, aesthetics, and ethics – this section first presents the fact that the construction of femininity is established by men through cultural discourse. Subsequently, it

⁶⁰⁹ Yu Jiao, *Chaojia fengyue ji*, 209.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

analyzes how men project their fantasy of a “water goddess” onto female entertainers and construct a cultural space that perceives pleasure quarters as wonderlands of the desire realm. Finally, drawing upon the cultural symbolism of the boat as a means to access an ethereal realm, this section posits the strengthening impact of the heterotopian nature facilitated by boat-architecture space and its discipline of women within it.

Special attention should be dedicated to the analysis of the two courtesan characters and their narratives crafted by literati towards the conclusion of this section, as it not only comprehensively reflects and elucidates the thematic essence of this section but also establishes an analytical framework for studying the diverse popular novels in the subsequent section. In other words: the analysis of all ensuing narratives is directed not only at their content perceived as a historical record but also at unveiling the author’s self-awareness during writing and its reflection on social and historical contexts.

2.3 Fantasy Space: Boat-Architectures Depicted as Plot Settings of the Affairs Involved with Love and Sex

Among Ming contemporaries, with the burgeoning economy and booming publishing industries, popular fiction and novels churned out, especially in Jiangnan region. The portrayal of urban life in these novels provides valuable research materials for contemporary scholars to investigate various aspects of Ming society, including architecture and urban space. For instance, through the depiction of architectural space in *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (Gold Vase Plum), Zhuge Jing 诸葛净 delves into associated issues related to traditional Chinese cities and houses, elucidating the social structure and etiquette hierarchy inherent within architectural space by exploring the “public” and “private” spheres in the lives of Ming dynasty inhabitants.⁶¹¹ In the context of this study, a noteworthy phenomenon is the prevalence of boat-architecture spaces as settings for love and sexual affairs in popular folk novels during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

As previously mentioned, during the Spring and Autumn period as well as the Warring States period, water or waterfronts were frequently employed as metaphors and metonymies to depict romantic relationships between individuals (see 2.2.1). The domain of boat-architecture also possesses a heterotopic nature that transcends temporal moral boundaries (see 2.2.2 & 2.2.3). Therefore, it is self-evident that the boat-architecture space plays a significant role in fostering romantic relationships between individuals within traditional Chinese culture.

There exist three primary reasons why boat-architectures are employed as settings for romantic relationships between men and women in novels from the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The first reason lies in the prevalence of boats as water vehicles in the southern region, where even small carts are referred to as *han hangchuan* 旱航船 (on-land sailing boats) by locals,⁶¹² indicating that the notion of boats serving as a mode of transportation has been deeply

⁶¹¹ See Zhuge Jing, “Domesticity: A Serial Study on Chinese Traditional House and Relevant Issues” I-V, *The Architect*, no. 3 (2016): 72-79; no. 4 (2016): 6-12; no. 05 (2016): 90-96; no. 06 (2016): 87-94; no. 01 (2017): 93-98.

⁶¹² For example, the Shuangbang 双浜 village, Changshu, Suzhou and the Fuqian 福前 town in Zhangjiagang 张家港, Suzhou. See Wang Hongfei 王鸿飞, *Shuangbang xiaozhi* 双

ingrained in the hearts and minds of Southerners for quite some time.

The second aspect pertains to the cultural metaphors of water that have been associated with women, love, and sex since ancient times, thereby establishing a natural association between “boat” and these concepts of femininity, romance, sexuality, and matrimony. “Da ming” 大明 in *The Book of Songs* wrote: “The great country [of the Shang dynasty in the Yin] had a maiden, whose beauty was akin to that of a goddess. Divination portended an auspicious marriage, and King Wen himself escorted her across the Wei River. The boats were connected as a bridge across the river, and the wedding ceremony was glorious” 大邦有子，俛天之妹。文定厥祥，亲迎于渭。造舟为梁，不显其光。⁶¹³ The practice of combining several boats to make a bridge (to welcome the bride), *zaozhou* (see 2.1.1, *zao zhou*), was used as an antonomasia of marriage in later generations.⁶¹⁴ There was also the allusion, *bozhou* 柏舟, from “Bo zhou” 柏舟 in *The Book of Songs*, a poem written by a wife who vowed not to remarry after her husband died: the grief of losing a husband was known as *bozhou zhi tong* 柏舟之痛 (the pain of *bozhou*), not remarry after the husband dies was called *bozhou zhi jie* 柏舟之节 (the integrity of *bozhou*). Meanwhile, a woman’s remarriage was often called *guo biechuan* 过别船 (boarding another boat).⁶¹⁵ The act of sexual intercourse was implied by *rugang* 入港 (a boat entering the port),⁶¹⁶ and so on.

Lastly, the boat-architecture space’s characteristics must not be disregarded for their driving effect on plot and theme rendering. On the one hand, boat-architecture as a type of mobile living space allows the author to utilize the same scene to satisfy the dual transformation of time and space in terms of writing as a setting where the plot unfolds. On the other hand, if we consider the boat-architecture narrative in the novel as a documentation of societal activities during that era, albeit not entirely objective, it still reflects the distinct features of boat-architecture space that incite sexual desire and even challenge conventional ethics.

It should be noted that the utilization of boat-architecture is not singularly exemplified

浜小志, in *Changshu xiangzhen jiuzhi jicheng* 常熟乡镇旧志集成, ed. Shen Qiunong 沈秋农 and Cao Peigen 曹培根 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2007), 753, and Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Jiangsusheng Zhangjiagangshi weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议江苏省张家港市委员会, ed., *Shazhouxian jizhen shi* 沙洲县集镇史 (Zhengxie Shazhouxian weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui, 1986), 140.

⁶¹³ “Da ming,” in *Mao Shi zhushu*, annotated by Mao Heng, vol. 1, 25b-26a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁶¹⁴ See *Yingchuang qingwan* 萤窗清玩, in Xi Zijie 席子杰 and Chi Shuangming 迟双明, ed., *Zhongguo gudian mingzhu* 中国古典名著, vol. 35, *Qingdai xiaoshuo* 清代小说 (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1998), 511: 小女年幼，未可造舟，汝可为我辞之。

⁶¹⁵ Ji Yun, *Yuewei caotang biji* 阅微草堂笔记, trans. Fang Xiao 方晓 (Wuhan: Chongwen shuju, 2017), 52: 然朝盟同穴，夕过别船者，尚不知其几。

⁶¹⁶ See Ling Mengchu 凌濛初, *Chuke pai'an jingqi* 初刻拍案惊奇 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1994), 185: 碍着是头一日来到，不敢就造次，只好眉梢眼角，做些功夫，未能够入港。

in the cases mentioned in this section but rather pervades numerous works of folk literature and even assumes fixed narrative modes. Among these fixed modes developed against the backdrop of boat-architecture, three narrative descriptions stand out as particularly prominent. This section will use these three types of boat narratives as materials to examine the distinctive features of boat-architecture space, ultimately revealing how the cultural symbol of boat-architecture in the “goddess fantasy” narrative was constructed as a metaphorical representation of literati’s narrative of “entering/escaping the world,” and echoed the latter as “the moon in the water/the flower in the mirror.”

2.3.1 The Temptation in the Lonely Journey

The first category is “the temptation in the lonely journey.” Using boat-architecture for long-distance transportation forces men and women to coexist in a confined space for an extended period. Especially when single men and women cohabit in an isolated space surrounded by water, resisting the temptation of carnal desire is a formidable challenge, at least according to the perception of many people who envision such a scenario.

In Lu Renlong’s 陆人龙 (the late Ming dynasty) collection of novels *Xing shi yan* 型世言 (published in ca. 1632), there is a story in which the male protagonist garners admiration for his ability to resist temptation during his journey.⁶¹⁷ The protagonist, Qin Fengyi 秦凤仪, planned to travel from Yangzhou to Beijing. A friend asked him to take a bought virgin to Linqing 临清, Shandong as the buyer’s concubine. Qin Fengyi was initially reluctant because he thought, “She is a single woman, I am a single man, and how can the limited space of a small boat accommodate both of us? Besides, the journey is 2,000 *li*, and the travel takes quite a long time, it is easy to cause suspicion” 他是寡女，我是孤男，点点船中，仔么容得？况此去路程二千里，日月颇久，恐生嫌疑。⁶¹⁸ However, due to his friend’s insistence, Qin Fengyi could not refuse. He could only take the letter (to the buyer) from his friend and travel with the woman by boat. Due to the limited size of the boat, only the middle cabin was available for lodging. Therefore, Qin Fengyi had to fashion an additional bed for the woman’s repose while he occupied himself with reading at his desk. The woman initially displayed a degree of timidity but gradually assumed the role of hostess by serving tea and water to Qin Fengyi, which indicates that cohabitation in close quarters can foster emotional bonds between individuals.

When they pass through Gaoyou 高邮 Lake, the author skillfully constructs and describes in detail a moral predicament that Qin Fengyi faced. The article mentioned that the mosquitoes in Gaoyou Lake are as giant as moths, which was very scary. A temple on the shore is called “Lujin Temple” 露筋庙 (The Temple of the Lady with Exposed Tendons). According to legend, a chaste woman was worshipped there. Before her death, she traveled with her sister-in-law and took refuge in a merchant’s boat. There were many mosquitoes at night, and her

⁶¹⁷ See Lu Renlong, comp., *Xing shi yan*, punctuated and collated by Cui Enlie 崔恩烈 and Tian He 田禾 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1995), 169-177.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

sister-in-law slept inside the merchant's bed net as an expediency. However, to keep her chastity, she refused this offer. So, she was infested by mosquitoes all night. Her skin and flesh were exposed (because of the mosquitoes' invasion and harassment), and she finally died. Revered by later generations for her unwavering commitment to guarding her chastity and mourned for her untimely demise, a temple was erected in honor of her. Upon hearing the sound of the woman chasing mosquitoes at night, Qin Fengyi was reminded of the tragic tale of "The Lady with Exposed Tendons" and expressed concern that she may suffer a similar fate. As such, he invited her to retire for the evening inside his bed net. Initially refusing, the woman eventually succumbed to the mosquitoes and retired to bed, sleeping at Qin Fengyi's feet.

Subsequently, the author intentionally refrained from advancing the narrative through Qin Fengyi and the woman's perspective, opting instead to present the viewpoints of others, including that of Qin Fengyi's youthful attendant. When the boy knew that the two slept on the same bed, he thought: "My owner cannot make it through today. This girl fell into the indigo jar, and she cannot get out [clear and] white" 我家主今日也有些熬不过了。这女儿子落了靛缸，也脱不得白了。⁶¹⁹ The servant believed that the two must have had sex anyway, so when he sent the letter to the buyer, he said to himself: "I am afraid [it (the letter/the girl)] is not intact" 只怕不是原封了，⁶²⁰ implying that the woman is no longer a virgin. Because the servant boy was worried that the buyer would kick the woman out of the house, he advised Qin Fengyi to depart later the next day, in case the woman came for shelter.

The other similar view came from the women's buyer. When he knew that Qin Fengyi had brought the woman here alone, he thought: "This is a handsome young man with no family members, and [they] traveled more than a thousand *li* for more than a month. Can anyone be sure that the two did not have an affair" 这等一个标致后生，又没家眷，又千余里路，月余日子，你保得他两个没事么？⁶²¹ Seeing the woman's stunning appearance and virgin demeanor, he sneered, "I do not believe [that she is still a virgin]" 我不信。⁶²² Therefore, when the buyer discovered at night that the woman was still a virgin, he could not help but lament: "Such a person exists in this world! Even a [knowledgeable and experienced] person like myself, Old Dou, cannot resist her allure. Yet he (Qin Fengyi) did not waver for even a month. He is truly a paragon of virtue" 天下有这样人，似我老窦见了这女子，也就不能禁持。他却月余竟不动念，真是圣人了。⁶²³ After that, he hurried to see Qin Fengyi, saw him off, and presented him with two sailors.

The perceptions of the servant and buyer (prior to discovering the truth) clearly indicate that it appears unbelievable to most individuals that such a temptation during a lonely boat excursion can elapse unused. The seclusion of the boat-architecture space can easily put in question moral boundaries. Males transcending females aboard into water goddesses support

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 171.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ Ibid.

their languishing moral resistance. Attempting to interpret those male authors one might imply their's trains of thoughts following the conviction that even if these "goddesses" have no intention of tempting, their appearance undoubtedly incites men's desires, and every move they make tests the ethical boundaries of these lonely men.

The following description can be seen in many popular novels of the Ming and Qing dynasties: a young man traveling alone in a boat accidentally saw the extraordinary beauty of the female relatives on the neighboring boat and was deeply attracted. In fact, a similar story was recorded as early as the Song dynasty *Taiping guangji* 太平广记.⁶²⁴ Here is a passage in it:

Delin's 德璘 boat and Wei 韦 Family's boat departed from the same place in Ezhu 鄂渚 (the part of the Yangtze River near the Wuchang county) after two nights. They moored together again on [the third] night. When they reached Dongting 洞庭 Lake, Delin's boat was moored very close to Wei Family's boat. Wei's daughter is beautiful and charming, [...(description of her beauty)...] [When she was] fishing through the water windows. Delin secretly saw her and felt very fond of her.

德璘舟与韦氏舟，同离鄂渚信宿。及暮又同宿。至洞庭之畔，与韦生舟楫，颇以相近。韦氏美而艳，[琼英赋云，莲蕊莹波，露濯蕤姿，月鲜珠彩。]于水窗中垂钓。德璘因窥见之，甚悦。⁶²⁵

After that, Delin wrote a poem on a red silk handkerchief and deliberately hung the silk handkerchief on the hook of Wei's daughter to convey his feelings. The poem read: "[Your] graceful hand suspends the hook by the water window, and the autumnal hue of crimson lotus shines resplendently upon the Yangtze River. If Han Water's goddesses could bestow their precious beads upon [Zheng] Jiaofu, then [I] too would humbly beseech [you] for a pair of pearls" 纤手垂钓对水窗，红蕖秋色艳长江。既能解珮投交甫，更有明珠乞一双。⁶²⁶ This poem explicitly references the tale of Zheng Jiaofu's dalliance with the Han Water Goddess, conveying Delin's courtship of Wei's daughter and seeking her approval. It must be noticed that just as the goddess of Wu Mountain voluntarily offered herself to the king of Chu, in literary works, the romantic attraction between men and women is mutual – men's appearance, social status, and particularly their talents are also alluring to women. Although she did not understand the meaning when she received the silk handkerchief, she still appreciated it so much that she "covered her arms with the red silk and cherished it for herself" 以所得红绡系臂，自爱惜之。⁶²⁷ Out of courtesy or attempting to participate further in the adventure, she also presented a poem on the crimson paper to Delin by the fishing hook that night.

⁶²⁴ See "Zheng Delin" 郑德璘, in Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 152, 1a-5a. See *SKQS*.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2a.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2b.

In this story, the poem inscribed on the crimson paper was created by a literate individual on the preceding night. When reciting it aloud, Wei's daughter and a female companion overheard and transcribed it. Consequently, this composition was entirely incongruous with Delin's poem, which rendered him incapable of comprehending Wei's daughter's mindset; henceforth, "there is no way to fulfill his wish" 无计遂其款曲.⁶²⁸ However, the situation is different in another story recorded in Feng Menglong's 冯梦龙 (1574-1646) collection of novels, *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恒言 (Stories to Awaken the World).⁶²⁹ The story, titled "Wu yanei linzhou fuyue" 吴衙内邻舟赴约 (The Wu Official's Son Going to the Neighbouring Boat for a Date), is about a young man and a woman from two official families – Wu Yan 吴彦 and He Xiu'e 贺秀娥 – who met and fell in love on the journey, taste the forbidden fruit, experienced twists and turns but finally entered the marriage. A comprehensive exposition is warranted for this narrative, as the architectural space atop their vessels plays an indispensable role in advancing the romance and serves as the primary setting of the story. Through a detailed presentation of this tale, we gain insight into how literati author's fantasy of the water goddess was intertwined with their perception of boat-architecture space.

First, the two families' boats on the trip were blocked by strong winds in the waters near Jiangzhou 江州, so they had to berth on the shore. The lack of privacy in the boat-architecture exposed Xiu'e's "goddess-like" beauty to Wu Yan's eyes:

The official cabin door's curtain was partially drawn, revealing a middle-aged woman and a stunning young lady standing below with three or four maids behind them. Wu Yan had already glimpsed the girl's beauty through the half-rolled curtain, as evidenced by a poem: "The autumn water makes her soul and jade her bone, and the hibiscus is like her face and the willow her brows. It is evident that this maiden hails from Yaochi in the celestial palace on the moon; it is unfathomable that such a resplendent visage exists within this world."

这官船舱门上帘儿半卷，下边站着一个中年妇人，一个美貌女子。背后又侍立三四个丫鬟。吴衙内在舱中帘内，早已瞧见。那女子果然生得娇艳。怎见得？有诗为证：“秋水为神玉为骨，芙蓉如面柳如眉。分明月殿瑶池女，不信人间有异姿。”⁶³⁰

After Wu Yan saw Xiu'e, he "was overcome with a profound sense of emotion that caused his soul to tremble, longing to be by her side and hold her in his embrace without delay" 不觉魂飘神荡，恨不得就飞到他身边，搂在怀中。⁶³¹ However, his visibility was limited

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ "Wu yanei linzhou fuyue," in Feng Menglong, comp., *Xingshi hengyan* (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1998), 384-397.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 386.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

due to the initial separation of tens of meters between the two boats. Therefore, Wu Yan suggested to his father: “Dad, why don’t you tell the sailors to move over and snuggle up to this boat? It will be way safer and more stable” 爹爹，何不教水手移去，帮在这只船上？到也安稳。⁶³² As Wu Yan’s father accepted the suggestion, he berthed his boat towards the Xiu’e family’s boat and exchanged background information with each other. When the author pointed out that the protagonists’ fathers were both officials and they had heard of each other, it would naturally lead to mutual visits between the two. The resting time of the two boats, which was initially only for temporary shelter from the wind, was thus significantly prolonged during the journey. In addition, the text also clearly points out that the position of the two boats was, literally, side by side – “it happens that the boat gates are opposite to each other, one can just come over” 恰好舱门相对，走过来就是。⁶³³ This laid the foundation for Wu Yan to sneak into the Xiu’e boat later.

On the other hand, Xiu’e’s father admired Wu Yan very much and praised Wu Yan after drinking in front of his wife and daughter that he was “young and handsome while educated and knowledgeable” 青年美貌，学问广博，⁶³⁴ which would be a great asset in the future. It aroused Xiu’e’s admiration (for Wu Yan’s talent) and curiosity (about his appearance). When Wu Yan visited Xiu’e’s father with his father, she, as an unmarried girl, should not have been there. However, the space inside the boat-architecture was not as closed by solid walls and thick doors as the land buildings, so she “sneakily walked to the back of the screen doors and looked through the door gap [from the rear cabin where the female family members were]” 悄悄走至遮堂后，门缝中张望。⁶³⁵ After seeing Wu Yan’s handsome appearance, she immediately fell in love with him.

The article describes the two’s distress of urging to meet in detail in this paragraph, and these emotional entanglements are described through the space of the boat-architecture. It was mentioned that Xiu’e “wanted to ask him to meet, but they were in the same place with the parents. The [boatmen and servants] had their wide eyes and ears on both boats, so there was no opportunity” 欲待约他面会，怎奈爹妈俱在一处，两边船上，耳目又广，没讨个空处。⁶³⁶ Nevertheless, Xiu’e was unwilling to give up because “if I miss this person this time, I might end up with a wealthy merchant or an official later, then I may not have a husband as talented and good-looking as him” 今番错过此人，后来总配个豪家宦室，恐未必有此才貌兼全。⁶³⁷ Even racking her brains, there was still no countermeasure coming up, so she could only sit down for a while, then went to the door gap to look around and did it all over again. Wu Yan was in the middle cabin and kept thinking of Xiu’e in the back cabin. But because the

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Ibid., 387.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 388.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

door was closed, he had no chance of seeing her and was so upset that he did not even bother to drink.

After Wu Yan went back, Xiu'e had a dream. In the dream, she heard Wu Yan reciting a poem outside the cabin: "[Two can] still **dream** [of each other] at the ends of the world, but why there is not a chance [when we are] in front of each other? Do not say the pleasure is ephemeral, and I would swear a timeproof vow" 天涯犹有梦，对面岂无缘？莫道欢娱暂，还期盟誓坚。⁶³⁸ The **dream** mentioned in the poem appeared in Xiu'e's dream, so it became a "dream within a dream." This dream was obviously associated with the king of Chu's sex-related dream of meeting the goddess of Wu Mountain. Because then the story wrote that when Xiu'e pushed open the cabin door in her dream and saw Wu Yan outside, the two "even did not close the cabin door, they hugged each other, undressed, went to bed, and had their '**cloud and rain**'" 舱门竟也不曾闭下。相偎相抱，解衣就寝。成其云雨。⁶³⁹ However, because of Xiu'e's moral education from her childhood, ethics and morality subconsciously affected her dream, making it quickly change from a sweet illusion to a terrifying nightmare: the maid found the door wide open, thinking there was a thief, and alarmed everybody on the boat, which revealed the private meeting of the two to the parents of Xiu'e. At the end of this nightmare, Wu Yan was thrown into the water by Xiu'e's father. Xiu'e also jumped into the river to commit suicide and was awakened at the moment of entering the water.

Although the feudal etiquette seemingly gained control at the end of the dream, for Xiu'e, this daring dream was the liberation of her love. Because in this dream, which was like an omen, she found a way to meet her lover. After she woke up, she pushed the door open in contemplation. She happened to see that the door on the opposite boat was also wide open, and Wu Yan was also sitting in a daze facing the boat here – "It turns out that the two of them are sleeping in the back cabin, right across the board [and next to each other], only five or six feet away. If the windows on both sides were dismantled, it would be just like in one room" 原来二人卧处，都在后舱，恰好间壁，只隔得五六尺远。若去了两重窗榻，便是一间。⁶⁴⁰ With their eyes facing each other, they understood each other's hearts through a smile. Because she was worried that her voice would be heard, Xiu'e wrote her reply to the poem chanted by Wu Yan in her dream on a piece of *taohua* (peach-blossom) letter paper, folded it, wrapped it in a handkerchief, and threw it to Wu Yan on the opposite boat. The poem reads: "Flower paper carried my words, while embroidered handkerchiefs wrapped my soft feelings. The dream of King Xiang will not be disappointed; the goddess of cloud and rain is right here" 花笺裁锦字，绣帕裹柔肠。不负襄王梦，行云在此方，⁶⁴¹ with a line of minor characters: "Tonight, I will turn on the lamp and wait for you. Shall the sound of scissors be our signal, and please do not miss the appointment" 今晚妾当挑灯相候，以剪刀声响为号，幸勿爽约。⁶⁴² It can be seen

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 389.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 390.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

from this that Xiu'e compared herself with the goddess of Wu Mountain and responded to Wu Yan's poem of the goddess-fantasy dream in her dream. Like the goddess of Wu Mountain, who took the initiative to dedicate herself, she proposed a private meeting with Wu Yan. Wu Yan also used a piece of gold letter paper, inscribed a poem, untied the brocade belt around his waist, and threw it back to Xiu'e: on this piece of gold letter paper, the poem written by Wu Yan was precisely the one he recited in Xiu'e's dream. He agreed to the appointment in the postscript of this poem.

The story then describes how the two met by crossing the door and how they enjoyed their meeting, as they did in the dream. During the conversation, Xiu'e learned that Wu Yan shared a similar dream to hers, leading them to believe that they "may have been united in matrimony across generations, thus resulting in the connection of their souls and dreams prior [to meeting each other]" 多分是宿世姻缘，故令魂梦先通。⁶⁴³ Consequently, their love deepened even further. Unfortunately, the wind calmed down on the night of the two's private meeting, so the two boats separated in the early morning and set off on their own. Wu Yan could not return to his family boat and could only hide in Xiu'e's room. He was eventually discovered. However, unlike the dream scenario, Xiu'e utilized the rationale of a "predestined marriage" and the ultimatum of "swearing life and death together" to persuade her mother. Together, they convinced her father – who held Wu Yan in high regard – to consent to their love. The Wu family, who were still reeling from the mysterious disappearance of their son, suddenly received news that he was with the He family. They promptly requested his marriage to the He family's daughter, transforming the protagonists' initial fornication into a union under feudal ethics.

In this story, the shadow of "goddess fantasy" can be seen everywhere. Although both of them had a dream that seemed like an omen, the text is more about Xiu'e as the main body to describe the dream, as well as the hints and warnings obtained from it. Wu Yan's dream made him the king of Chu, who dreamed of meeting a goddess, and the reality after his waking up was that Xiu'e, like a goddess, took the initiative to invite him to a private meeting. Xiu'e's dream is the premise for Xiu'e to respond to the lover's poem (in her dream) with another poem after her waking up, but this makes Xiu'e change in reality from a passive responder to a "goddess of Wu Mountain" who initiatively offers herself.

As mentioned in the previous section, the "goddess of Wu Mountain" is the goddess of sex and love in ancient Chinese men's hearts. Therefore, those women who already know the taste of sex and love play this role better than those innocents. In volume 7 of Ling Mengchu's 凌濛初 (1580-1644) *Erke pai'an jingqi* 二刻拍案惊奇 (The Second Collection of Striking the Table in Amazement at the Wonders), it records the story of adultery between Dong 董 *ruren* 孺人 (Madam Dong), a young widow whose husband died on the road, and Lü 吕 *shijun* 使君 (Sir Lü), a young officer she met on the road.⁶⁴⁴ In the story, Madam Dong's original husband, Dong Yuanguang 董原广, took the waterway from Zhushan 竹山, Fangzhou 房州 (Hubei

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 391.

⁶⁴⁴ See Ling Mengchu, *Erke pai'an jingqi* (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2004), 93-104.

province) to Lin'an (Hangzhou) with her. On the way, they met Sir Lü, a Sichuan official taking a boat to Lin'an for office. The two men visited each other during their travels, partying, drinking, playing chess, and developing a close friendship. Dong Yuanguang did not expect his second wife, Madam Dong, to fall in love with Sir Lü for his handsomeness and exchange eyesights of affection with Lü during the journey.

When Dong Yuanguang finally died (because of Madam Dong's tremendous sexual need), Sir Lü helped to deal with Dong Yuanguang's funeral as a friend. At this time, he had more opportunities to meet with Madam Dong. For fear of being discovered by the people on their boats, the two had to fornicate secretly. In the previous story, Xiu'e and Wu Yan still needed an omen dream as a prompt to act, but in this story, Sir Lü and Madam Dong already knew how to take advantage of the boat space's convenience. When Sir Lü asked Madam Dong how to deal with loneliness at night, she immediately understood what he meant. Ostensibly, Madam Dong replied that she "would pull up the window to enjoy watching the moon by herself" 只好独自个推窗看月耳,⁶⁴⁵ but in fact, she was inviting Sir Lü to come in through the boat window. Sir Lü immediately knew what she meant, so they secretly agreed to meet at night.

The climax of the whole story occurs at the moment when the two meet. Therefore, in the engraving of *Erke pai'an jingqi* in the Shangyoutang 尚友堂 edition in the fifth year of the Chongzhen period of the Ming dynasty (1632), this scene is used as an illustration representing the story (Fig. 2.3.1-1). In the illustration, one can see two boats moored next to each other under the willow trees on the shore, and the moon hanging high in the upper left corner shows that this scene happened in the dead of night. A man and a woman looked at each other from the boat cabin's open windows. The man was about to come out, as if the next step was to walk into the adjacent boat, while the woman was leaning lazily against the railing at the side of the boat, waiting for the arrival of the other party.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., 97.



Fig. 2.3.1-1 The engraving of *Erke pai'an jingqi* in the Shangyoutang edition.

Following a conventional technique employed in Ming dynasty folk novels, the explicit depiction of the sexual events that occurred after the man entered the cabin was deliberately omitted. Instead, a concise poem was composed to evoke readers' imagination and establish an associative connection with the unfolding narrative. It is worth noting that this poem contains a particular sentence:

One is like a boat without constraints that allows everybody to pull; the other is like an oar pounding in mid-stream that swings at his will.

一个是不系之舟，随人牵挽；一个如中流之楫，惟我荡摇。⁶⁴⁶

It can be seen from this that the author deliberately distorted the original cultural symbol of the “boat” and created a set of cultural vocabulary about sex. “The boat without constraints” (*buxi zhi zhou* 不系之舟) was originally a symbol of unrestrained seclusion, and here, as a metaphor for Madam Dong, it is interpreted as a woman who lacks moral restraint and self-control. “The oar pounding in mid-stream,” as the representation of Sir Lü, is a distortion of the allusions of *zhongliu jiji* 中流击楫 (pounding the oar in the mid-stream), which initially meant determined to serve the country. The author used the similarity of the “pounding” action to interpret *ji* 楫 (oar) as a metonymy of male genitalia. In contrast, “boat” serves as a metonymy for female genitalia, constituting a pair of *yin-yang* with the oar.

We can clearly see that the water goddess’s boat-architecture space, where the illicit affair of love and sex unfolds, can be regarded as the “dark side of the moon” in stark contrast to the literati’s boat-architecture. There is no more exquisite representation of this issue than such a symbolic twist.

2.3.2 The Conspiracy of the Water “Goddess”

Compared to female passengers, most “water goddesses” in boat narratives were prostitutes who actively seduce male passengers, particularly female relatives of some boat households who had to sell their beauty due to financial struggles. Unlike fortunate young men who win the favor of a fair lady, those ensnared by these “water goddesses” and indulging in their fantasies will inevitably pay the price.

The *Ruilin waishi* 儒林外史 (The Scholars) recounts the tale of a young silk merchant who succumbed to his desire for beauty while voyaging by boat.⁶⁴⁷ The incident occurred during the voyage when the vessel was moored in Suzhou. At night, a small boat intentionally approached the protagonists’ boat and drew very close. When only the silk merchant remained on board, a woman on the smaller boat deliberately appeared to seduce him. Since the distance between the two boats was minimal, the silk merchant tentatively flirted by gently pinching the woman on the opposite side. The woman responded with a smile and crawled over from her window to share his bed for the night. The silk merchant regarded this as a mere pleasant interlude to alleviate his loneliness during the journey, and this woman was like an elusive goddess who came and went without a trace. However, when he woke up the following day, he found that his two hundred taels of silver had been stolen. Fortunately, one chivalrous expert who was in the same boat helped this poor merchant and used the same trick to swindle his stolen money back.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ See Wu Jingzi 吴敬梓, *Rulin waishi* (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 2018), 420-423.

The silk merchant in this tale may have succumbed to the trap because of his folly and avarice, but the ensuing narrative will demonstrate that even the most erudite literati can sometimes be powerless against the *chuanniang* garbed as “water goddesses.” Zhao Yi recorded the story of a boat prostitute known as *zhuangyuan furen* 状元夫人 (Madam *Zhuanyuan*) in his *Yanpu zaji*.⁶⁴⁸ He recounted that there were young girls under 15 years old on the *lüpeng chuan* 绿蓬船 (green-mat boat) in Chaozhou 潮州 who disguised themselves as boys and worked as daily attendants. Even officials were often deceived by their ruse. *Zhuangyuan furen* was among the most renowned.

After completing his duties in Chaozhou, an official who held the prestigious position in the Hanlin Yuan 翰林院 (Imperial Academy, the positions of which usually reserved for the top scorer in the highest level of imperial examinations – the *zhuangyuan*) returned to Guangzhou by boat in the summer. However, he did not know that the boat he took was a “green-mat boat.”

During his sleep, the roof unexpectedly sprung a leak, causing water to seep onto his pillow. He immediately summoned the servants, yet they were all frolicking on pleasure boats outside, and none answered. Suddenly, a resplendent woman emerged from the stern of the boat, bearing a candle aloft. Clad only in a scarlet gauze tube top accentuating her alabaster skin, she approached him. As she drew back the curtains to inspect the leak, he could not help but be moved by her grace and poise. After spending over ten delightful days together, they arrived in Huizhou 惠州, where the woman further accompanied him to Guangzhou. Upon their departure, she pledged to follow him. She cried and said: “I have long been buried in the dust, and now I am honored to serve esteemed nobles such as you, just like shedding my [debased] bones to become a goddess. If [fate] should cast [me] down again, death would be [my] only refuge. May [I humbly] request to join [your] household and serve as a lady’s maid until [my] dying breath.” 久坠风尘中，今得侍贵人，正如蜕骨得仙。若复沦下贱，有死而已。请随入署，为夫人作婢以没世。⁶⁴⁹ Ultimately, the official was only able to convince the woman to depart by offering her a sum of five hundred taels in gold. Although her demeanor appeared humble and sincere, her manner of speaking was just the rhetoric of prostitutes seeking compensation. Upon the woman’s return to Chaozhou, her value escalated, and she was referred to as *zhuangyuan furen*. Access to her presence was restricted unless guests paid a substantial sum of money.

The official, being a former *zhuangyuan*, cannot be considered foolish. The woman’s words in this story exerted influence over him because they originated from the fantasy dream constructed precisely by literati like himself. In Pu Songling’s 蒲松龄 (1640-1715) *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊斋志异 (Strange Tales of a Lonely Studio), there is a story named “Peng Haiqiu” 彭海秋, which illustrates the point perfectly.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁸ See Zhao Yi, *Yanpu zaji*, 158-159.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ See Pu Songling, “Peng Haiqiu,” in *Liaozhai zhiyi*, 221-223.



Fig. 2.3.2-1 The opening page of the tale “Peng Haiqiu” in Qing dynasty *Liaozhai quantu* 聊斋全图 (The Comprehensive Illustrations of Liao-zhai).

In the tale, Peng Haiqiu 彭海秋, a celestial being, spontaneously joined two literati’s Mid-Autumn Festival celebration. He magically transported a renowned courtesan, Juanniang 娟娘, who was accompanying other guests on a boat ride on West Lake (Hangzhou), to Laizhou 莱州, Shandong. After enjoying a delightful feast, they flew to Hangzhou on the enchanted boat. One of the two literati fell in love with the courtesan, and the immortal bestowed upon her the man’s silk scarf and pledged a three-year reunion. In a set of Qing dynasty *Liaozhai quantu* 聊斋全图 (The Comprehensive Illustrations of *Liaozhai*) in the National Library of Austria, the opening page of the tale “Peng Haiqiu” portrays the moment when the celestial being manually transferred Juanniang to an adjacent boat, which was exactly the boat she was on, through the window. (Fig. 2.3.2-1). From what the people on that boat said, “Juanniang is awake” 娟娘醒矣,⁶⁵¹ it can be inferred that for Juanniang, this experience was merely a dream she had on the boat. Eventually, when the man and Juanniang fortuitously encountered each other in Yangzhou, she disclosed that she had appeared drunk after consuming only a few glasses of wine on the boat. She cried and said: “[Since] the immortal had been the good matchmaker, do not forsake me, a soul adrift in the sea of suffering, for [my lowly profession amidst] the dust” 仙人已作良媒，君勿以风尘可弃，遂舍念此苦海人。⁶⁵² In this narrative, the man did not falter in his commitment made on the boat. Without hesitation, he expended substantial gold to redeem the

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 222.

⁶⁵² Ibid., 223.

woman and bring her back home.

Apart from the literati who authored these tales, perhaps only prostitutes were as intimately familiar with them. It is not difficult to imagine that by understanding the stories of these goddesses and dreams, they would acquire the language and techniques necessary for dealing with their clients. Yu Jiao wrote a story with a similar plot in *Chao Jia fengyue ji*.⁶⁵³ The prostitute in the story was called *dianzhuang furen* 殿撰夫人 (Madam *dianzhuang*), which meant the same as *zhuangyuan furen*. It could be attributed to the adeptness of most Chaozhou prostitutes in employing such tactics, or it might present an alternative rendition of the same story. The portrayal of the prostitute in this narrative, however, acquires greater intricacy and specificity as she transitions from an anonymous mercenary figure to a distinct individual with flesh and blood who embodies divine qualities such as compassion and righteousness.

Compared with the story of *zhuangyuan furen*, this story differs mainly in the following aspects. Firstly, the name of the prostitute in question, Pu Xiaogu 濮小姑, is explicitly mentioned within this narrative. She was deemed the top performer during the opening of “Lipin” 丽品 (The Beautiful Integrity) and was lauded for valuing talent over wealth. At the same time, the story’s male protagonist was also given a name, Wu Xieyun 吴撷云. The *yun* 云 (cloud) in “Xieyun” implies the goddess of Wu Mountain (known as “the cloud in the morning”), while *xie* 撷 means “to pick”. Therefore, the name “Xieyun” represent the possession of the goddess’s body and mind. Second, the story reinforces the drama of Xiaogu’s seduction and provides a wealth of detail. For instance, Wu Xieyun issued a directive prohibiting the entry of prostitutes into the cabin. Subsequently, the story describes how Xiaogu colluded with her mother to dismiss the servants under pretenses and ask the boatman to puncture several holes in the awning and how they manage to persuade Wu Xieyun to relocate his bed to the rear cabin at night. All these details are presented vividly in the story. Thirdly, in this narrative, Xiaogu’s motivation was not monetary gain but rather her admiration for Wu Xieyun’s talent and integrity. Upon their parting, Wu Xieyun presented her a fan inscribed with a poem instead of gold. The poem deeply moved Xiaogu, and she expressed her wish to follow Wu Xieyun. However, when rejected, she did not seek financial compensation. As Xiaogu’s reputation rose, she did not use this to earn money. Instead, she told the fake mother: “Your daughter once served the [man in] jade palace (a reference to the Hanlin Academy), how can I go back to my old business [as a prostitute]” 儿曾侍寝玉堂，何可复理故业?⁶⁵⁴ Then, she privately spent a thousand taels of gold in constructing a nunnery on the shore, where she devoutly burned incense and worshiped the Buddha. She never boarded the boat to please the guests anymore. Upon learning of Wu’s passing, Xiaogu even undertook a fast until her own demise as an act of mourning for him.

Imitating Yu Huai’s *Banqiao zaji* 板桥杂记 (Banqiao Miscellaneous Notes), Yu Jiao’s *Chao Jia fengyue ji* also set up three parts: “Lijing” 丽景 (Beautiful Scenery, which responds to the “Yayou” 雅游 (Elegant Tours) in *Banqiao zaji*), “Lipin” and “Yishi” 轶事 (Anecdotes). Among them, the “Lipin” section primarily documents the tales of renowned courtesans and

⁶⁵³ See Yu Jiao, *Chaojia fengyue ji*, 201-202.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

beauties, exhibiting a commendable attitude towards those mentioned in hopes that future generations will remember their stories. Therefore, Pu Xiaogu's story was imbued with the author's excessive praise, whereas *zhuangyuan furen*'s story, though lacking in particulars, was more closely aligned with the reality of prostitution. For most prostitutes, comprehending the preferences of literati and devising targeted seduction techniques were merely a means of ensuring their survival.

Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) once divided the novels about prostitutes in modern times into three categories: *yimei* 溢美 (excessive praise), *jinzhen* 近真 (almost precise), and *yi'e* 溢恶 (extreme debasement).⁶⁵⁵ Suppose Pu Xiaogu's story represents the category of *yimei*, and the story of *zhuangyuan furen* represents *jinzhen*. In that case, what Xuan Ding 宣鼎 (1832-1880) wrote in *Yeyu qiudeng lu* 夜雨秋灯录 (The Records in Evening Rain and Autumn Lanterns, published in 1877, the third year of Guangxu), the story of the prostitute Liu Xiaoyu 刘小玉, clearly represents *yi'e*.⁶⁵⁶ In this story, Liu Xiaoyu, pretending to be a widow returning home, conspired with an accomplice on board to deceive the wealthy old scholar, Shen 沈. In Xiaoyu's strategy, the skillful use of the boat-architecture space could be seen at every stage.

Shen migrated to Guangdong from Yixing 宜兴 during his childhood. He abstained from engaging in sexual activities or entering into matrimony, thus preserving his virginity until old age. Shen took great pride in this accomplishment, believing he had transcended worldly desires. At some point, he intended to tender his resignation and retreat to his hometown, where he planned to utilize the substantial amount of gold he had accumulated in order to acquire real estate and lead a reclusive lifestyle. He had always heard about the Pearl River *huafang*'s 花舫 (flower boats, which refers to the brothel) reputation of (tempting guests), so he deliberately chose a boat without female relatives. However, one day, Shen caught sight of a stunning woman opening the small window at the back of the cabin to wash her hands. This woman was none other than the renowned prostitute Liu Xiaoyu, as viewed through the boat's windowpane, marked her debut appearance.

As Shen interrogated her background with anger, Xiaoyu, in tears, spun a tale of a destitute widow trying to return to her hometown on an acquaintance's boat. Xiaoyu said that she admired Shen's integrity and thought that such an outstanding individual would be willing in assisting her. Otherwise, she would have emulated the example of the Xiang Water Goddess and jumped directly into the water and committed suicide. In Xiaoyu's script, she simultaneously portrayed a destitute widow and the goddess of Xiang Water in the literati's imagination. Through her physical attractiveness, evoking men's desire; her tragic circumstances, eliciting men's pity; her feigned admiration, appealing to men's vanity; and ultimately, by threatening to take her own life, Xiaoyu successfully convinced Shen to allow her onto the boat. However, in this stage, she was still not allowed to enter the middle cabin (where Shen lived).

⁶⁵⁵ Lu Xun, *Guoxue zatan* 国学杂谈 (Beijing: Beijing ligong daxue chubanshe, 2020), 84.

⁶⁵⁶ See Xuan Ding, *Yeyu qiudeng lu*, punctuated by Zhang Zhihao 张志浩 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), 174-178.

During the subsequent journey, Xiaoyu gradually disintegrated Shen's suspicions. At first, Xiaoyu performed daily tasks such as cooking or laundry for Shen and even went ashore to procure breakfast. She also instructed the boatman to consistently extol her virtues in front of Shen, cultivating his familiarity and fondness. Afterward, she pretended to stumble into the water upon purchasing breakfast for Shen. Citing her damp attire and "lack" of alternative garments as a pretext, she managed to gain access to the middle cabin by exploiting Shen's benevolence towards the vulnerable. In addition, as an expression of gratitude and sympathy, Shen allowed Xiaoyu to sleep under his quilt and took care of her laundry. In this stage, Xiaoyu recognized that the timing was not yet opportune and refrained from further seductive behavior. However, it was precisely through implementing the "falling into water" strategy that Xiaoyu transformed the middle cabin from a prohibited area into one that could be entered and exited freely.

However, Xiaoyu shrewdly avoided voluntarily entering the central cabin and instead adroitly exploited the inconvenience of living on board to evoke Shen's sense of helplessness and isolation – each time Shen summoned a servant but received no response, Xiaoyu would step in to offer assistance. In this manner, Xiaoyu orchestrated several casual meetings with Shen in the evening: donning a short green silk gown to hunt mice and a light-yellow dress to illuminate candles for him. Under this circumstance, who would recall her pretext of "insufficient" alternative attire? Next, Xiaoyu employed the technique frequently utilized by skilled Guangdong prostitutes – breaking through the boat's roof. When Shen's repeated calls for assistance went unanswered, Xiaoyu reappeared again. This time, she boldly ascended onto Shen's bed, straddled over him, and extended her arm to seal the leak in the ceiling. Witnessing Xiaoyu sweating and panting, Shen was aroused like any other man. However, Xiaoyu turned and left.

If Xiaoyu had aimed to emulate Pu Xiaogu's self-sacrifice driven by an admiration for talent, she would have already accomplished her goal. She had transformed Shen's sympathy and loneliness into lust through a prolonged period of accumulation, given her adeptness at playing hard-to-get. However, Xiaoyu was plotting more.

The next day, Shen fell ill, yet the indolent servant retired early to bed while Xiaoyu arrived to administer medication and perform ablutions for Shen. Even after Shen's convalescence, Xiaoyu persisted in enduring the chilliness of bedside service. Shen invited her to sleep at his feet. At first, Xiaoyu refused, but after Shen recognized Xiaoyu as his nominal foster daughter, she agreed.

However, not everyone could sit still like Qin Fengyi in the first story, so Shen finally gave in to his desires. Under Xiaoyu's exceptional deception, Shen was induced to surrender his keys and lost his entire savings. Ultimately, he even failed to return to his hometown. Instead, he spent a year enjoying the company of an alluring woman on the boat. Unbeknownst to him, the boat merely traveled back and forth for dozens of miles within Guangdong province without ever departing from its origin.

At the end of the story, the author left a short comment, which very interestingly mentioned many historical allusions related to boat:

Zhao Jianzi 赵简子 (Zhao Yang 赵鞅, d. 476 BCE), when crossing the Chu River, fell in love with the boatman's daughter; Chi Yizi 鸱夷子 (Fan Li), roaming the Five Lakes, took the boat girl picking the lotus (Xi Shi) with him. Amidst the ethereal interplay of sky and clouds reflected in the water, a leaf-like boat sways gently. Accompanied by these enchanting beauties who offer towels and combs gracefully, one cannot help but feel an all-consuming passion akin to that aroused in the heart of Mi Fu by famous painting and calligraphy or in Zhao Bian 赵抃 (1008-1084) by his *qin* and crane. However, [the object of passion should be treated with caution:] the orchid enclosed in the bottle exudes a fragrance that tantalizes the senses, yet its water is lethal and will cause excruciating abdominal pain if ingested mistakenly; the pearl atop the crane's crown, a plaything indeed, yet take it wrongly for cinnabar, and the bowels shall rupture, leading to inevitable demise. Alas! The Yellow Emperor invented boats to prevent people from drowning while those still got drowned [on the boat], as they are drowned by themselves.

赵简子适楚江也，且惑操楫女；鸱夷子游五湖也，尚挈采莲人。天光云影中，一叶荡漾，得此数辈，供巾栉之周旋，便觉米家书画，赵家琴鹤，一切有情。然瓶供之兰，嗅之可也，若醉服其水，则腹痛而死；鹤顶之珠，玩之可也，若误服为丹，则肠断而亡。噫！黄帝造舟，防溺也；而仍溺之者，盖自溺也。⁶⁵⁷

The first half of this comment is still in line with the idea of *seyin* (see 2.1.3 and 2.2.2). Mao Kun 茅坤 (1512-1601) once said: “A person who drowns (indulges) [in his passions] is one who retreats [from the secular world], as described by Han Changli 韩昌黎 (Han Yu) as a ‘person who withdraws from society due to their attachment to external objects’” 溺也者，匿也，韩昌黎之所谓有托而逃焉者也。⁶⁵⁸ By making this statement, he established a connection between *ni* 匿 (hide, retreat) and *ni* 溺 (indulging, originally meaning drowning) through the same pronunciation. However, the second half mercilessly shattered the beautiful illusion of this “goddess fantasy.” In the narrative, the man who once indulged in a sweet dream may have believed he was in *tiantai taoyuan* (see 2.2.2) but ultimately became a self-drowned fool on a boat designed to prevent drowning.

An example of a conspiracy against the literati's “goddess fantasy” was also recorded in *Niehai hua* 孽海花 (Flowers in the Evil Sea).⁶⁵⁹ The story occurred on the Jiangshan boat (see 2.1.3) on the Qiantang River in eastern Zhejiang, which is as famous as the Pearl River flower boat. The male protagonist was called Zhu Baoting 祝宝廷 and the female protagonist was Zhu'er 珠儿. Interestingly, Zhu Baoting in this story had an actual prototype, that is,

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., 178.

⁶⁵⁸ Mao Kun, “Duchanyuan youqiandu yushi Zeshan Zhanggong muzhiming” 都察院右佥都御史泽山张公墓志铭, in *Mao Lumen xiansheng wenji* 茅鹿门先生文集, vol. 22, 10b. See Shen Naiwen 沈乃文, comp., *Ming bieji congkan* 明别集丛刊 2, vol. 92 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2015), 321.

⁶⁵⁹ See Zeng Pu, *Niehai hua*, 48-51.

Aixinjueluo Baoting 爱新觉罗·宝廷 (1840-1890), a royal of the Qing dynasty. According to the *Qing shigao* 清史稿 (Draft of Qing History), he once took a boat girl from Jiangshan boat as a concubine during his travels and subsequently submitted a written statement dismissing himself from office upon returning to Beijing. The narrative of *Niehai hua* was built upon this foundation, yet the historical documentation of the event would challenge readers' perceptions despite Baoting's portrayal in the story as a naive and guileless young official.

It is evident from the textual description that the architectural space of a boat plays a crucial role in this narrative. The detailed depiction of the boat's layout enables us to construct a clear schematic diagram (Fig. 2.3.2-2) of its spatial arrangement before introducing the plotline:

The boat looks spacious, with a mid-cabin measuring approximately 100 square feet. There are short rails on both sides, with six glass windows shaped like Japanese banana leaves. The beds, tables, and chairs were laid out neatly and cleanly. There are three cabins inside. Baoting's bedroom is arranged in the middle cabin, the outer cabin is empty, and the inner cabin is for the family of the boat owner. The cabin has two small doors connecting the corridors along the sides and the stern. The right door remains shut, while only the left serves as an exit.

看着那船很宽敞，一个中舱，方方一丈来大，两面短栏，一排六扇玻璃蕉叶窗，炕床桌椅，铺设得很为整齐洁净，里面三个房舱。宝廷的卧房，却做在中间一个舱，外面一个舱空着，里面一个舱，是船户的家眷住的。房舱两面都有小门，门外是两条廊，通着后艄。上首门都关着，只剩下首出入。⁶⁶⁰

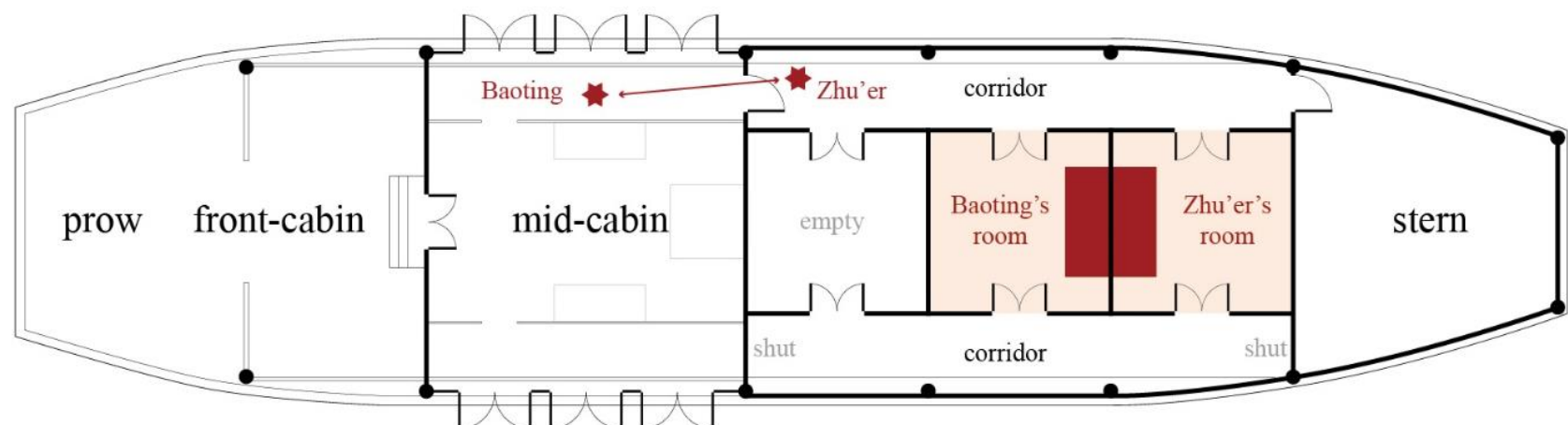


Fig. 2.3.2-2 The diagram of the Jiangshan Chuan described in *Niehai hua*.

Zhu Baoting did not know the truth about the Jiangshan boat before boarding, so it was precisely what the article said, “If [the Jiangshan boat] runs into the dandy or hot-headed scion who born with a silver spoon and knows nothing, [the boat family] will rip them off for hundreds and thousands” 若碰着公子哥儿蒙懂货，那就整千整百的敲竹杠了。⁶⁶¹ After he

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 48-49.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 48.

got on the boat, he looked around and felt very satisfied. He thought: “No wonder people say, ‘Heaven is above, and Suzhou and Hangzhou are below.’ Even this boat [in Hangzhou] is different from those up north. That is why the Tiansui Zi 天随子 (the Tang poet Lu Guimeng 陆龟蒙, d. 881) loves living on a floating boat-architecture. What a happy life is this” 怪道人说“上有天堂，下有苏杭”；一只船也与北边不同，所以天随子肯浮家泛宅。原来怎地快活!⁶⁶² Here, the author borrowed Baoting’s tone to connect the Jiangshan boat with the floating boat-architecture as a symbol of the literati’s seclusion – *fujia fanzhai* – for the first time.

After the departure, Baoting emerged from the bedroom and retrieved a chair to sit on the left porch. He leaned against the railing, taking in the untamed scenery of the river. Just when he was in a good mood, he was suddenly hit by an orange peel. As he turned to find the source of the disturbance, his eyes fell upon a stunning young woman of 17 or 18, leisurely enjoying her orange at the cabin entrance. This girl was Zhu’er, and of course, she deliberately used the orange peel to attract Baoting’s attention. She pretended not to know that she had hit someone and basked her slightly bowed face in the warm glow of the setting sun, revealing her most alluring aspect to Baoting’s gaze.

It appears that the author is merely depicting a girl who employs the daily act of consuming oranges as a tool for seduction, yet in reality, the medium of “orange” bears close ties to the “water goddess” constructed by the literati. In the flirtatious dialogue between Zheng Jiaofu and the goddess of the Han River, as recorded in *Liexian zhuan* during the Western Han dynasty, oranges floating down the Han River in a bamboo basket serve as a metaphor for the girls wandering by the water who entice men to pick them.⁶⁶³ In a tale from the Sui dynasty *Bachao qiongguai lu* 八朝穷怪录 (Strange Records of the Eight Dynasties), which was cited in the Song dynasty *Taiping guangji*, volume 296, oranges were utilized as props by Donghaigu 东海姑, goddess of the East Sea, to seduce a young scholar.

During the Jianwu 建武 period of Emperor Ming 明 of the Qi 齐 dynasty (494-498), a scholar named Xiao Yue 萧岳 sailed from Piling 毗陵 to Yanling 延陵 and anchored his boat in front of Jizi Temple 季子庙 to enjoy the moonlight. Suddenly, a young woman of 16 or 17 years old appeared with several maids who were all exceptionally beautiful. She then threw an orange into Yue’s arms. Yue asked her name. She answered: “Ge’s 葛.” Yue then provided a banquet with wine and songs [for her]. [Despite a delightful night,] when she requested to depart at daybreak, Yue was left feeling disappointed. As he watched her from his boat, he observed a group of five or six women standing in front of the temple, greeting her with smiles before entering the temple together. Feeling peculiar, Yue donned his attire and proceeded to Yanling Temple after daybreak. He observed a female figure seated on the third bench in the

⁶⁶² Ibid., 49.

⁶⁶³ See Liu Xiang, *Liexian zhuan*, 20: 交甫曰：“橘是柚也，我盛之以筥，令附汉水，将流而下。我遵其旁攀之，知吾为不逊也，愿请子佩。”二女曰：“桔是橙也，盛之以莒，令附汉水，将流而下，我遵其旁，卷其芝而茹之。”……

mural adorning the eastern wall, and upon closer examination, he grinned with recognition: she was the same woman who had shared his bed last night. Moreover, the maids on both sides were also those from last night. The inscription on the mural says, “The Goddess of Donghaigu.”

齐明帝建武中，有书生萧岳，自毗陵至延陵季子庙前，泊舟望月。忽有一女子，年十六七，从三四侍女，貌皆绝世，掷橘于岳怀中。岳问其姓名。云：“葛氏。”岳因命酒与歌宴。及晓请去，岳甚怅然。岳登舟望之，见庙前有五六女相迎笑，一时入庙。岳异之，及明，乃整衣冠，至延陵庙中。见东壁上书第三座之女，细观之而笑，果昨夜宿之女也。及左右侍女，亦所从也。画壁题云“东海姑之神”。⁶⁶⁴

In addition, the author named the boat girl “Zhu’er” (*zhu* means “bead,” and *er* is a suffix), which also echoed the “bead” of the Han Water goddess in Zheng Jiaofu’s story. Therefore, the author intentionally imbued this story with the dreamy hues of the “water goddess,” and Baoting’s character clearly conflated the enigmatic girl with his own fantasy dreamscape. Out of curiosity about her facial features, Bao Ting tossed the orange peel back toward the girl in an attempt to catch her attention. However, at that moment, an elderly woman on the boat repeatedly called out the girl’s name, “Zhu’er,” and beckoned for her to come away.

However, before leaving, Zhu’er turned around and bestowed a sweet smile upon Baoting. Her radiant countenance was further enveloped in an ethereal aura due to her portrayal of the water goddess. This audacious smile served to augment the goddess’s insinuation of carnal desire. In a word, Zhu’er captured Baoting’s heart as she wished.

After that, as a foreshadowing before the two finally “went to the Wu Mountain” together, the author describes Baoting’s tossing in thoughts. After dinner, Baoting returned to his room and attempted to covertly eavesdrop on the girl’s movement in the adjacent cabin. When he heard the girl finally retire to bed next door, it was emphasized that her sleeping quarters were adjacent to Baoting’s, separated only by a thin layer of wood. The author further renders the fantasy through Baoting’s words: “Regrettably, there is a partition board. Otherwise, we could share the same bed” 可惜隔层板，不然就算同床共枕。⁶⁶⁵ This description perfectly echoes the previous text – although the first cabin was empty, Baoting’s bedroom was still deliberately arranged in the second, adjacent to the bedroom of the third female dependent. In fact, by writing this way, the author has clearly hinted to the reader that everything on this boat is part of a collective strategy, and even the spatial layout serves this purpose.

At the end of the story, Baoting’s belief that he had surreptitiously taken possession of Zhu’er’s body was abruptly thwarted by the intervention of an unexpected character – Zhu’er’s mother. Faced with a potential charge of sexual assault, Baoting acquiesced to the woman’s demand for his marriage to Zhu’er and payment of 4,000 taels in silver as well as lifelong support for her and Zhu’er’s father.

⁶⁶⁴ See “Xiao Yue” 萧岳, in Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 296, 5a-b. See *SKQS*.

⁶⁶⁵ Zeng Pu, *Niehai hua*, 50.

When we compare Aixinjueluo Baoting in history with Zhu Baoting in the narrative, we will find that the prostitute's boat once again becomes the "back side of the coin" of the literati's boat in the concept of *seyin*.

As a Manchu, Baoting exceptionally held the prominent position of the leading poet during the Qing dynasty regarding the literature aspect. Politically, he and other like-minded officials were known as the "Qingliu Party" 清流党 (The Party of the Clearness), which reflected their commitment to upholding integrity in national affairs. Together with Chen Baochen 陈宝琛 (1848-1935), Zhang Peilun 张佩纶 (1848-1903), and Deng Chengxiu 邓承修 (1841-1892), plus Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 (1837-1909), he was called *sijian* 四谏 (Four expostulators) and *wuhu* 五虎 (Five Tigers), which showed his courage to speak out. These are all reminiscent of the literati officials mentioned in the first chapter when discussing *fang* as a cultural symbol of "escaping/entering the world."

Thanks to the diligent efforts of scholars in collecting and categorizing,⁶⁶⁶ numerous historical documents have been unearthed that document Aixin-jueluo Baoting's matrimonial union with a boat girl. Some of them came from Baoting himself, as well as historical figures from the same era who had varying degrees of interaction with Baoting, including his son Aixin-jueluo Shoufu 爱新觉罗·寿富 (1865-1900); Zhang Peilun and Chen Baochen, who were friends and comrades of Baoting; the early and late Qingliu Party's leaders, Li Hongzao 李鸿藻 (1820-1897) and Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904); the influential late Qing minister Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885); literati officials Liu Tiren 刘体仁 (1811 *jiinshi*) and Li Ciming 李慈铭 (1830-1894); famous writer Li Boyuan 李伯元 (1867-1906). The remaining part comes from the later generations' extractions and interpretations of the former materials, including Xu Ke's (1869-1928) *Qingbai leichao*, Wang Yitang's 王揖唐 (1877-1948) *Jinchuanshi Lou shihua* 今传是楼诗话 (Poem Comments of the Jinchuanshi Pavilion), Huang Jun's 黄潜 (1891-1937) *Huasuirensheng An zhiyi* 花随人圣庵摭忆 (Remembrance of the Huasuirensheng Studio), and Gao Boyu's 高伯雨 (1906-1992) *Tingyu Lou suibi* 听雨楼随笔 (The Essays of the Tingyu Pavilion). These documents encompass a diverse range of formats, including correspondence, diaries, notes, poetry, and a biography.

These documents provide us with a relatively comprehensive portrayal of Bao Ting's character in the face of lust: those who hold him in contempt, such as Li Ciming, with whom he had a strained relationship, perceive him as a womanizer;⁶⁶⁷ whereas those who are

⁶⁶⁶ See Jiang Min 姜鸣, "Benlai zhongding ruo fuyun: Baoting qu jiangshanchuan nü zhi mi" 本来钟鼎若浮云——宝廷娶江山船女之谜, in *Lishixuejia chazuo* 历史学家茶座, vol. 24, ed. Wang Zhaocheng 王兆成 (Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 2011), 120-126; Gao Baishi 高拜石, *Xinbian Guchunfeng Lou suoji* 新编古春风楼琐记, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 2003), 86-97; Huang Bo 黄波, *Bei daduan de xiandaihua* 被打断的近代化 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2017), 208-219.

⁶⁶⁷ Li Ciming, *Yueman Tang riji* 越缦堂日记, comp. Guojia Qingshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 国家清史编纂委员会 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2004), 9729: 宝廷素喜狎游, 为纤俗诗词, 以江湖才子自命, 都中坊巷, 日有踪迹, 且屡娶狭邪, 别蓄居之, 故贫甚, 至绝炊。

intimately acquainted with him, like his son Shou Fu, extol his father's sincerity and passion.⁶⁶⁸

The documents reflect three distinct perspectives on this marriage. Firstly, it is argued that Baoting's unscrupulous character and indulgence in liaisons with prostitutes prompted him to develop affection for the boat girl, resulting in irrational conduct. According to this perspective, the majority of critics reproached Baoting for his indiscretion,⁶⁶⁹ while Baoting himself and the romantic writer Li Boyuan marginally justifies his actions based on the pretext of the *minshi* demeanor and the believer of *qing* (see 2.2.2).⁶⁷⁰

The second perspective, building upon the first, accentuates the underlying conspiracy behind the incident, specifically asserting that Baoting was maliciously framed by his adversary exploiting his inherent character flaw.⁶⁷¹ This viewpoint aligns closely with the portrayal of "Zhu Baoting" in the *Niehai Hua*'s narrative, suggesting a plausible correlation between this perspective and the genesis of the story.

The third perspective emerged from within the Qingliu Party, gaining prominence following Baoting's demise when the unmistakable decline of the late Qing court became apparent. Consequently, his associates interpreted this conduct as a prescient recognition by Baoting that the Qingliu Party was incapable of reversing the decline of the dynasty and even destined for its own collapse. Thus, he deliberately employed this pretext to tender his

⁶⁶⁸ Aixin-jueluo Shoufu, *Xiankao shilang-gong nianpu* 先考侍郎公年谱, in *Beijing tushuguan cang zhenben nianpu congkan* 北京图书馆藏珍本年谱丛刊, vol. 175 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1999), 343: 于伦常之际, 缠绵悱恻, 固结于心, 终身莫可解。遇人接物必以诚, 无机心, 无饰言, 无矫行也。

⁶⁶⁹ See the decree drafted by the Military Bureau, cited in Li Ciming, *Yueman Tang riji*, 9729: 任意妄为, 殊出情理之外, 宝廷著交部严加议处; Li Ciming's comments in his diary on the eve of the Chinese New Year in the eighth year of Guangxu reign (1883.02.07), in *ibid.*: 明目张胆, 自供娶妾, 不学之弊, 一至于此; Zuo Zongtang's letter to Xu Yingyi in 1883, "Da Xu Xiaoyun liqing" 答徐小云理卿, in Zuo Zongtang, *Zuo Zongtang quanji: Shuxin* 左宗棠全集: 书信, vol. 3 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1996), 783: 宝竹坡途次不检, 致成笑柄, 奉旨切责落职, 咎由自取, 夫复何言。

⁶⁷⁰ See Aixin-jueluo Baoting, "Ti Jiaoshan Wen Wenshan moji" 题焦山文文山墨迹, cited in Guo Yanli 郭延礼, *Jindai liushi jia shixuan* 近代六十家诗选 (Jinan: Shandong wenyi chubanshe, 1987), 311: 始知多情人, 乃能有热血; Aixin-jueluo Baoting, "Jiangshan chuan qu" 江山船曲, cited in Wang Yitang, *Jinchuanshi Lou shihua* 今传是楼诗话, punctuated and collated by Zhang Jinyao 张金耀 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), 45: 本来钟鼎若浮云, 未必钗裙皆祸水; Li Buoyuan, *Nanting biji* 南亭笔记, cited in Lin Jiazhong 林家钟, *Lin Jiazhong wenshi xuanji: Minzhong wenxian jibian* 林家钟文史选集: 闽中文献辑编, comp. Fujiansheng wenshi yanjiuguan 福建省文史研究馆 (Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe, 2013), 435: 亦可见其风流自赏天。

⁶⁷¹ See Zuo Zongtang, "Da Xu Xiaoyun liqing," 783: 前窦东先生光视学浙江时, 官吏憎其清严, 亦曾以船政败其素节。……竹坡此事先后同符, 殊为不值; Li Boyuan, *Nanting biji*, 435: ……地方官备封江山船, 送至杭州……鸨追至清江, 具呈漕督。时漕督某设席宴宝, 乘间以呈纸出示……未几, 奉旨革职。

resignation and retreat from political affairs into self-imposed exile.⁶⁷² Later, Huang Jun wrote in his *Huasuirensheng An zhiyi* during the Republic of China:

Zhupo (Baoting's *zi*) gained a reputation for his audacity in offering critical advice during that period. [However,] after [he observed] the sudden deterioration of the political landscape, he swiftly utilized the scandalous incident involving [his association with] a prostitute on the Jiangshan Chuan to undermine his own credibility. Consequently, he relinquished his political aspirations and retreated [to seclusion] in the mountains, [where he eventually] succumbed to poverty and illness.

竹坡当日以直谏名天下，阙后朝局变，亟以纳江山船妓案自污，遂弃官入山，贫病以死。⁶⁷³

The third perspective interprets Baoting's misconduct, his indulgence in the allure of beauty, as a proactive political strategy for self-preservation meticulously devised akin to a prophetic power.⁶⁷⁴ When examining the story of "Zhu Baoting" in *Niehai hua* through this lens, the boat girl's plot failed. The self-awareness of the water goddesses, demonstrated through their cunning deception, was once again dispelled by the writings of the literati: the beauties reverted to being a projection that embodying the literati's ideal *taoyuan*, devoid of any distress or frustration.

2.3.3 The Choice Under the Last Resort

Unlike the two narrative modes discussed above, this part illustrates these female characters' vulnerability and resistance behind their roles as the enigmatic and emancipated "water goddesses."

The first chapter mentioned the concept of *fujia fanzhai* in literati's boat-architecture (see 1.4.2, 1.4.3). Living on the boat enables the literati to separate the spiritual world (painting, calligraphy, friends) from the disturbing mundane outside and gain inner peace and freedom.

⁶⁷² See Chen Baochen, "Wan Zhupo shi" 挽竹坡诗, cited in Wang Yitang, *Jinchuanshi Lou shihua*, 45: 黎涡未算平生误，早羡阳狂是镜机; Zhang Peilun, "Gu libu shilang zongshi Zhupo qianbei wanci" 故礼部侍郎宗室竹坡前辈挽词, cited in *ibid.*, 324: 先几能脱祸，晚节自知赏。

⁶⁷³ Huang Jun, *Huasuirensheng An zhiyi*, punctuated and collated by Huo Huiling 霍慧玲 (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 8.

⁶⁷⁴ The son of Baoting mentioned in his biography that during his later years, Baoting dedicated himself to a meticulous study of how Western astronomy knowledge could be harnessed for the purpose of future prediction. See Aixin-jueluo Shoufu, *Xiankao shilang-gong nianpu*, 393-394: 是岁，得某氏天文说，盖主西法者。其叙有曰：“推背之术，圣人多疏而西人反密者，……”遂取西人之说，日夜研究之。

Like Yuan Zhongdao's case (see 1.4.2), the boat-architecture floating amidst the beautiful scenery of mountains and rivers served as a *taoyuan* wonderland for the literati who lacked promising careers.

The essence of the *fujia fanzhai* concept lies in the atypicality or “anti-secular” quality of the onboard space, which links to the fantasy space of the female entertainers' boat. However, unlike the latter, the former concept was established on the user's autonomous choice: to remain on board or disembark ashore. Based on this autonomy, they have further advanced their pursuit of the paradoxical nature of boat-architecture. They built the *fang* architecture in the garden to imitate a boat or a well-habitable boat on the water, claiming all of nature's beauty as their own garden. Although they could not control the results of their imperial examinations or the succession of dynasties, they could at least choose to express their attitudes of “entering/escaping the world” freely. Thanks to the diverse expressions found in literary works and architectural practices of boat-architecture in past eras, this group of individuals who had always held cultural capital were able to shield themselves from derogatory remarks regarding their failure and vanity. It was not difficult to find solace in comparing themselves with the fate of numerous great ancients who also did not pass the examinations. Provided that they possessed a familiarity with historical allusions and skill in wordplay, it was up to them whether (or to what degree) they chose to withdraw from or engage with society.

Unfortunately, the cultural symbol of boat did not work likewise as means of protection for women in feudal society, even for the late Ming courtesan, who “enjoyed a certain ‘fluidity’: she moved between the nether world of the high-class brothel and the exquisite surroundings of scholar gardens.”⁶⁷⁵ As previously discussed (see 2.1.3), despite the apparent freedom and mutual appreciation gained from literati patrons regardless of social status, their boat-architectures did not provide an exemption but rather reinforced the patriarchal subordination upon them.

The marriage of Liu Rushi and Qian Qianyi on a boat is an exemplary instance to demonstrate the divergent connotations of the identical boat-architecture space for different genders.

Liu Rushi strove to transcend her tragic background and marginalized social status by utilizing her exceptional talent and beauty to engage with male literati. She once had relationships with literati approximately her age, represented by Song Zhengyu 宋征輿 (1618-1667) and Chen Zilong 陈子龙 (1608-1647). However, ultimately, the relationships ended due to the stringent constraints imposed by feudal ethics and the vehement opposition from the literati's mother and wife. Moreover, she was harassed by jealous admirers. Therefore, she asked Wang Ruqian's help in finding those candidates “who are willing to open the golden house graciously (refers to marrying her)” 殷勤启金屋者.⁶⁷⁶ The letters between her and Wang Ruqian implied that many people responded to this matchmaking but failed her interviews. She

⁶⁷⁵ Harriet T. Zurndorfer, “Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Confucian Moral Universe of Late Ming China (1550-1644),” *International Review of Social History* 56, no. 19 (2011): 202.

⁶⁷⁶ Liu Rushi, *Chidu* 尺牋, 2a, in *Liu Rushi shiwen ji*, 161.

once wrote to Wang Ruqian that she preferred to remain reclusive than being married to an elderly man who was “willing to assume [the role of Zheng] Jiaofu [daring to solicit the love of the Han Water goddesses]” 愿作交甫 (see 2.2.2).⁶⁷⁷ She likened herself to a water goddess, symbolizing her aspiration for marriage as not merely material gratification but rather a form of spiritual parity and reverence. Ultimately, she achieved the goal through her marriage to Qian Qianyi, a prominent literary figure who held her in high esteem and shared her passion for literature.

However, a 24-year-old woman wedded a man 36 years her senior – even if it was consensual – speaks volumes. Moreover, although Qian Qianyi was allowed to take concubines without restriction, he was legally prohibited from taking another wife as he already had one. Liu Rushi was dissatisfied with the inequitable status of being a “concubine” and thus demanded that Qian Qianyi accord her the same marriage etiquette as would be given to a wife.

In this situation, which deviated from the norms of propriety, they ultimately resorted to a nuptial ceremony on board a boat. According to the document, Qian Qianyi “[was wearing the bridegroom’s] clothes and hat, [despite he was already] a [famous] scholar with white hair, [preparing the ceremonial utensils like] *jin* 罇 (a pair of gourd ladle) and decorated candles, all necessary rituals were equipped” 吉服冠带，蟠发学士，合罇花烛，仪礼备具。⁶⁷⁸ In other words, except for the wedding venue being situated on a boat, all other arrangements adhered to the conventions of marrying a respectable spouse.

The wedding boat on the waters of Rong 葺 city (nowadays Songjiang District of Shanghai) provided Qian Qianyi with a fantastical space to escape the constraints of societal norms and unite in matrimony with his beloved confidante. He must have felt so complacent that he disregarded the criticisms and denunciations directed towards him on land. The dissidents regarded him as having “breached court etiquette and tarnished the reputation of the literati” 褻朝廷之名器，伤士大夫之体统。⁶⁷⁹ Some people even hurled bricks and stones at the wedding boat, causing it to “return with a cargo of debris” 满船载瓦砾而归，⁶⁸⁰ yet Qian Qianyi was still self-satisfied with joy and writing poems in composure.⁶⁸¹ However, for Liu Rushi, this space represented a self-deceptive choice – she insisted on being treated with the formalities of “marrying a wife” despite her knowledge that Qian Qianyi lacked the legal capacity to grant her such status. Intelligent as she was, she must have been cognizant that this entreaty could only be fulfilled in a distorted manner, yet when her lover was willing to fabricate this mirage on her behalf, she presented herself with the determination of a goddess from Wu Mountain and entered his fantasy dream resolutely.

Qian’s demeanor could be explained by the *mingshi* persona, which literati have

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Shen Qiu 沈虬, “Hedong jun ji” 河东君记, cited in He Chao 贺超, *Liu Rushi yanjiu* 柳如是研究 (Nanchang: Jiangxi gaoxiao chubanshe, 2018), 173.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ See *ibid.*

extolled since the Wei and Jin dynasties. At the same time, Liu Rushi embodied the *xian* persona by likening herself to a water goddess (*mingshi* and *xian* persona, both see 2.2.3). Hence, their marriage echoed the narrative motif of *tiantai taoyuan* (see 2.2.2). The boat-architecture manifested a wonderland, offering a space for the literati who valued *qing* (see 2.2.2) in the late Ming dynasty, free from didacticism, dogmatism, and regulation. However, for Liu Rushi and other *nü jiaoshu*, eager to gain social recognition and respect, such a space merely provided a plan *faute de mieux*, an illusion of protection but could never confer approval from the secular world upon her.

Although the precise cognitive mechanism underlying her self-deception remains uncertain, it is plausible to suggest that the spatial arrangement of a boat wedding may offer Liu Rushi solace from a unique perspective only attainable through education: The use of connected boats as a bridge during King Wen of Zhou's grand weddings bestowed upon the boat a ceremonially profound symbolism in weddings, which could enable Liu Rushi to perceive her boat wedding as an "appropriate" space rather than a "last resort."

However, the literature suggests that the concept of marriage on a boat, akin to a life lived on water, has not been widely adopted by mainstream society. The practice of getting married on boats is only observed by the minority, such as the Dan people in Guangdong and the "nine families" in Zhejiang (see 2.1.3). It is primarily due to their initial prohibition from disembarking that they had to rely on the boat as their daily living space, thereby developing this wedding ritual. Even in the late Qing dynasty, the wedding on water of the Dan people was still considered very inappropriate by Han literati. For example, as recorded by Melchior Yvan, the old Han literati, who served as his linguist, commented: "Like beasts! Like beast! [...] without any previous proposal; without a woman as go-between; without anything which is practice among well-educated persons."⁶⁸²

In addition to being a minority custom, some shipboard marriage records in the literature suggest that marrying on a boat was considered a secondary and undervalued option, primarily practiced among prostitutes who were taken as concubines. For example, the novel *Huifang lu* 绘芳录 (The Records of Huifang, finished in 1878) recorded a hurried wedding on the boat:

[Wang Lan] went back to the boat and told a servant to go to Nie's place with [his] message, "[I had] picked an auspicious day for marrying Luo Zhu, but now [we are] in a rush to get back to Beijing. We do not have much time, and things get inconvenient on the journey. [So, let's] use a small sedan chair to sneak [Luo Zhu] onto the boat in the evening. [Please] allow me to hold a proper ceremony after [we get to] Beijing." [When] the servant arrived at the Nie's home, he explained this to *née* Wang. *Née* Wang thought: "Fortunately, my daughter will be a part of his family. Whether it is proper or not, that is up to them. Plus, I can also save some money. It is all right if my daughter

⁶⁸² For further reading on Dan people's wedding recorded by Melchior Yvan, see Dr. Yvan (Melchior Yvan), *Inside Canton* (London: Henry Vizetelly, Gough Square, 1858), 152-153.

agrees. Hui Zhu also chimed in, saying: “Zhexiang’s (Wang Lan’s *zi*) word is very true. Besides, he has not reported his task’s completion. This [marriage] is private, so it is better to play it safe in this way.”

（王兰）回到船中，即差了一名家丁前往聂家，说声“择定来日黄道良辰，迎娶洛珠。此时回京日促，又因客途不便张扬，只要一乘小轿，傍晚悄悄抬至船上，容到了京中再行热闹”。家丁到了聂家，与王氏说明。王氏想道：“好在女儿是他家的人，热闹不热闹都是他家的体面。我倒不省些费用，只要女儿愿意就罢了。”慧珠在旁亦说：“者香此言甚是，况他尚未复命，这件事原是私情，就是这般行去倒还稳妥。”⁶⁸³

In the narrative, Wang Lan took Luo Zhu as a concubine without his wife’s consent and thus utilized his journey to bring her back home. Due to time constraints and logistical challenges, their marriage was conducted clandestinely aboard a boat. Although Wang Lan and Luo Zhu loved each other, they did not publicly announce their union until returning to the capital, which was not considered proper etiquette in the past. Even upon their arrival in Beijing, Wang Lan’s wife remained unable to accept Luo Zhu’s presence. As a result, Wang Lan had to purchase a home separate from his family and conduct the wedding ceremony with Luo Zhu there. Despite the absence of any parents or family members, with only a select few close friends in attendance, the ceremony still more lively than their previous wedding on the boat.

An earlier story of a prostitute who got married on a boat came from Pan Zhiheng’s 潘之恒 (1556-1622) “Shaohong zhuan” 少红传 (The Tale of Shaohong) in his stories collection, *Genshi* 亘史 (also named *Genshi chao* 亘史钞).⁶⁸⁴ Allan H. Barr translated this story into English. The following is a direct quotation from his article, “The Wanli Context of The Courtesan’s Jewel Box Story”:

The Tale of Shaohong

Shaohong 少红, who had the surname Nie 聂, was a courtesan from Yunyang 郟阳 prefecture in Huguang, residing in Guanghua 光化. She was upright by nature, and did not lightly attach herself to men. Although following a dishonorable profession, she always wanted to leave it. A local licentiate named Wang Dexiang 王得相 took a fancy to her, and she promptly told him: “If you are willing to marry me, I will be your wife.” Wang was actually from a poor family and had no intention of marrying, but he casually agreed to her proposal, and thereafter became intimate with her. He often studied in the

⁶⁸³ Xiling yeqiao 西冷野樵, *Huifang lu* 绘芳录 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1988), 385.

⁶⁸⁴ See Pan Zhiheng, “Shaohong zhuan,” in *Gengshi chao*, *neiji* 内纪, vol. 10, 9b-11a. For the citations from *Gengshi chao*, including this one and all subsequent ones, see *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, *Zibu* 子部, vol. 193 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1995, photoprint of historical ed.)

Temple of the Supreme Ultimate, and Shaohong would frequently visit him there. When he talked with her, he expressed the closest attachment, but owing to his poverty he was unable to arrange the marriage, although Shaohong continued to entrust him with this task.

One day she packed her things and went to stay at Wang's home for a few days, leaving only when her family objected. Later she again moved back to Wang's place, saying, "I vow to devote my whole life to you. Even if you do not marry me, I will never leave you." Her family registered a complaint with the prefect of Junzhou 均州 in the Xiangyang 襄阳 circuit, and when Shaohong and Wang appeared in court, the prefect ruled that the two must separate. With no other choice before her, Shaohong cut her hair and unbound her feet, weeping as she said goodbye to Wang: "Just leave now. There is no point in trying to hold on to me." Later, after Wang had left her, a Shaanxi merchant paid money to the court for her purchase. Shaohong said: "You are wasting your money. I urge you to desist." The merchant paid no attention, and went ahead with the engagement.

Once Shaohong had married the merchant, she appeared to be happily reconciled to her new status. He proposed to rent a house in the county seat where she could live, but she said, "As I am now your wife, your raft on the river will be my home. Why rent a house?" He believed her, and took her back with him to the raft. At the time the Han 汉 river was in full flood, its current flowing fiercely in glinting waves. Shaohong quietly inquired of the neighbors, "In conditions like these, can you swim across the river?" They all said they could not. She asked them if they knew anybody who could, and they said no. She then asked them, "In conditions like these, can you steer a boat back and forth across the river?" Again they said no. Shaohong inwardly took note of all their answers.

Later the merchant's friends came with food and wine to congratulate him. Shaohong changed her clothes and lit a kitchen fire, warming wine to entertain the guests, and she laughed and chatted with them gaily. The merchant occasionally would tease her with some flirtatious comment, to which she replied with a solemn expression, "When I am already your wife, how can you go on acting in such a fashion?" He dared not persist. Later the guests became tipsy, and the merchant went to see them off. After escorting them a few yards he was about to turn back, but Shaohong said, "They have come out of friendship with you. How can you not escort them further?" When Shaohong saw that he had gone farther away she stood over by the edge of the raft, and crying, "Wang Dexiang betrayed me!" she leapt into the river. A moment later, her head bobbed up above the waves, and again she cried, "Wang Dexiang betrayed me!" Then she sank and was not seen again.⁶⁸⁵

In the story, after being bought by a merchant who "proposed to rent a house in the

⁶⁸⁵ Barr, "The Wanli Context," 125-126.

county seat where she could live” 欲赁屋州城内以居红,⁶⁸⁶ Nie Shaohong said to him: “As I am now your wife, your raft on the river will be my home. Why rent a house” 已为君妇, 即江头簰上家矣, 何赁屋焉?⁶⁸⁷ The merchant believed her and invited friends to hold a banquet on the boat as a wedding ceremony for Nie Shaohong. From the subsequent text of the narrative, it becomes apparent that Nie Shaohong’s verbal trick was a calculated preparation for her eventual suicide by drowning. However, her ability to persuade the merchant of her genuine acceptance of her fate stemmed from the fact that it was customary for prostitutes to wed and reside on a boat, as exemplified by Bai Juyi’s famous poem on the *pipa* woman (see 2.1.2.1).

With the stories of Luo Zhu and Nie Shaohong in mind, we can also develop a more detailed visualization of the marriage involving the *pipa* woman mentioned previously. As a former performer, she was probably also a concubine to her husband. Perhaps her wedding was also hurried – being sneaked aboard in a sedan chair, followed by a modest banquet. Given her husband’s financial ability to buy her out and his lucrative involvement in the tea trade, it was likely inevitable for him to have a shore-side residence. This humble concubine might never have been allowed to settle ashore, much like Luo Zhu, who was barred from entering the inner chamber controlled by the jealous wife. However, unlike Wang Lan or the businessman in “The Tale of Shaohong,” the *pipa* woman’s husband might never attempt to secure a residence for her on land. Consequently, she was left alone aboard an empty boat during his business trips.

For the *pipa* woman, the boat served as a stage for her performance and a platform for her self-statements when invited by the esteemed poet Bai Juyi. The boat-architecture’s features as a stage design allow the performer to be visible and command respect and equality from the audience. Through her virtuosic *pipa* playing, she invited the empathetic audience to delve into the depths of her emotions that had been overlooked by every man she encountered. Resonating through the stage, Bai Juyi was inspired to compose the renowned “*Pipa xing*,” in which he regarded her as his equal, projecting himself onto her and releasing the anguish over his demotion by penning a compassionate account of her suffering.

For Nie Shaohong, standing on the prow of the stage, she directed and performed the final chapter of her life, baring her soul to express her grievances towards her faithless lover Wang Dexiang before the audience at the ultimate cost. Despite her profession as a prostitute, she achieved posthumous renown in her portrayal by Pan Zhiheng (and other literati) as an exemplar of “chastity.” As stated in section 3.1.1, it was believed that women who committed suicide by drowning could sometimes be reincarnated as water goddesses. Therefore, women in desperate situations like Nie Shaohong resorted to using the boat as a stage and throwing themselves into the water for the wonderland in the afterlife. However, regrettably, the discourse of drowning and reincarnation was merely a fabrication by male literati, and the poignant and tragic performance of the “water goddess” served only to extol female chastity within the patriarchal feudal society.

“Du Wei zhuan” 杜韦传 (The Tale of Du Wei), which follows the “Shaohong zhuan,”

⁶⁸⁶ Pan Zhiheng, “Shaohong zhuan,” in *Gengshi chao, neiji*, vol. 10, 10a.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

also recorded the story of a famous prostitute who committed suicide in the water.⁶⁸⁸ The story was first recorded in the biography of Fan Yunqian 范允谦 (*zi* Muzhi 牧之, 1549-1577) by Feng Shike 冯时可 (1547-1617) and Chen Jiru. After being polished by Pan Zhiheng and Shen Defu 沈德符, it was then included in Feng Menglong's famous *Qing shi* 情史 (A History of Love).⁶⁸⁹

In this narrative, despite Fan Yunqian's unwavering devotion, his relationship with Du Wei encountered opposition and hindrances from his parents and parents-in-law. Ultimately, Fan succumbed to illness and they had to traverse the Yangtze River in order to transport his remains back to his hometown. Du Wei leapt into the river while they were crossing, holding an antique inkstone belonging to Fan in her left hand and a box of three hundred Go pieces in her right.

Similar to "Shaohong zhuan" and "Du Wei zhuan," the most renowned tale is "Du Shiniang nu chen baibaoxiang" 杜十娘怒沉百宝箱 (The Courtesan's Jewel Box).⁶⁹⁰ This story has been extensively researched, and Du Shiniang is arguably one of the most scrutinized female characters in Chinese literature.

The story's original version was documented in *Jiuyue ji* 九籥集 (published in 1612) by Song Maodeng 宋懋澄 (ca. 1569-1620), under the title "Fu qing nong zhuan" 负情侬传 (The Faithless Love).⁶⁹¹ Song Cunbiao's *Qing zhong* 情种 (Love Species), Feng Menglong's *Qing shi*, Pan Zhiheng's *Genshi*, Anonymous *Wenyuan Zhaju* 文苑楂橘 and other collections of *wenyan* 文言 (classical Chinese) novels all reprinted this story. Later, Feng Menglong adapted the story into a more accessible vernacular novel, which he included in his *Jingshi tongyan*. This gradually popularized the story among the common people and led to various forms of performance.

In order to enhance comprehension of the narrative, an English introduction has been provided, which is also succinctly summarized by Allan H. Barr:

During the Wanli period, we are told, a young man from eastern Zhejiang, with the surname Li 李, son of a high official, enrolls in the National University in Peking.

⁶⁸⁸ See Pan Zhiheng, "Du Wei zhuan," in *Gengshi chao, neiji*, vol. 10, 11b-15a.

⁶⁸⁹ See Feng Shike, "Xiang jinshi Fan Muzhi mubiao" 乡进士范牧之墓表, in *Feng Yuancheng xuanji* 冯元成选集 (Taiyuan: Shanxi Library, microfilm of Ming block-printed edition), vol. 59, 41a-44a; Chen Jiru, "Fan Muzhi waizhuan" 范牧之外传, in *Chen Meigong xiansheng quanji*, vol. 40, 14a-17a; Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 640-641. The detailed research on the story of Du Wei can be found in Allan H. Barr's article. See Barr, "The Wanli Context," 126-130.

⁶⁹⁰ Feng Menglong, comp., *Jingshi tongyan*, 302-313.

⁶⁹¹ According to Allan H. Barr, "Although only a child in 1577, when the lovers (Fan Yunqian and Du Wei) died, Song Maodeng (Song Maodeng) was familiar with the story, and he alludes to it in his writings." Therefore, Song Maodeng's creation of the story of "Du Shiniang" was likely to be inspired by the similar stories such as Du Wei and Nie Shaohong. See Barr, "The Wanli Context," 127.

During his stay in the capital he falls in love with Du Shiniang, a beautiful and gifted singing girl, described by her peers as “the most brilliant figure of her time.” Du vows to devote her life to him, and Du Shiniang’s foster mother agrees to the match on condition that she is compensated to the tune of three hundred taels, fully believing that this figure is well beyond Li’s means. But he manages to borrow a hundred taels from friends, and Du Shiniang comes up with the remaining two hundred, thus securing her release. They set off together for a new life in the south and safely reach the river port of Guazhou, on the north side of the Yangtze opposite Zhenjiang. On the eve of their crossing, Du Shiniang's singing is overheard by a Huizhou merchant on an adjacent boat. The next day the merchant persuades Li to sell Du to him for a thousand taels, arguing that by this means Li will be able to reach a reconciliation with his father, from whom he is estranged. Du Shiniang appears to accept this arrangement, but the next morning, just before she is due to be transferred to the merchant's boat, she flings several caskets of jewelry into the river, each more valuable than the one before. Then, after roundly denouncing both the merchant and Li himself, she commits suicide by throwing herself overboard.⁶⁹²

In the tale of Du Shiniang, the boat-architecture space plays a pivotal role in propelling the plot and conveying its underlying themes. This is particularly evident in Feng Menglong’s adaptation, where the aforementioned elements are ubiquitous. Therefore, the following discussion will be based on Feng Menglong’s narration to further elaborate on the symbolism of boat-architecture.⁶⁹³ What renders this narrative worthy of meticulous examination is the potential to observe not only how the boat-architecture’s spatial characteristics impact the story’s protagonists but also their influence on readers and writers.

As same as Du Wei’s suicide in Guazhou 瓜洲, where the Grand Canal branches into the Yangtze River, Du Shiniang’s suicide “takes place on exactly the same stretch of the Yangtze that marks the frontier between the relative autonomy of life in the capital and the tangle of family obligations in the south.”⁶⁹⁴ The presence of the boat on the river, in the meantime, serves as a transitional space between the distinct expected patterns of behavior in the northern and southern regions.

As mentioned in 2.2.3, the pleasure quarters were considered a “wonderland,” representing a living situation that transcended secular and ethical norms. Wang Hongtai 王鸿泰 pointed in his article:

The spatial cultural attribute of high-class brothels that is particularly noteworthy is their “non-secularity,” as they provide a complete private space for clients. [...] This

⁶⁹² Ibid., 108-109.

⁶⁹³ To avoid unnecessary misunderstandings, it should be noted that in Feng Menglong’s narrative, the young man was named Li Jia 李甲, and the Huizhou (Xin’an 新安) merchant was named Sun Fu 孙富.

⁶⁹⁴ Barr, “The Wanli Context,” 130.

private space offers an elevated sense of life, [...] The elegant and clean design of the courtesans' rooms aims to create a non-secular living atmosphere. In fact, this spatial arrangement serves as a metaphor for the relationship between the erotic world within brothels and the external moral world – brothels exist outside of secular and moral norms.

更值得关注的是“迥非尘境”的高等妓院的空间文化属性：妓院提供一个完整的“私”空间……“私”的空间中提供的是一种高级的生活感受……高级妓女房间的“幽雅洁净”，也可说是尝试要营造一种非世俗的生活氛围。这种空间安排事实上正隐喻着妓院中的情色世界与外在礼教世界的关系——妓院是世俗与礼教之外的另一种生活情境。⁶⁹⁵

When Du Shiliang and Li Jia left the Jiaofang Si, the boat-architecture's "non-secular" spatial characteristics continued to evoke the heterotopic realm where their fantasy dream of love was first conceived. Although their love was sustained on the boat, it proved to be fleeting. The fantasy space has undergone a transformation during the crossing of the Yangtze River. With the impending arrival on the other side, they would confront the profound moral constraints imposed by the ethics constructed by the powerful feudal families. The concept of "family," as a realistic ethical domain recognized by society, differed from unrealistic fantasy spaces such as Jiaofang Si or boat-architecture. This conflict was also reflected in Du Wei's story: in case she crossed the Yangtze River, she would have to face the pressure exerted by her deceased lover's parents and in-laws, as well as the two feudal families that stood behind them. Due to her degraded profession, she realized that her love was not sanctified, and the demise of her beloved appeared to confirm the destiny of the haplessness.

Du Shiniang appears to have been more fortunate than Du Wei, as her lover remains at her side. Although the strict feudal customs may prove inescapable in the future, their expedient was currently within reach: She and Li Jia planned to cross the river and first settle in a place with beautiful scenery in Suzhou or Hangzhou. In the interim, they intended to implore their acquaintances and kinfolk to intercede with Li's father on their behalf. Upon obtaining forgiveness, they would return to Li's family together. This expedient is referenced thrice in the narrative, and Du Shiniang assured Li Jia of her sufficient savings to sustain their living during this period, thereby alleviating his financial concerns.

In the beginning of 2.3.3, it was discussed that through the "anti-secular" spatial characteristics of boat-architecture and the metaphor of "fantasy dream" and "escaping the world," a bridge of cultural space is established between prostitutes and literati, which at times can transcend social status differences. Therefore, utilizing the symbolism of boat-architecture, Feng Menglong explicated Du Shiniang's scheme as an attempt to establish her position in the

⁶⁹⁵ Wang Hongtai, "Qinglou mingji yu qingyi shenghuo: Ming Qing jian de jinü yu wenren" 青楼名妓与情艺生活——明清间的妓女与文人, in *Gonggong kongjian de zhishifenzi* 公共空间中的知识分子, ed. Xu Jilin 许纪霖 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2007), 303-306.

literati context by reinterpreting the fantasy space of Jiaofang Si into a secluded retreat akin to that of *taoyuan*. With the prevalent admiration of *qing* in society at that time, she tried to rationalize her union with Li Jia to extricate herself from the confines of the pleasure quarters and attain parity and esteem.

However, in comparison to Du Wei, Du Shiniang's fortunes were in fact less favorable. Though she had covertly prepared herself to ascend from her lowly position, as evidenced by the incalculable riches in her jewelry box that were later revealed in the narrative, her paramour "lacks determination and enterprise at every stage of his relationship with Shiniang, whereas Fan Yunqian acts consistently and decisively throughout."⁶⁹⁶ During the process of crossing the river, Li Jia's mind was besieged by a palpable sense of spatial oppression as the conflict between fantastical dreams and realistic ethics waged a battle for dominance. However, being born into a noble family, Li Jia always possessed the freedom of choice. Engaging in a liaison with an alluring courtesan may be considered a harmless deviation, and he could always revert to the "right" path if necessary. Unlike those literati who valued *qing* (as exemplified by author Feng Menglong himself), he chose not to spend his life in places such as Jiaofang Si, a boat, or a picturesque retreat.

After all, Du Shiniang was not afforded the privilege of free choice; instead, the boat-architecture she sought refuge in also functioned as an unconventional space that persistently alluded to her disreputable past as a courtesan. As evidence, during a drinking session with Du Shiniang, Li Jia requested that she performs a song for him. While Nie Shaohong refused to entertain her husband in a courtesan manner, Du Shiniang did not refuse her lover's advances. Consequently, Sun Fu overheard the song performed by Du Shiniang. Captivated by her voice, which was considered a seductive attribute of women,⁶⁹⁷ he immediately contemplated, "She must be a professional, not a respectable girl. How can I contrive to see her" 此歌者必非良家，怎生得他一见?⁶⁹⁸ This scene evokes the story of "*Pipa xing*," in which the poet boldly approaches the *pipa* woman after overhearing her playing alone and asks her to perform publicly. It can be seen that a woman who professionally performed vocally or instrumentally on board was commonly presumed not to be a respectable female.

Compared to the original "The Faithless Love," Feng Menglong's narrative (The Courtesan's Jewelry Box) provided a more detailed account of Sun Fu's voyeuristic glimpse of Shiniang's beauty the next day:

The Faithless Love

The day breaks and the snow hinders navigation. The Xin'an man gazed upon Li's boat and beheld a wondrous beauty within. Thusly, he adorned himself with his mink hat and finery, assuming deliberate poses. Upon catching sight of someone, he pounded on

⁶⁹⁶ Barr, "The Wanli Context," 130-131.

⁶⁹⁷ The significance of the courtesan's song performance to male patronage has been thoroughly examined by Judith T. Zeitlin. See, Zeitlin, "The Gift of Song."

⁶⁹⁸ Feng Menglong, comp., *Jingshi tongyan*, 308.

the boat and burst into song.

黎明，而风雪阻渡，新安人物色生舟，知中有尤物，乃貂帽复绚，弄形顾影，微有所窥，因叩舷而歌。⁶⁹⁹

The Courtesan's Jewelry Box

The boat was unable to navigate due to the inclement snow. Sun Fu commanded the boatman to shift and anchor alongside Li Jia's boat. He donned a luxurious mink hat and fox fur, pushing open the window as if admiring the snowfall. At this moment, Du Shiniang had just finished her grooming ritual. With a graceful jade-like hand, she lifted the boat curtain and poured the water from the basin. Her beautiful countenance was partially revealed under Sun Fu's gaze, resembling the beauty of heaven itself. [Sun Fu's] soul quivered, and his heart swayed as he fixed his gaze in this direction, eagerly anticipating another encounter that never came. After pondering for an extended period, he leaned against the window and recited with great fervor two lines from the scholar Gao's (Gao Qi 高启, 1336-1374) "Plum Blossom Poetry": "The mountain is enveloped in a cloak of snow, while a scholarly hermit lies [in solitude]. Beneath the glistening moonlight, a beautiful maiden emerges from the forest's depths."

因这风雪阻渡，舟不得开。孙富命艄公移船泊于李家舟之傍。孙富貂帽狐裘，推窗假作看雪。值十娘梳洗方毕，纤纤玉手揭起舟傍短帘，自泼盂中残水，粉容微露，却被孙富窥见了，果是国色天香。魂摇心荡，迎眸注目，等候再见一面，沓不可得。沉思久之，乃倚窗高吟高学士《梅花诗》二句，道：“雪满山中高士卧，月明林下美人来。”⁷⁰⁰

This description elevates the simple plot device in the original Classical Chinese version to a vivid portrayal using the vernacular tone, which resonated with the Ming dynasty writings of male literati encountering “goddess-like” women on their journeys (see 3.3.1). Meanwhile, the scene also implies a pivotal moment in the narrative. The disillusionment of Shiniang and Li Jia's love was highlighted when Sun Fu convinced the indecisive Li Jia to sell Shiniang to him for 1000 teals of gold. Be that as it may, the author had already foreshadowed the end of their illusory romance when Sun Fu's intrusion violated the privacy of the boat-architecture space and thus threatened to shatter their illusory love dream. Here, the fantasy space of boat-architecture also served as the carrier and metaphor of love itself.

Then, the following morning after Li Jia had sold Shiniang to Sun Fu, the most climactic plot in this tale also unfolded on the boat, with Du Shiniang sinking both her jewelry box and herself into the river. Allen H. Barr's research delves deeply into Du Shiniang's act and mindset

⁶⁹⁹ See Pan Zhiheng, “Du Shiniang,” in *Gengshi chao, neiji*, vol. 10, 26a.

⁷⁰⁰ Feng Menglong, comp., *Jingshi tongyan*, 309.

of discarding her jewelry box into the water before subsequently committing suicide.⁷⁰¹

From the perspective of this study, it is worth further exploring how the suicide scenes of heroines are fully integrated into the pre-existing structure of performance and viewing, given that the boat has already been established as both a stage and audience (see 2.1). Since the constant state of “being watched” was a daily routine for female performers, they habitually incorporated it into their final performances at the cost of their own lives. These heroines chose to end their lives not due to the absence of objective means for survival – Du Shiniang, equipped with invaluable treasures, could rely on her savings to lead a comfortable life. Instead, including Nie Shaohong and Du Wei mentioned above, they committed suicide to reveal their emotions and personal worth in the most definitive and compelling manner possible while also seeking validation from witnesses. For them, letting personal worth be “seen” and then publicly destroying themselves signified a departure from viewing oneself as a “commodity” that could be traded to being acknowledged by spectators as an exemplar of morality, ultimately transcending mortality to become a “goddess” within these waters.

In the scene of Du Shiniang’s suicide, Feng Menglong employed a triple “performing/watching” structure to depict the tragic event.

The first structure comprises Du Shiniang and other protagonists as the “performers,” while the onlookers serve as the audience. Victoria Cass noticed Feng’s description of the audience and explored its importance.⁷⁰² She pointed out, “These city denizens line the shore in empathetic response to her well-paced declamation, thus serving to enhance the drama of her final apotheosis. This southern city of Guazhou 瓜州 (瓜洲) has become an ad hoc, open-air stage for a compelling spectacle.”⁷⁰³ Instead of focusing on the boat’s prow, she viewed the entire urban space of Guazhou as a theater stage. However, when combined with the previous study on the nature of a boat as a performance stage, it becomes apparent that only the specific space on board can fully accommodate this multi-layered description:

When Du Shiniang told Li Jia to reveal the first layer of her jewelry box, which contained jewels and gems worth hundreds of gold, and cast them into the water, “Li Jia and Sun Fu, as well as the others on the two boats, were taken aback in astonishment” 李甲与孙富及两船之人无不惊诧。⁷⁰⁴

In the performing sequence directed by Du Shiniang, her audience initially started with people on two boats, including Li Jia and Sun Fu. Then the audience expanded beyond the two boats as she discarded the contents of the second and third layers – precious jade and gold objects worth thousands of golds – into the river. Feng Menglong described it as “Spectators assembled not only on the boats but also along the shoreline, forming a wall of people.” 舟中

⁷⁰¹ Barr, “The Wanli Context,” 137-140.

⁷⁰² For more details, see Victoria Cass, “The Theater and the Crowd: Jiangnan Performance Culture and Regional Identity in the Ming,” *Asia Major* 29, no. 1 (2016): 129-132.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁷⁰⁴ Feng Menglong, comp., *Jingshi tongyan*, 311.

岸上之人，观者如堵。⁷⁰⁵

Li Jia and Sun Fu were now perceived as performing together with Du Shiniang by the audience on the shore, with the entire water serving as their stage and the boat providing a scenic backdrop. The audience's initial amazement turned into regret over the sinking of the gems, while also sparking curiosity about Shiniang's behavior. They "all exclaimed in unison, 'What a pity! What a pity!' amidst the confusion about what was going on" 齐声道：“可惜！可惜！”正不知什么缘故。⁷⁰⁶

When Shiniang showed the brilliant pearls, emeralds, and cat's eye stone that "no one had ever seen before, and incalculable in value" 目所未睹，莫能定其价之多少，⁷⁰⁷ "the crowd cheered in chorus, and the noise was as loud as thunder" 众人齐声喝彩，喧声如雷。⁷⁰⁸

After capturing the audience's full attention, Shiniang proceeded to publicly narrate the entire story while vehemently rebuking Sun Fu and Li Jia. She ultimately declared, "All of you present here today, with your eyes and ears as my witnesses, I have not been unfaithful to him; rather, he has proven himself disloyal to me" 今众人各有耳目，共作证明，妾不负郎君，郎君自负妾耳！⁷⁰⁹

Evidently, her utterances were not solely directed toward the two male protagonists but constituted a form of public discourse. At this juncture, she perceived her boat as a podium for her self-manifesto and proclaimed the testament of her moral excellence. As she wished, "The crowd of gathered onlookers was all moved to tears. They spat at Li and hurled curses while accusing him of ingratitude and disloyalty" 众人聚观者无不流涕，都唾骂李公子负心薄幸。⁷¹⁰

When she leaped into the river, "the crowd cried out for rescue and help" 众人急呼捞救。⁷¹¹ Realizing she could no longer be saved, the onlookers "all gnashed their teeth and tried to beat Li Jia and Sun Fu with fists. The two were so frightened that they became bewildered, hastily ordering for the boat to depart and fleeing in separate directions" 皆咬牙切齿，争欲拳殴李甲和那孙富，慌得李孙二人手足无措，急叫开船，分途遁去。⁷¹²

The performance concluded with Li Jia and Sun Fu's exit as the boat transitioned from a stage backdrop to a mode of transportation. Without a stage, the entire ephemeral theater was subsequently dismantled.

Du Shiniang herself embodies another structure of the "performer/audience" relationship. As Allen H. Barr argued, "it is clear that her jewels are emblematic of her very

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 312.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² Ibid.

self. [...] her own suicide having already been symbolically enacted through the sinking of the jewels.”⁷¹³ By witnessing the jewelry that symbolized her sinking into the river, Du Shiniang also assumed the role of a spectator to her own demise. Moreover, she observed the bystanders’ acknowledgment of “her” value and their regret for “her” demise to anticipate the potential impact of her actual suicide.

Feng Menglong described her suicide concisely: “Shiniang, holding the jewelry box, plunged into the midst of the river” 十娘抱持宝匣，向江心一跳。⁷¹⁴ The depiction of her throwing herself into the water was brief compared to the detailed portrayal of the several steps she had taken to sink the gems. This shorthand establishes a close relationship between the final death and the preceding performance, making it an integral part. From this perspective, it is precisely because she chose to set the ultimate act on a boat in water that she can infuse vitality into the performance (by jumping out off the boat/stage) at its emotional climax for maximum impact on the audience.

The third structure goes beyond the text and involves the reader. The author highlights the dramatic nature of the suicide incident to readers by utilizing the setting of boat construction as a stage. The participating consciousness of the readers is embedded in the text from the scene of crossing the river. Feng Menglong employs the dynamic spatial setting of boat-architecture to unfold the act in time gradually. The sense of oppression in the plot is gradually strengthened through the combination of time and space. At last, at the plot’s climax, the readers take part in the scene of Du Shiniang’s manifesto and suicide along with the onlookers in the novel.

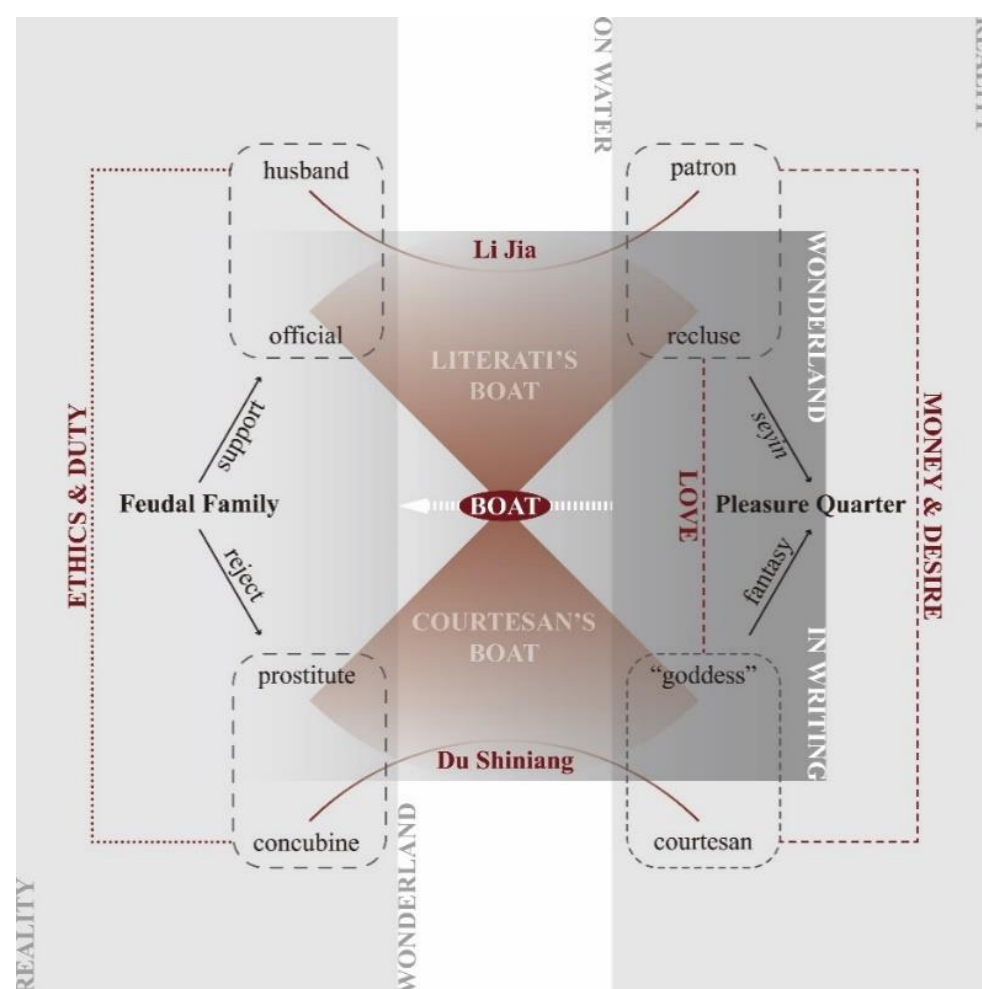


Fig. 2.3.3-1 The diagram of the literati’s boat and that of the courtesan’s boat in the tale of Du Shiniang.

⁷¹³ Barr, “The Wanli Context,” 139.

⁷¹⁴ Feng Menglong, comp., *Jingshi tongyan*, 312.

Meanwhile, this temporal and spatial structure creates a system replete with metaphorical symbols (Fig. 2.3.3-1), wherein we can discern two perspectives: that of the literati's boat and that of the courtesan's boat; as well as four "spaces," namely the realm of reality, the realm of wonderland in writing, the realm of wonderland on river, and the realm of boat-architecture.

The realm of reality is geographically divided by the river into northern and southern sides. In the novel, the northern side symbolizes a space dominated by money and desire within the pleasure quarters, while the southern side represents a space constrained by ethical principles and obligations of the feudal family. The river, with its otherworldly essence, possesses a transcendent atmosphere that situates it within reality while simultaneously dividing reality, thereby establishing a buffer and transition for the physical space on either side. The literati's portrayal of the pleasure quarters constructs a realm of love that resonates with the utopian ideals pursued by intellectuals, projected onto the wonderland-like brothel space in the reality. However, as the distance from their own families shortens, this idealized vision gradually loses its enchantment.

The boat-architecture space initially displaced the pleasure quarter, becoming a site for the continued love of Li Jia and Du Shiniang. Furthermore, situated on the river that separates land masses, it serves as a transitional space facilitating spatial transformations between both sides. However, it is currently undergoing a deliberate movement from one side to another, implying the irreversible loss of the old identities and the inevitable emergence of new ones.

The old and new identities here are also interconnected with the symbolism of boat-architectures for both literati/officials and the female entertainers, thereby constituting mirror images that can be perceived as two sides of the same coin. As depicted in the picture, for Li Jia, the cultural symbolism of boat-architecture conveys the dual identity of a recluse and an official, while for Du Shiniang, it signifies her *xian* persona derived from "water goddess fantasy," alongside her role as a courtesan performing on the boat-stage. In the process of crossing the river, Li Jia's mentality gradually transformed from the "escaping the world" to "entering the world," and Du Shiniang gradually shed her ethereal aura as the "water goddess."

Then, what prompted Du Shiniang to proactively request Li Jia's assistance in securing her freedom from the "wonderland," even using her own savings towards this end? This is because in reality beyond the literati's writing, she existed as an involuntary courtesan within the pleasure quarter, which starkly contrasts with the idyllic wonderland depicted by literati. Upon crossing the river, she seeks to secure a higher position as her lover's concubine. But she ignored the harsh fact: Li Jia was merely a patron of the pleasure quarter. He immersed himself in the *taoyuan* utopia created by literati's writings, forsaking his pursuit of fame and fortune as he succumbed to Du Shiniang's captivating beauty, inadvertently endorsing the concept of *seyin*. As the space shifted, his pursuit of love was overshadowed by the allure of fame and fortune, redirecting his discontent with worldly obligations towards the forthcoming responsibilities associated with becoming her husband.

Du Shiniang, strived to liberate herself from the unfortunate reality of the northern side and cross over to the southern side of the river, only to seek an elusive affection that solely resides within the realm of fantasy projected on the old soil. Consequently, her valiant pursuit

was fated for naught. When she discovered that there was no place for her in the reality on either side of the river, she jumped into the depths of water from the boat-architecture space, which served as a substitute for the enchanting realm in the pleasure quarter. She perpetually wanders amidst the ethereal void between reality, while upholding her identity of a “water goddess” as a spirit roaming in the mundane world, and also as a heroic figure in folklore.

However, not only are both “the wonderland in writings” and the “two symbolism perspectives” authored by literati, but the entire “reality” is masterfully portrayed by the storyteller himself, namely Feng Menglong in this particular case. When examining the living conditions of literati, as exemplified by Feng Menglong, Yang Shuhui astutely highlights, through a meticulous analysis of Du Shiniang’s portrayal:

For Feng, the frustrated scholar, to write about or to rewrite the character Du Shiniang is somehow a vicarious catharsis and a sublimation of his unfulfilled political desires and ambitions. In his frustration he identifies not with the woman per se, but with *yin* when he feels he is unwanted and in a subordinate position. In other words, a woman like Shiniang is a relational figure onto which he can project himself and inscribe his anxiety. “Woman” can be used to air, in an imaginative manner, his pent-up, unfulfilled desires. The representation of a woman in this story, then, is in fact a presentation of the disenfranchised author himself.⁷¹⁵

Therefore, the image shaping of chivalrous and heroic women in the cult of *qing* was no different from the chaste and virginal women advocated by feudal ethics. After all, the female entertainers on board are not the goddesses of the literati’s dreams. The boat upon which these women sacrifice their lives is merely another platform for entertaining performances written by literati.

By examining the spatial representation of boat-architecture which serves as the backdrop for three distinct narratives exploring themes of love and sexuality in popular novels, this section reveals how women and their boat-architectures are portrayed as projections of literati and their boat-architectures in writings. The preceding case of Liu Rushi and Qian Qianyi will be revisited as we conclude this section.

In the context of feudal China, it is understood that just as a woman has an obligation to maintain her chastity towards her husband, so does an official have a moral imperative to uphold loyalty to the emperor. Similarly, in line with the principle that a widow should refrain from remarriage, an official from a previous dynasty should abstain from assuming a position in a new dynasty. Both instances can be referred to as *shoujie* 守节 (upholding moral integrity). The most extreme custom of *shoujie* is to commit suicide following the demise of the husband or emperor. The sacrifice of their own precious lives enables them to preserve their inherent

⁷¹⁵ Shuhui Yang, *Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, U of M Center for Chinese Studies, 1998) 143-144.

innocence (*qingbai*, see 2.2.1).

When the Qing army destroyed the lingering Southern Ming regime, Liu Rushi urged Qian Qianyi to commit suicide by drowning and offered to do the same for him as a wife to her husband, in order to uphold their moral integrity. However, despite repeated hesitation, Qian Qianyi refused, and persistently prevented Liu from jumping into the river.⁷¹⁶ Moreover, he subsequently assumed the role of Minister of Rites in the Qing dynasty.

It is worth noting the irony that in Pan Zhiheng's *Genshi chao*, prostitutes such as Nie Shaohong, Du Wei and Du Shiniang were documented as exemplars of "chastity," while Qian Qianyi was listed in the *Erchen zhuan* 贰臣传 (the Biographies of the Disloyal Officials) under the Emperor Qianlong's order during the Qing dynasty.⁷¹⁷ Just as literati like Pan Zhiheng aimed to instill the value of chastity in other women, the emperor like Qianlong also sought to enforce discipline among his ministers and ensure their devotion through the writings on "loyal /disloyal." Thus, once again, women served as a mirror reflecting the behavior of civilian officials.

With such a perspective, the subsequent section will examine the water-based pleasure quarters along and on the Qinhuai River and the Pearl River, illustrating how male desire and frustration are projected onto female entertainers, thereby constructing water-based pleasure quarters that consist of boat-architectures as both material and cultural heterotopic spaces within urban contexts.

2.4 Power and Constructed Cultural Space: Aquatic Pleasure Quarters from an Urban Perspective

The following section will examine the pleasure quarters on Qinhuai River and Pearl River as two illustrative examples to investigate the interplay between water, boats, architectures, female entertainers and their patrons within these establishments. Although the two cases will be studied separately and specifically, they are intended to be juxtaposed in a comparative manner.

By extracting pertinent records from the text, this section seeks to hone in on specific perspectives and establish a correlation between the water-based pleasure quarters and their corresponding cities. Through connecting the pleasure quarters with other urban spaces, it is possible to gain further insight into the construction of culture and power within this domain.

2.4.1 The Pleasure Quarter Along the Qinhuai River

Jinling was the place that the emperor chose to erect his capital: a place teeming with

⁷¹⁶ The historical records of this matter were derived from diverse sources, and the pertinent textual analysis can be found in Chen Yinke's *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*, which will not be reiterated here. See Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*, 760, 963-964, 1085, 1212-1213.

⁷¹⁷ See Guoshiguan 国史馆, comp., *Erchen zhuan*, (Guoshiguan shanben edition, digitalized by Taiwan Guojia tushuguan), vol. 10, 12a-16a.

the opulent residences of nobility and steeped in extravagant living. The young scions from prestigious families would embark on leisurely tours around lakes and rivers, invariably accompanied by captivating musicians or paying visits to the residences of talented singers and dancers. At every banquet, the *yuehu* performers would be summoned, adorned in resplendent attire and exuding an intoxicating fragrance. They would revel alongside their guests in merriment, indulging in inebriations and games while visitors came and went. Once the festivities concluded, scattered across the floor lay lost earrings and hairpins. It truly epitomized a celestial capital of the realm of desire, a blissful land brimming with luxury and abundance.

金陵为帝王建都之地：公侯戚畹，甲第连云，宗室王孙，翩翩裘马，以及乌衣子弟，湖海宾游，靡不挟弹吹箫，经过赵、李；每开筵宴，则传呼乐籍，罗绮芬芳，行酒纠觞，留髡送客，酒阑棋罢，堕珥遗簪。真欲界之仙都，升平之乐国也。⁷¹⁸

The description of Ming dynasty Nanjing's urban landscape and *carpe diem* ambiance, as depicted in the opening lines of Yu Huai's *Banqiao zaji* 板桥杂记 (Miscellaneous Records of the Wooden Bridge), captures the essence of this prosperous city. After Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360-1424), the Emperor Cheng of the Ming dynasty 明成祖 relocated the capital to Beijing, the former capital Nanjing was designated as *liudu* 留都 (the secondary capital). While Beijing served as the location for the *beiwei* 北闾 (Township Exam of the northern region), Nanjing, as the site of the *nanwei* 南闾 (Jiangnan Township Exam), continued to attract abundant material resources and human capital. Preserving its innate aristocratic essence has endowed Nanjing with the ability to maintain economic prosperity. After the central government's withdrawal, the city also shed its previous restrictions⁷¹⁹ and reclaimed its historical identity as a cultural and entertainment hub dating back to the Six Dynasties period.

The primary waterway in Nanjing is the Qinhuai 秦淮 River, which has been bifurcated into inner and outer branches since the Southern Tang dynasty designated Nanjing as its capital, serving as a vital transportation artery and cultural symbol of the city.⁷²⁰ The outer branch along the southern city wall served as a moat, known as the *wai* 外 (outer) Qinhuai; while the inner branch was referred to as the *nei* 内 (inner) Qinhuai. Its route traversed the city southward in a V-shaped pattern, entering the city from Tongji Gate's *dong shuiguan* 东水关 (East Water Pass)

⁷¹⁸ Yu Huai, *Banqiao zaji*, [...], one-volume edition, 9.

⁷¹⁹ Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 suppressed the entertainment industries in Nanjing until he realized their economic tangible added value.

⁷²⁰ For the historical development of the Qinhuai River and its functions in the city, see Guo Li'an 郭黎安, "Qinhuaihe zai nanjing lishi shang de diwei he zuoyong" 秦淮河在南京历史上的地位和作用, *Journal of Nanjing Normal University(Social Science Edition)*, no. 4 (1984): 80-85.

and exiting via Shuixi 水西 Gate's *xi shuiguan* 西水关 (West Water Pass) (Fig. 2.4.1-1).⁷²¹ Relying on the Inner Qinhuai, the most critical waterway in the city, an aquatic pleasure quarter gradually emerged, which was praised by Yu Huai as “the celestial capital of sensual pleasures and the utopia of peace and happiness” 欲界之仙都，升平之乐国。⁷²²

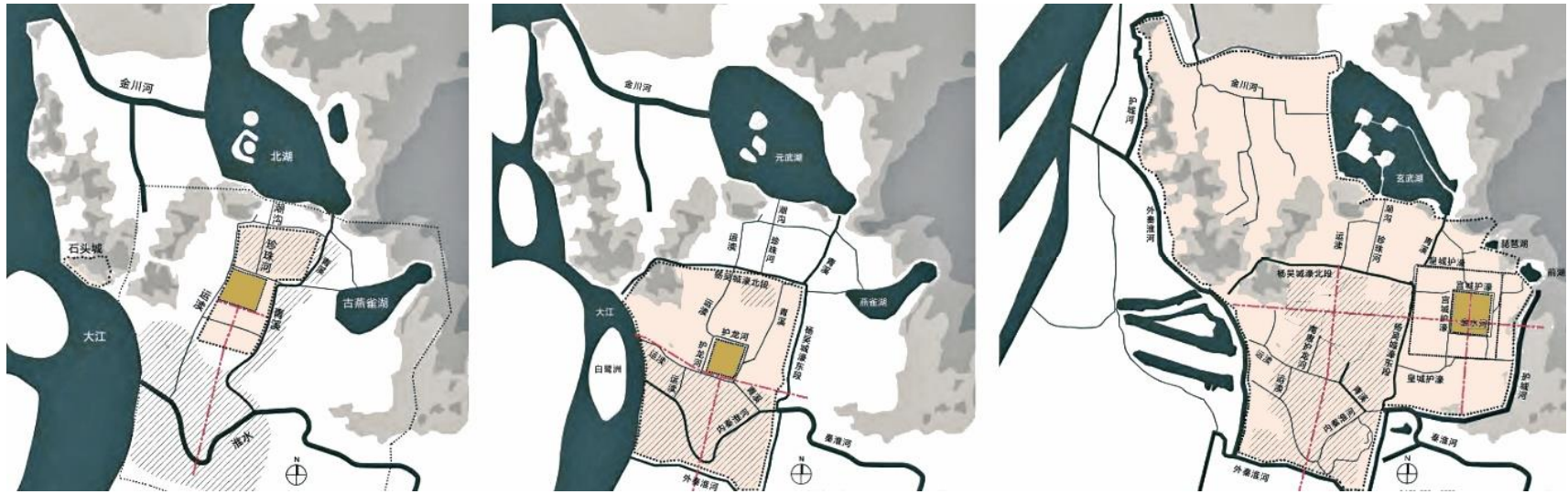


Fig. 2.4.1-1 The waterways in Nanjing, the Three Kingdoms, Southern Tang, and Ming dynasty.

As a place for female entertainers to serve male customers, Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter was initially developed by attaching itself to the already established commercial space along the Qinhuai River. Since the destruction of the Chen dynasty by the Sui, the old capital site has remained relatively undeveloped during both the Sui and Tang dynasties due to war-induced devastation. However, as a thoroughfare, the two sides of Inner Qinhuai were densely populated and commercialized areas that bustled with activity and prosperity.⁷²³ As an illustration, Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852) of the Tang dynasty once recounted in his poem that he was moored on the Qinhuai River and overheard the singing and dancing of female entertainers in his poem, “Chilly water and sand bars veiled in the misty moonlight. I moor on River Qinhuai near wineshops at night. The singsong girls are oblivious to the grief of the captive emperor. Beyond the river, they are still singing the Backyard Flower (Yushu houting hua)⁷²⁴” 商女不知亡国恨，隔江犹唱后庭花。⁷²⁵

During the Southern Song dynasty, the establishment of Confucius Temple on the north

⁷²¹ It is interesting to notice that the barbican entrance gates near the east and west water passes – Tongji Gate and Sanshan Gate – were designed into a *fuchuan* (it refers to the Fujian Boat, yet also bears the meaning of “blessed boat”) style (see Fig. P-8). Given the function of the barbican gate, this design might intend to imbue them with an auspicious meaning, symbolizing imperviousness to enemy armies and their potential flood-like attacks.

⁷²² Yu Huai, *Banqiao zaji*, [...], one-volume edition, 9.

⁷²³ Guo Li'an, “Qinhuaihe zai nanjing lishi shang de diwei he zuoyong,” 82.

⁷²⁴ “Yushu houting hua” 玉树后庭花 (Jade Trees and Backyard Flowers) is a song composed by the last emperor, Chen Shubao 陈叔宝 (553-604, r. 582-589), of the Chen in Southern dynasties (557-589). It was subsequently regarded as an ill omen portending the downfall of a dynasty.

⁷²⁵ Du Mu, “Bo Qinhuai” 泊秦淮, in *Fanchuan ji* 樊川集, vol. 1, 6a. See *SKQSHY*.

bank of Qinhuai River attracted many literati to gather there, further laying a foundation for forming a high-end pleasure quarter. After Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398, r. 1368-1398), the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty, established Nanjing as the capital, he implemented a comprehensive urban plan for the city. Under his directive, Jiaofang Si and Fule Yuan 富乐院⁷²⁶ were set up near the Wuding Bridge 武定桥 in the eastern section of the Inner Qinhuai. Since then, this area has evolved into a thriving entertainment hub with a well-defined purpose. As the Ming dynasty's economy improved, the Qinhuai River area thrived. During the developmental process, a confluence of independent yet interrelated circumstances served to reinforce one another: the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter, commercial trade along the Qinhuai River, and the cultural and educational area encompassing Confucius Temple.

This pleasure quarter was so prosperous and renowned in its heyday that the term “Qinhuai,” particularly *shili* Qinhuai 十里秦淮 (ten miles of Qinhuai), served as a symbol representing this aquatic entertainment district rather than the river or its surrounding vicinity. Simultaneously, the symbolization of the entire pleasure quarter conferred a certain degree of integrity and homogeneity upon the architectural units with entertainment functions that constituted this area through gradual aggregation.

Due to the presence of the Qinhuai River, boat-architectures have organically emerged as the predominant spatial typology in this region. The painted boats on the river and the river house on both sides of the waterway, two “heterogeneous” forms of boat-architecture, mutually reflected and exchanged each other's characteristics in this integrated and homogeneous space, thus creating an interwoven relationship and a harmonizing atmosphere inside this area. However, when viewed from the outside, the inherent conceptual ambiguity of “boat/architecture” endowed the space with an “extra-ordinary” quality, thus intensifying rather than blurring the dichotomy between the interior and exterior of the pleasure quarter. The ambiance transcending profane borders could only be achieved through intentional spatial management in other pleasure quarters. In the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter it was easily attained by employing the dual-form boat-architecture.

The river houses on both sides formed the outer layer of this pleasure quarter, enveloping the Qinhuai River in the center and the pleasure boats cruising along it. However, the street-facing façade of the river house, while delineated by towering walls, did not serve as a definitive boundary for this particular space. It can be inferred from other studies that although the entrance of Qinhuai river house remained accessible to the street, its spatial configuration of “*tang-shi*” 堂-室 (hall – inner chamber) deviated from conventional residential structures: the rear space nearest to the river was typically reserved for the most significant “outer hall/living room” in the entire dwelling, while the positioning of the “inner chamber/bedroom” was often compressed towards the front (Fig. 2.4.1-2).⁷²⁷ The spatial

⁷²⁶ Fule Yuan had served as the residence of the official prostitutes.

⁷²⁷ For example, see Shi Wenjuan 史文娟, “A Textual Study on the Qinhuai Riverside Marina Pavilions in Nanjing of Late Ming Dynasty,” *History of Architecture*, no. 2 (2017): 145-146; Hu Maochuan 胡茂川, Zhang Xingqi 张兴奇 and Ma Xiao 马晓, “Nanjing shinei

inversion of the structure resulted in two characteristics: The exterior (street-facing façade), which bordered the surrounding urban space, blurred its boundary due to its “interior” attribute, while the interior (river-facing façade) that should be initially hidden from the outsiders was displayed at any cost as it acquired an “exterior” attribute.

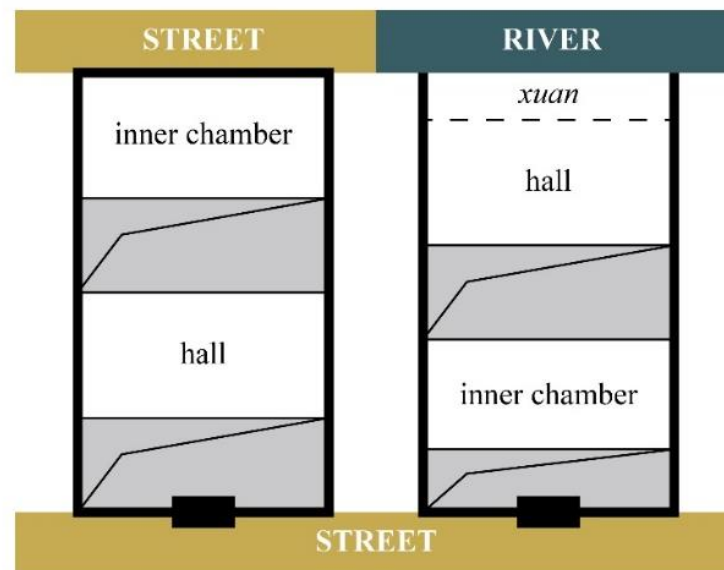


Fig. 2.4.1-2 The spatial configuration of “tang-shi” of conventional residence and river house.



Fig. 2.4.1-3 The space of *xuan*.

Qinhuaihe hefang de tezheng yu baohu yanjiu” 南京市内秦淮河河房的特征与保护研究, *Sichuan Building Science*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2012): 293.

Interestingly, the façade of the river house facing the river was also obviously not the boundary of this space: the soft interface composed of *xuan* 軒 (an arched symmetrical ceiling spanning one or two rafters, serves as a spatial partition between the corridor and the deeper volume of the building) (Fig. 2.4.1-3), railing, and curtains on the water-facing side implied an inner semi-open space could be entered. Despite their accessibility, these river houses functioned as concave “cavities” along both sides of the Qinhuai River, which were thought-provoking, absorbing, and lacked clear, easily identified boundaries. Furthermore, specific river residences functioned as permanent or temporary dwellings for intellectuals, and only a portion of the river pavilion was accessible to like-minded guests for hosting feasts. For those who were not invited, the river houses were excluded from the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter. In the *Peach Blossom Fan*, the literati of the Fushe 复社 held a gathering in the waterside pavilion of the Ding’s river house. As Hou Fangyu and his companions sailed past with Li Xiangjun, they were cordially invited to board the water pavilion and enjoy the spectacle of illuminated boats. However, upon seeing the words “Fushe’s gathering” 复社会文 displayed on the water pavilion, the antagonist Ruan Dacheng 阮大铖 (1586-1646) promptly turned and departed as he was well aware that not only would he not receive an invitation but also potentially face verbal abuse.⁷²⁸

The unclear boundaries, internal and external contradictions, and selective access of the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter created a structure akin to a fantastical dream, resembling an “immortals’ cave” or a “peach blossom spring” that is difficult to locate (see 2.2.2, 2.2.3). The spatial structure of this pleasure quarter was further complicated by the fact that the boats in the river and the river houses along the banks, as different expressions of boat-architecture, were not only inseparable but also synonymous. This synonymy could be perceived by users from both **visual** and **action** perspectives, which will be further elaborated in the following discussion.

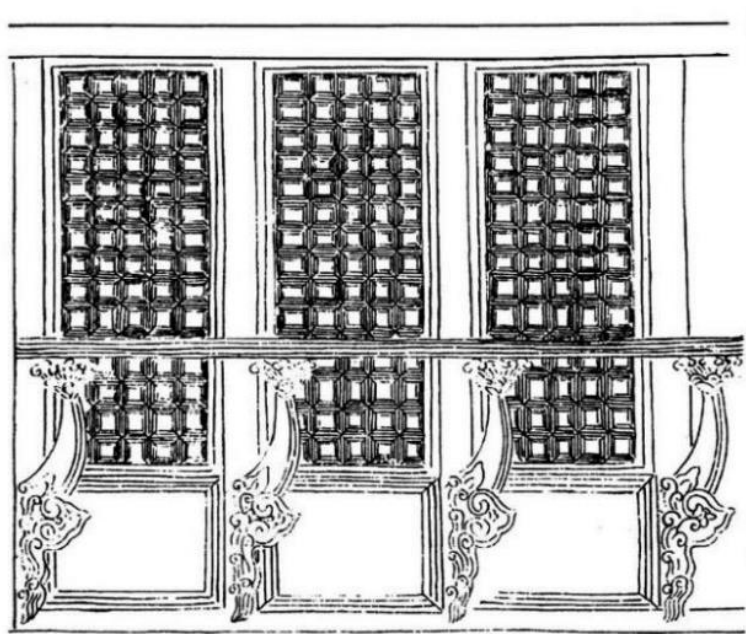


Fig. 2.4.1-4 The component *lanjian gouchuang* 阑槛钩窗 in *Yingzao fashi*. (left)



Fig. 2.4.1-5 The component *lanjian gouchuang* on the boat. (right)

⁷²⁸ See Kong Shangren, *Taohua shan*, 48.

At the level of **visual** perception, it is often observed that the architectural form of a river-facing house resembles that of a boat. For example, the water-facing façade of the river house is mainly equipped with components such as the *lanjian gouchuang* 阑槛钩窗, which was derived from the component on the boat (Fig. 2.4.1-4&5).⁷²⁹

The similarity of architectural forms was not only manifested in the stylistic components of individual buildings, but also in the appearance of clusters of buildings. In Zhong Xing's 钟惺 (1574-1624) "Qinhuai dengchuan fu xu" 秦淮灯船赋序 (Preface of the Ode of the Qinhuai Lantern Boat), he wrote:

The small boats, numbering around 40 or 50, are adorned with intricately carved railings and draped in verdant curtains. Each boat is embellished with goat's horn-shaped lamps adorned with tassels, their quantity mirroring the number of occupants on board. These boats are interconnected by a rope, resembling one colossal vessel. As the candle flames flicker to life, the performances commence, resembling *zhulong* 烛龙 (a mythical creature in Chinese culture, yet here it can be literally translated as "a dragon of candlelight").

小舫可四五十只，周以雕槛，覆以翠帷。……悬羊角灯于两傍，略如舫中人数，流苏缀之。用绳联舟，令其衔尾，有若一舫，火举伎作，如烛龙焉。⁷³⁰

When connected end to end in water, the boats lost their monomeric appearance and formed a continuous structure. The railings and low-hanging curtains created a serial interface, resembling the river houses on both sides. A similar description was recorded in Zhang Dai's *Tao An mengyi*:

[...] The meddlesome individual amassed an impressive collection of over one hundred exquisite petite canopy boats, adorned with ornate horn lanterns that gracefully dangled from the canopies like strings of precious beads. These boats were ingeniously linked end to end, forming a resplendent chain of more than ten, resembling a majestic dragon made entirely of flickering candlelight. They undulated and coiled, swirling and twisting in perfect harmony, simultaneously splashing water and blazing fire. All the while, percussion instruments harmonized with orchestral melodies as they resonated across the river's surface, merging seamlessly with joyous songs and sumptuous banquets; transforming the once tranquil waters into a vibrant spectacle akin to boiling fervor. Amidst this enchanting scene, erudite scholars alongside graceful maidens leaned upon the railings in fits of laughter; their senses overwhelmed by an

⁷²⁹ For detailed research on *lanjian gouchuang*, see Zheng Qian 郑蔷, "The Functional Evolution From 'Outside' to 'Inside': Notes on the 'Lan Jian Gou Chuang'," *History of Architecture*, no. 02 (2019): 65-82.

⁷³⁰ Zhong Xing, "Qinhuai dengchuan fu xu," in *Zhong Bojing heji* 钟伯敬合集, ed. Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 (Shanghai: Zazhi gongsi, 1936), 171.

amalgamation of captivating sounds and dazzling lights.

……好事者集小篷船百什艇，篷上挂羊角灯如联珠。船首尾相衔，有连至十余艇者。船如烛龙火蜃，屈曲连蜷，蟠委旋折，水火激射。舟中鍤钹星铙，宴歌弦管，腾腾如沸。士女凭栏轰笑，声光凌乱，耳目不能自主……⁷³¹

The boats and the river houses have achieved a dual level of synonymy in terms of their perception by users. On the one hand, not only can adjacent boat users observe each other's boats and activities within, but the river houses on both banks also serve as reciprocal scenery due to their *face à face* orientation.

The former can be convincingly demonstrated by a fascinating conversation in *Huifang lu*:

Liu Yun stamped his foot in regret and said, "I came out late today, or I should have gone to get some prostitutes earlier. It is rather desolate on our boat with only two individuals present, lacking warmth and liveliness. When the neighboring boat sees us, they too would feel tasteless." Tian Wenhai smiled: "This is no big deal. The boats are in such close proximity on the river. We can not only see, but also listen [to the performance on the neighboring boats], just the same as we bring our own [prostitutes]! Besides, among all the boats on the river, we stand out as the only one without female presence, showcasing our distinctiveness. Observers cannot help but admire your refined and unparalleled taste, my esteemed master!"

刘蕴顿足懊悔道：“我今日出来迟了，也该早点去接下几个妓女来，不至我们船上，只有两个人，冰清水冷的。教邻船上望着，亦觉得无味。”田文海笑道：“这也算得甚么？河内船靠船的，我们看得着，又听得着，还不似我们带的一样么！况且河内若干的船，有男无女，只有我们一只，足见独出其奇。旁人望着定要羡慕少老爷风雅不群呢！”⁷³²

The latter can be substantiated by the description of Wu Yingji 吴应箕 (1594-1645) of the Ming dynasty in *Liudu jianwen lu* 留都见闻录 (The Witness and Record of the Secondary Capital): "Nanjing River Houses are located on both banks of the Qinhuai River, with verdant windows and crimson doors on either side complementing each other's splendor. The [girls] leaning on the railings and peeking behind the curtains also grace each other with their presence." 南京河房，夹秦淮河而居。绿窗朱户，两岸交辉，而倚槛窥帘者，亦自相辉

⁷³¹ Zhang Dai, "Qinhuai hefang" 秦淮河房, in Zhang Dai, *Tao An mengyi – Xihu mengxun*, 42.

⁷³² Xiling yeqiao, *Huifang lu*, 432.

映。⁷³³

On the other hand, the boats were appreciated by the residents of the river house as a picturesque attraction, while tourists aboard also admired the river houses lining both sides. For example, the third chapter of *Huifang lu* depicts a vivid scene:

[He] observe the numerous women reclining upon the river pavilions on either side of the waterway, spanning across various ages: some employing fans to partially conceal their countenances while gazing intently, others cradling their cheeks in their palms and silently contemplating, and a few conversing amongst themselves in groups of two or three. As they passed [by boat], those women lowered their heads and chuckled while glancing at them.

再看两岸河楼上倚着无数妇女，老幼不等：有用扇子遮脸露半面望人的，有手托着腮，凝眸不语的，有两三人交头接耳谈心的。走过处，那些妇女们多俯着首嘻嘻的望他们笑。⁷³⁴

The visual synonymy was further emphasized by the reflection of rows of boats and houses along Qinhuai River's surface. As the central feature of this pleasure quarter, the river's surface reflected a collage of boats, river houses, and people. All present objects were aggregated or shattered along with the ripples. As the river houses and painted boats were captured as the reflections on the water's surface, their differences became less distinct to observers. Due to the limited and vague visual impressions that people could retain, only architectural components with distinctive features were remembered. As previously mentioned, the components displayed a high degree of similarity between the painted boat and river houses, particularly when an unknown distance obscured any differences in their size.

Especially at night, the illusionary atmosphere created by the moonlight reflecting on the water's surface and the light of lantern boats and riverfront rooms unified all architectural elements. The tale of "Li Xiaoxiang" 李小香 in *Qinhuai huafang lu* 秦淮画舫录 (Records of the Qinhuai Painted Boats) described this scene as:

[...] whenever the *xuan* windows are opened, [one can see] a swarm of boats gathering like fish. The lights and their reflections shimmer up and down on the water's surface while the beauties behind half-rolled curtains softly play their instruments. The passersby are truly reminded of the enchanting manner of "people on the moon, with boats sailing through the sky"

……每当轩窗四启，游舫鳞集，时灯光水光，上下交映。姬或半卷丁帘，红牙

⁷³³ Wu Yingji 吴应箕, *Liudu jianwen lu* 留都见闻录, comp. Nanjing shi Qinhuai qu shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 南京市秦淮区地方史志编纂委员会 (Nanjing: Nanjing shi Qinhuai qu tushuguan, 1994), 19.

⁷³⁴ Xiling yeqiao, *Huifang lu*, 16.

轻拍。过之者，真有人在月中、船行天上之意。⁷³⁵

According to Wu Jingzi's writing, these river houses' windows resembled stages equipped with curtains and smoke props to enhance the appeal of the "performers" to the audience:

The girls residing in the river houses on both banks, adorned in diaphanous gauze garments and crowned with jasmine flowers, unfurled their bamboo curtains and listened intently. As the drumbeat of the lantern boat reverberated, the curtains parted to release a fragrant mist of various incense from within each dwelling. The moonlight intermingled with this smoke to create an ethereal vision of goddesses inhabiting a mystical realm.

两边河房里住家的女郎，穿了轻纱衣服，头上簪了茉莉花。一齐卷起湘帘，凭栏静听。所以灯船鼓声一响，两边帘卷窗开，河房里焚的龙涎、沉、速，香雾一齐喷出来，和河里的月色烟光合成一片，望着如阆苑仙人，瑶宫仙女。⁷³⁶

This sense of visual blur evokes the artistry of Mi Wanzhong (See 1.3.2), who deftly integrated landscape paintings, gardens, lanterns, and the space of boat-architecture to create a stunning installation. Coincidentally, Mi Wanzhong held the magistrate position in Luhe 六合 county, Nanjing during the 36th year of Wanli (1608). When he later created the "Mi Family Lantern" on a boat-architecture in Zhan Garden, he was likely influenced by the picturesque scenery of lantern boats on the Qinhuai River.

Last but not least, the presence of prostitutes, as a projection of tourists' desires, infused the surroundings with performative and erotic attributes. Regarding the utilization of the boat as a stage and the performance of female entertainers, a detailed discussion has been provided in the previous article; therefore, repetition is superfluous here. The noteworthy point is that the riverside facade of the river house has also transformed into another exhibition platform. For example, Zhang Dai wrote in *Tao An mengyi*:

Besides each [Qinhuai] river house, there lies a balcony furnished with sparsely placed red railings, bamboo curtains, and gauze screens. In the summer, girls sit freely on the balcony after bathing. In water pavilions flanking both sides of the riverbank, jasmine-scented breezes waft over young girls' fragrances. Female entertainers gently sway their fans while playing with their hair and tilting their buns to exude softness and charm.

河房之外，家有露台，朱栏绮疏，竹帘纱幔。夏月浴罢，露台杂坐，两岸水楼

⁷³⁵ Penghua sheng 捧花生, *Qinhuai huafang lu*, in Wang Wenru, ed., *Xiangyan congshu*, 80.

⁷³⁶ Wu Jingzi, *Rulin waishi*, 206-207.

中，茉莉风起动儿女香甚。女客团扇轻纨，缓鬓倾髻，软媚著人。⁷³⁷

The river houses on both sides resemble shops with windows on a bustling street, where women are presented as commodities for outsiders to peruse. Meanwhile, the women were conscious of being scrutinized and judged. They even deliberately enacted various scenes of daily life, akin to performers on a stage:

In the house across the river reside all female family members. The windows are gradually opened halfway, and the beaded curtains are raised, revealing some girls gazing at their reflections in the dressing table mirrors while others put their arms dressed in emerald sleeves against the railings. The svelte figure like Zhao Feiyan and the ample body like Yang Yuhuan leave an indelible impression on the audience, whose eyes are fixated upon them. The three men, captivated by the breathtaking scenery and mesmerized by the enchanting beauties, found themselves unable to resist staying longer. Gazing at these women along the way, they became excited and started to judge the women's appearance. Tianmin opined that the girl with neatly combed hair stood out as exceptional, while Xiaoshan admired another girl's slender figure...

对面河房，尽是人家的眷属，缓窗半开，珠帘尽卷，有的妆台倚镜，有的翠袖凭栏，说不尽燕瘦环肥，一一都收在眼睛里去。三人遇此良辰，睹兹佳丽，那有不流连的道理？一路闲眺，已觉忘情，不免评鹭妍媸起来。天民说那个梳头的好，筱山说那个身材消俐……⁷³⁸

The continuous window-like stage was not merely a visual spectacle but also served as the gateway to the “immortals' caves,” creating “dreams within a dream” in the fantasy world of Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter, where men could encounter the embodiment of the water goddess. In chapter 180 of *Jiuwei gui* 九尾龟 (The Nine-tailed Turtle), the author delves into the enigma and allure of this realm through the ponderings of protagonist Zhang Qiugu 章秋谷:

[Zhang Qiugu] swayed [his boat] towards Diaoyu Lane, where willows undulated in the breeze, and beaded curtains brushed against the railings. The women in the brothel were seated amidst the drapes, wearing heavy and bright make-up, while the bead curtains hung high above, and wafts of fragrance filled the air. Qiugu glanced briefly, and although the images were somewhat indistinct, he sensed that their allure lay in their slightly blurred and elusive quality, which surpassed that of seeing them face-to-face. After rowing for a while, he returned from east to west. The river houses along the Qinhuai River were veiled by bamboo curtains, behind which glimpses of sideburns

⁷³⁷ Zhang Dai, “Qinhuai hefang” 秦淮河房, in Zhang Dai, *Tao An mengyi – Xihu mengxun*, 42.

⁷³⁸ Li Baojia 李宝嘉, *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2013), 236.

and hairpins could be faintly discerned as their owners surreptitiously observed passing tourists.

……荡到钓鱼巷那边一带，只见杨柳垂波，珠帘拂槛，那些娼寮里头的人，都一个个浓妆艳抹的坐在帘内，把珠帘高高的挂起，一阵阵的香气扑过来。秋谷约略看了一眼，虽然看得不狠清楚，却倒觉得狠有些迷离掩映的丰神，比那当面平视倒反觉得好些。荡了一回，又从东往西荡过来。那些沿着秦淮河的河房，都深深的垂着湘帘，里面隐隐的露出许多鬓影钗光，遮遮掩掩的偷看那往来的游客。⁷³⁹

This description inevitably evokes the numerous love story narratives that unfolded on board. For example, in the third story in 2.3.1 (“The Wu Official’s Son Going to the Neighbouring Boat for a Date”), it is described as follows: “The official cabin door’s curtain was partially drawn, revealing a middle-aged woman and a stunning young lady standing below [...] Due to the considerable distance, he cannot closely scrutinize her” 这官船舱门上帘儿半卷，下边站着一个中年妇人，一个美貌女子。……只是隔着许多路，看得不十分较切。⁷⁴⁰ The similarity between the descriptions of the river house and boat space is not coincidental, but rather a reflection of their homogeneity in terms of **action** perspective, which will be elaborated subsequently.

Firstly, their intentional replication of spatial construction results in a comparable spatial experience. On the one hand, the river pavilion of the river house is often furnished with waterside corridors that predominantly feature a suspended *xuan*-style ceiling (Fig. 2.4.1-6). In particular, a type of form called *chuanpeng* 船篷 (the mat roofing of a boat) *xuan* clearly expresses the similarity with the boat’s interior space, both in name and appearance. The approach of *xuan* is evident in the remaining architectural structures and substantiated by many documents. In the *Liudu jianwen lu*, the usage of *xuan* has been mentioned many times. For example, “The willow gracefully drapes its branches over the railings the *xuan*-style ceilings above the water, creating a lovely scene” 柳在水中罩笼轩楹，垂条可爱 (Wuliu Ju 五柳居); “The grand pavilion, adorned with a spacious *xuan*, can be described as truly magnificent” 广轩巍阁，可谓宏丽 (Huaiqing Bridge River House 淮清桥河房); and “[Ding] considered that the Nanjing River Houses solely engaged in a competitive display of their exquisite *xuanlan* 轩阑 (ceilings and railings), prompting him to propose an innovative concept of incorporating a screen outside the hall [...]” 以南京河房不过以轩阑竞丽耳，特出新意，于堂外设屏 (Ding’ waterside pavilion 丁家水榭).⁷⁴¹ It implies that the practice of *xuan* in the water-facing area was prevalent in river houses.

⁷³⁹ Shuliu shanfang 漱六山房 (Zhang Chunfan 张春帆), *Jiuwei gui* 九尾龟 (Shanghai: Sanyou shushe, 1925), 251-252.

⁷⁴⁰ Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan*, 386.

⁷⁴¹ See Wu Yingji, *Liudu jianwen lu*, 19-21.

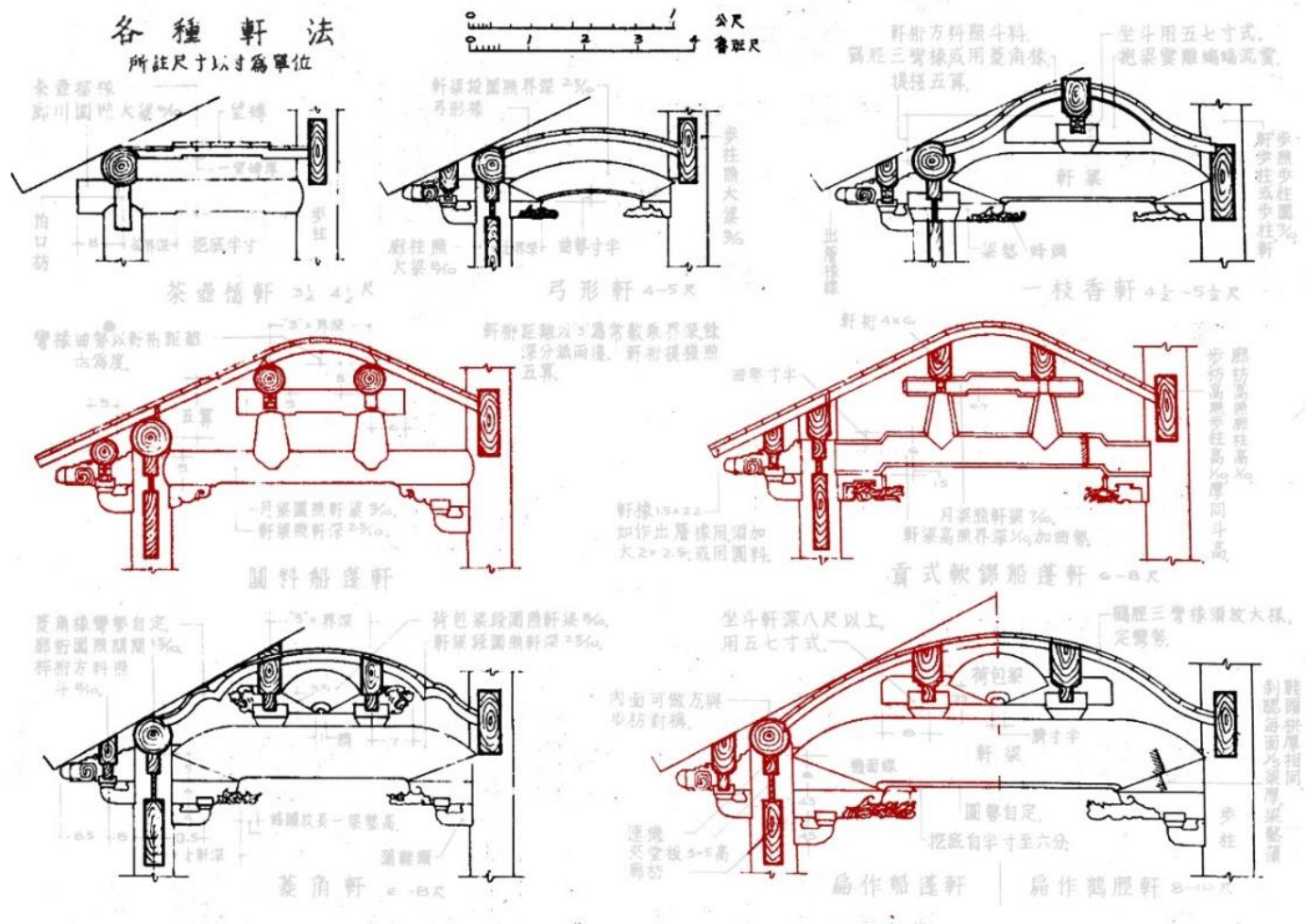


Fig. 2.4.1-6 Different kinds of *xuan*-style ceiling (the red ones are the *chuanpeng xuan*).

On the other hand, we already know that the boat's interior can be furnished to emulate the ambiance of a living room or study despite limited space (see 1.2.4, 1.4.3). For example, in *Xu banqiao zaji* 续板桥杂记 (Continued Banqiao Miscellaneous Notes), the boat on the Qinhuai River was documented to feature “a matting roof, lanterns hung at its corners, surrounding railings below, and tables and chairs in the middle” 上用篷厂，悬以角灯，下设回栏，中施几榻。⁷⁴² However, its sides were “devoid of windows to enhance viewing pleasure” 不设窗寮，以便眺望。⁷⁴³

Secondly, the two forms of boat-architecture space within the Qinhuai pleasure quarter provided individuals with expanded opportunities and seamless transitions for their leisurely pursuits.

Extensibility refers to the ability of the two entities, the boat and the river house, to collaborate and share diverse functional spaces for large-scale events. Shen Defu's poem “Jinling wuri” 金陵五日 described such a theater space composed of the pleasure boat and the water pavilion: “The theater here presents a medley of captivating plays, exuding an enchanting brilliance under the flickering candle lights at midnight. The resounding calls from pleasure boats and water pavilions reverberate through the the air, discussing which young gentleman graces the audience and which maiden adorns the stage” 曼衍鱼龙阅剧场，宵分灯火两辉煌。游船水阁俱遥唤，某姓儿郎某女娘。⁷⁴⁴ The beauty pageant event, which will be further

⁷⁴² Zhuquan jushi, *Xu Banqiao zaji*, [...], one-volume edition, 54.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁴ Shen Defu, “Jinling wuri,” in *Shen Defu ji* 沈德符集, collated and annotated by Li Xiangyao 李祥耀 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2018), 53.

elaborated upon later, serves as an additional exemplification.

Continuity refers to the seamless and convenient transition between the two forms of space. As social activities occur and progress, these spaces complement each other, forming a platform for banquets, theater performances, and prostitution. The seamless and continuous transition between the boat and pavilion is exemplified perfectly by a particular entry in Yuan Zhongdao's diary, where he documented his experience of touring the Qinhuai River:

[I] attended Wu Bolin's banquet in a water **pavilion** and upon my return, I chanced upon a pleasure **boat** drifting on the tranquil waters. The occupants of the vessel were none other than Fan Wulang and the He brothers who beckoned me to join them aboard. As we sailed past an ornate **pavilion**, we were serenaded by enchanting melodies while subtle lights illuminated the inside, revealing Duke Anyuan, Liu, indulging in revelry at night. After hearing our laughter on the boat, the individuals in the pavilion also responded with laughter. Liu Anyun extended an invitation: "Is Mr. Yuan present on the boat? Would you kindly ascend to the pavilion and partake in our merriment?" This invitation was prompted by someone informing him [about me]. Consequently, I ascended the railings to reach the pavilion. It proved to be a delightful evening. Due to inclement weather preventing me from leaving the city, I spent the night aboard the pleasure **boat**.

赴吴伯鳞席于水阁，归至文德桥，见有游船荡漾水上，则范五郎及何氏兄弟也，大呼予人舟，过一画阁下，听歌声宛转玲珑。时灯火隐隐可见，视之，乃安远侯柳君夜饮，闻予等笑声，阁中人亦笑相应。柳安远曰：“舟中有袁先生否？有兴幸登阁一笑为乐。”盖有人语之故也。遂攀水槛而上。是夜极欢，雨，不能出城，宿于游舟中。⁷⁴⁵

Two methods were documented in the literature regarding converting the space between the painted boat and the river house. Some river houses had piers and water gates near the water for boats to dock. The nowadays restored Meixiang Lou in the core area of Qinhuai River exhibits such a water gate and the pier (Fig. 2.4.1-7). Individuals aboard could disembark onto the pier and enter through a small door into the river house.⁷⁴⁶ The female entertainers at the river house might also depart in this manner to avoid any unwelcome visitors.⁷⁴⁷ A more direct

⁷⁴⁵ Yuan Zhongdao, *Youju feilu*, 48.

⁷⁴⁶ See Wu Jingzi, *Rulin waishi*, 342: 杜少卿备了一席果碟，沽几斤酒，叫了一只小凉篷船，和武书在河里游游。清早请了武书来，在河房里吃了饭，开了水门，同下了船。

⁷⁴⁷ See Xiling yeqiao, *Huifang lu*, 27: 洛珠起身将帐子掀开，露出两扇小小的门。原来这门在里面是个暗门，以备不虞的。众人走出了后门，正是秦淮河边……

approach would be to climb up the railings like Yuan Zhongdao,⁷⁴⁸ or ascend the ladder from the boat and disembark at the river house.⁷⁴⁹



Fig. 2.4.1-7 The water gate and the pier of the Meixiang Lou.

We initially conducted a comprehensive analysis of the heterogeneity exhibited by the pleasure quarter in relation to its surrounding space. This was followed by an investigation into the synonymous nature of the dual boat-architectures within these quarters. Next two noteworthy points will be discussed regarding the relationship between this boat-architecture heterotopic space and other spaces within the city.

The first aspect under scrutiny is its spatial correlation with the cultural and educational districts in the city, to which researchers are particularly attentive. As depicted in the map (Fig. 2.4.1-8), Ming Nanjing's cultural and educational districts were predominantly situated on the northern bank of the eastern section of the Qinhuai River. The Confucius Temple and Jiangnan Gongyuan 贡院 (Examination Hall) served as the epicenter of this space, which has been a site for the Imperial Academy since the Six Dynasties and the Eastern Jin dynasty (Fig. 2.4.1-9). According to the records in volume 9 of *Jiankang shilu* 建康实录 (Jiankang Records), in the tenth year of Taiyuan 太元 in the Eastern Jin dynasty (385), Guozixue 国子学 (The Imperial Academy) was established in "the south of the Imperial Temple, [...] the east of the ancient Imperial

⁷⁴⁸ Also see Wu Jingzi, *Rulin waishi*, 283: 杜少卿道：“既如此说，我不走前门家去了，你快叫一只船，我从河房栏杆上上去”。

⁷⁴⁹ See Wu Yixian 吴贻先, *Fengyue jian* 风月鉴 (Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 2001), 334: ……撑船的说：“相公要是上去，就叫人放梯子下来。” 嫣娘说：“就烦你叫一声。” 撑船的叫应了上头放了梯子下来。

Street, the west of [Qin]Huai River” 太庙之南，……古御街东，东逼淮水 (Fig. 2.4.1-10).⁷⁵⁰ It can be seen that the setting of the Imperial Academy in the Eastern Jin dynasty resulted from a comprehensive consideration of the city’s main axis (the Imperial Street), the Imperial Temple to worship ancestors, and the relationship with the river (water).⁷⁵¹



Fig. 2.4.1-8 Nanjing’s cultural and educational districts in the Ming dynasty.

⁷⁵⁰ Xu Song 许嵩, *Jiankang shilu*, vol. 9, 26b. See *SKQS*.

⁷⁵¹ The Imperial School was typically situated in close proximity to the Imperial Temple and a water source, likely influenced by the architectural design of the Ming Tang during the Han dynasty. The Ming Tang served as a crucial structure for ancient emperors to conduct court meetings, ceremonies, celebrations, scholar selection, elderly care, education and other activities; it is regarded as a comprehensive precursor to later Tai Miao (Imperial Temple), Tai Xue (Imperial School) and related buildings. See Cai Yong 蔡邕, “Ming Tang yueling lun” 明堂月令论, in *Cai Zhonglang ji* 蔡中郎集, vol. 3, 6b-7a: 取其宗祀之貌，则曰清庙；取其正室之貌，则曰太庙；取其尊崇，则曰太室；取其乡明，则曰明堂；取其四门之学，则曰太学；取其四面周水圜如璧，则曰辟廱。异名而同事，其实一也. See *SKQS*.

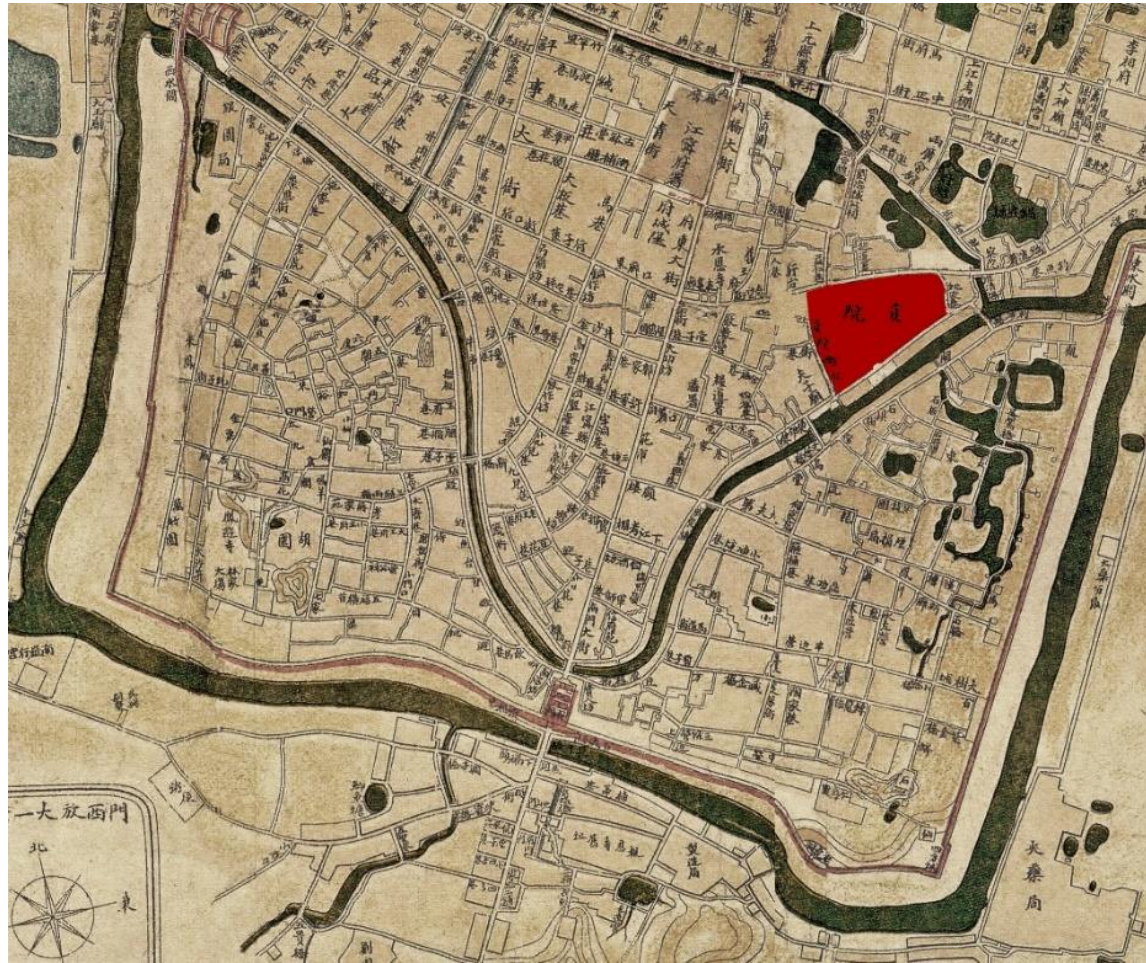


Fig. 2.4.1-9 The location of the Jiangnan Gongyuan.

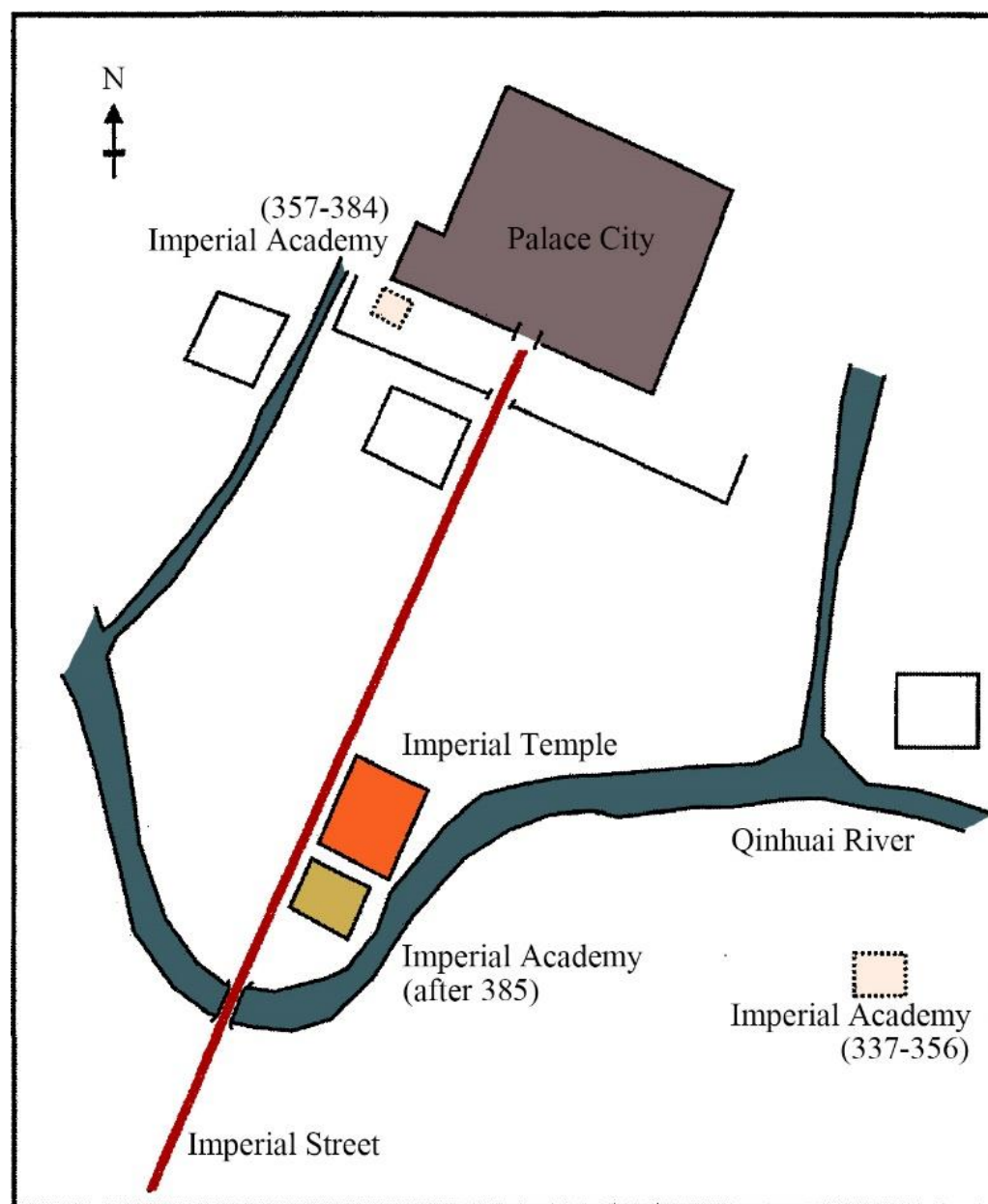


Fig. 2.4.1-10 The Imperial Academy in the Eastern Jin dynasty.

Regarding urban development, successive dynasties have all inherited the Eastern Jin dynasty's Imperial Academy as the core to expand the cultural and educational space. In particular, the development of the Imperial Examination System in the Ming dynasty, combined with Nanjing's influence as the location of the Jiangnan Township Exam, established this area as a comprehensive cultural and educational district that integrated three systems: sacrifice (Confucian Temple), examinations (Examination Hall) and schools (The Imperial Academy at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, and later changed to local Academy of the Yingtianfu 应天府学). On this basis, Sanshan Street 三山街 (the original Imperial Street) dominated the market due to its proximity to publishing and selling centers for imperial examination textbooks, thus establishing itself as Nanjing's preeminent book market in terms of quantity, variety, and refinement.

Opposite this cultural and educational space, on the other side of the river, lay the *jiuyuan* of the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter, considered the finest brothel there.⁷⁵² Regarding physical space, this “coincidence” was simply the result of market forces: supply and demand dictate each other. The Jiangnan Township Examination was held triennially during the Ming dynasty and attracted up to 20,000 candidates from across the entire Jiangnan region each time. After the candidates' examinations on the 15th day of the eighth lunar month, it coincided with the Mid-Autumn Festival. After completing the exam, candidates might alleviate their anxiety and naturally seek leisure in the pleasure quarter to indulge in a romantic atmosphere. They inevitably constituted the mainstream of affluent and generous high-quality clientele. Studies conducted by other scholars have also demonstrated the impact of candidates drawn to the cultural and educational environment on the distribution of riverfront properties and the location of prosperous areas along the Qinhuai River.⁷⁵³

However, viewed through the lens of literary works from that era, the market's choice was interpreted as a spatial juxtaposition of the discourse surrounding *caizi-jiaren* 才子佳人 (talented literati – famous courtesans) within the mentality of intellectuals. This juxtaposition is particularly evident in Yu Huai's *Banqiao zaji*, which wrote: “The *jiuyuan* and the Gongyuan faced each other across the river, originally built for *caizi-jiaren*” 旧院与贡院遥对，仅隔一河，原为才子佳人而设。⁷⁵⁴ The *jiuyuan* (pleasure quarter) and the Gongyuan (cultural and educational area) echoed each other, producing a fantasy space for “talented literati” to

⁷⁵² The original Fule Yuan was later called the *jiuyuan* 旧院 (the old courtyard) in the Ming dynasty.

⁷⁵³ See Shen Yang 沈旻, *Congyi ji* 丛衣集 (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2021), 47-54; Zhang Shuyuan 张书苑, “The Change of Spatial Form of Historical and Cultural Streets in Nanjing Confucius Temple,” (Master diss., Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 2019), 32-35; Sun Jiuxia 孙九霞 and Chen Ganghua 陈钢华, eds., *Liyou xiaofeizhe xingweixue* 旅游消费者行为学 (Shenyang: Dongbei caijing daxue chubanshe, 2015), 77; Nanjingshi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi 南京市地方志编纂委员会办公室, ed., *Nanjing tongshi: Mingdai juan* 南京通史：明代卷 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2012), 452-453.

⁷⁵⁴ Yu Huai, *Banqiao zaji*, [...], one-volume edition, 11.

encounter the “beautiful women (courtesans)” along the Qinhuai River (Fig. 2.4.1-11). This space again responded to the tale of “water goddesses” (see 2.2.2) and embodied the symbol of *tiantai taoyuan* (see 2.2.2, 2.3.1, 2.3.3).

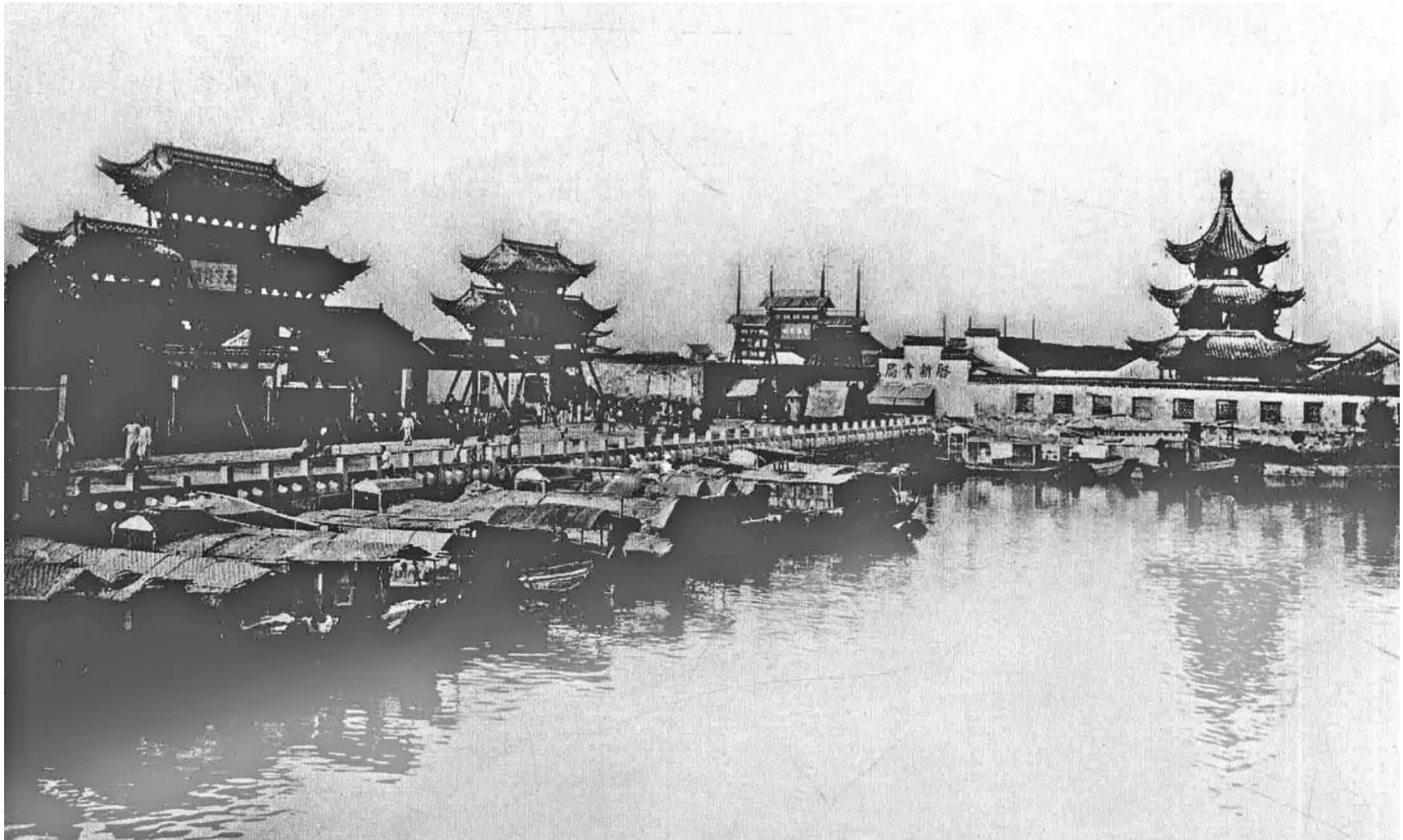


Fig. 2.4.1-11 The vintage photographs of pleasure boats in front of the Jiangnan Gongyuan.

Originating from the literati’s goddess fantasy, the Qinhuai pleasure quarter also symbolized men’s desire due to its inherent symbolic significance beyond the material realm. As Li Xiaoti 李孝悌 suggested:

The Imperial Academy, Examination Hall, and brothels were located in proximity. On the one hand, this arrangement gave rise to more romantic anecdotes of celebrities; on the other hand, it made the Qinhuai River a popular symbol of desire in cultural writings by scholar-officials. As such, Jinling (Nanjing) thus bore the sweetest and debauched memories, earning it the reputation as a city of pleasure.

太学、贡院和妓院同处一地，一方面制造了更多名士风流的轶事，一方面也让秦淮河成为最广受士大夫记叙的欲望的象征。金陵因此承载了太多的甜美、放荡的记忆，成为一个逸乐之都。⁷⁵⁵

The interior units in Qinhuai and other pleasure quarters in southern China often mirror a family’s organizational structure. For instance, the prostitute and procuress refer to each other as “mother” and “daughter,” while prostitutes address one another as “sisters.” This familial

⁷⁵⁵ Li Xiaoti 李孝悌, *Lianlian hongchen: Zhongguo de chengshi, yuwang he shenghuo* 恋恋红尘：中国的城市、欲望和生活 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007), 1.

arrangement effectively establishes a female-dominated space where male authority is absent. However, the nature of the pleasure quarter as a space for male desire has disciplined and distorted women within it. Although men only act as customers (rather than homeowners) in this space, their purchase of services from prostitutes in the pleasure quarters allows them to project a sense of power onto women and gain a presence.

The *huabang* 花榜 (the announcement of flowers) offers a very typical illustration. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, a kind of beauty pageant called *hua'an* 花案 (the proposal of flowers) was popular in brothels. According to previous research,⁷⁵⁶ it was generally proposed by a leading literato, who decided the venue and gathered candidates. Then a beauty pageant would be held, awarding the titles of *zhuangyuan* 状元, *bangyan* 榜眼, and *tanhua* 探花 to the first, second, and third place winners, respectively, in a manner that precisely mirrored that of the Imperial Examination. Another naming convention was also employed to align these beauties with the hierarchical official titles. Each beauty was paired with a corresponding flower, thus earning the pageant its moniker of *huabang* or *hua'an*. Once the ranking had been determined, the victorious girls would lead a parade through the city streets, widely regarded as a significant event for all society members. For example, *Banqiao zaji* documented it this way:

[...] on the next night of Niu [Lang] and [Zhi] Nü reunite [on the bridge] crossing the river (Double Seventh Festival, the Chinese Valentine's Day), [they] massively gathered all courtesans in the water pavilion of Fang Mi's sojourn abode. [...] The boats encircling the water pavilion formed a wall. After conducting a thorough review of the beauty pageants in *hua'an*, a multi-layered platform was established for the *zhuangyuan* to sit [on top of it].

……牛女渡河之明夕，大集诸姬于方密之侨居水阁。……水阁外环列舟航如堵墙，品藻花案，设立层台，以坐状元。⁷⁵⁷

At that time, there were even specialized publications dedicated to meticulously documenting the list of *huabang*, serving as a “guide” for male literati from other regions seeking to acquaint themselves with the pleasures of Qinhuai quarter. Cao Dazhang's 曹大章 (1521-1575) *Qinhuai shinü biao* 秦淮士女表 (The Record of Literati and Courtesans in Qinhuai) presented the evaluation outcomes of such activities. Pan Zhiheng recorded it as:

⁷⁵⁶ For more information on *huabang*, see Zhou Mingchu 周明初, “Issues Related to Li Yunxiang's *Hundred Beauty in Jinling*,” *Journal of Jiangsu Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2022): 27-38; Li Huiqun 李汇群, “*Cainü yu mingji*: Wan Ming zhi Jia Dao wenren shehui de liuxing shuxie” “才女”与“名妓”：晚明至嘉道文人社会的流行书写, *Chinese Culture Research*, no. 4 (2008): 50-53; Ōki Yasushi 大木康, *Chūgoku yuri kūkan: Min Shin Shinwai gijo no sekai* 中国遊里空間：明清秦淮妓女の世界 (Tokyo: Seidosha 東京：青土社, 2002).

⁷⁵⁷ Yu Huai, *Banqiao zaji*, [...], one-volume edition, 22.

Cao *gong* (Cao Dazhang) from Jintan county [...] gathered guests in Qinhuai in 1570 and held a lotus-platform meeting. Among them were Wu Bogao from Kunling and Liang Chenyu (*zi* Bolong, ca.1521-1594) from Yufeng, who possessed remarkable literary talents. They commented about all the beautiful women [in this meeting], which was a significant event that has not been witnessed again.

金坛曹公……隆庆庚午（1570）结客秦淮，有莲台之会，同游者昆陵吴伯高、玉峰梁伯龙辰鱼辈，俱擅才调，品藻诸姬，一时之盛，嗣后绝响。⁷⁵⁸

The organization of events that closely resemble the Imperial Examination System in the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter, situated opposite to the Gongyuan area (where the exams were actually held), highlighted the pervasive male gaze within female spaces. These intellectuals who indulged in the beauty and company of women, regardless of their actual exam results, could pass the difficult waiting period by serving as judges in this fantasy world of flowers, regaining control, and achieving psychological satisfaction. They redirected their pursuit of unattainable high exam rankings towards pursuing top-ranked women on the flower list that were relatively achievable. In the preface to *Jinling baimei* 金陵百媚 (Hundred Beauties in Jinling) written by Li Yunxiang 李云翔, the author mentioned that he “failed the Provincial Examination in Nanjing this year (1618), and felt very lonely during his sojourn” 兹岁铩羽金陵，旅中甚寥寂。⁷⁵⁹ Meanwhile, he found solace when a friend of his “took him on a tour of the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, where he beheld all the exquisite beauties” 偕予游诸院，遍阅丽人。⁷⁶⁰

Although the *huabang* was associated with the “Imperial Examination,” which symbolized the literati’s mindset of “entering the world,” those who alleviate examination pressure by assessing prostitutes appear to be practicing the concept of *seyin* (see 2.1.3, 2.2.2, and 2.3.2) in these beauties’ “flower country.” According to Zhou Mingchu’s 周明初 research, Li Yunxiang in *Jinling baimei* combined the imperial examination rankings with the flower rankings and used poems and songs to evaluate the prostitutes in Nanjing’s pleasure quarters with his friend, Feng Menglong, who compiled some of the aforementioned stories.⁷⁶¹ A year prior to the publication of this book, Wanyu Zi’s 宛瑜子 *Wuji baimei* 吴姬百媚 (Hundred Beauties in Suzhou) was released, which scrutinized the lives of prostitutes in Suzhou. Feng

⁷⁵⁸ Pan Zhiheng, “Liantai xianhui pin xu” 莲台仙会品叙, in Cao Dazhang, *Liantai xianhui pin* 莲台仙会品, 1a. See Tao Ting 陶珽, comp., *Shuo fu xu* 说郛续 (Wanwei shantang, 1646), vol. 44.

⁷⁵⁹ Li Yunxiang, *Jinling baimei*, cited in “*Jinling baimei yu feng Menglong ba*” 《金陵百媚》与冯梦龙跋, in Gao Hongjun 高洪钧, comp., *Feng Menglong ji jianzhu* 冯梦龙集笺注 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2006), 321.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁶¹ See Zhou Mingchu, “Issues Related to Li Yunxiang’s *Hundred Beauty in Jinling*,” 30-33.

Menglong engaged in the publication of this book too. Feng himself had experienced repeated failures in the Imperial Examination. His renowned anthology of 44 stories on romantic relationships between men and women, *Qing shi*, indicated his clear advocacy for *qing*. In fact, not only Feng Menglong, but also Yu Huai, who wrote *Banqiao zaji*, Zhuquan Jushi 珠泉居士, who authored *Xu banqiao zaji*, and Penghua Sheng 捧花生, who penned *Qinhuai huafang lu* 秦淮画舫录 (The Records of the Qinhuai Painted Boat) were all some *xiaoxie* literati (see 2.2.2) deviating from the mainstream and regarding *qing* as a means of “escaping the world.”

Especially when we encounter *Qinhuai Huafang lu* and *Wumen huafang lu* 吴门画舫录 (The Records of the Wumen Painted Boat), so named “because [the book] was the result of the boating tours” 因成于画舫之游,⁷⁶² the shadow of “Shuhua Chuan,” an architectural symbol of literati’s boat-architecture (see 1.2), inevitably emerges. The first chapter mentions that the “Shuhua Chuan” offered a fresh perspective for literati to appreciate landscapes and create landscape paintings, with some collections on art appreciation titled “Shuhua Chuan” by editors (see 1.2.3). This chapter comparatively notes that renowned courtesans, such as *nü jiaoshu*, possess the quality of being collectible due to their appeal to literati (see 2.1.3). Consequently, the depictions of boat-architectures in the pleasure quarter on Qinhuai River by these literati serve as another manifestation of their own reclusive boats within a “feminine” context constructed by male writers.

Wang Du 汪度, a fellow villager of Penghua Sheng, wrote in the preface to the *Qinhuai Huafang lu*: “Although [the book] was named as ‘[The Records of] the Qinhuai Painted Boat,’ it embodied ‘the boat of mercy’ that carries passengers to the land of enlightenment” 然则命曰秦淮之画舫，实即觉岸之慈航乎!⁷⁶³ Using Buddhism terms, *cihang* 慈航 (the boat of mercy) and *jue’an* 觉岸 (the land of enlightenment), he likened the boat-architecture of the Qinhuai pleasure quarter to a tool guiding sentient beings from confusion to consciousness, redirecting attention towards the symbolic significance of the boat in “benefiting the world.” However, the act of “benefiting” was no longer directed towards the entire country and society, as those who failed to pass the imperial examinations were precluded from engaging in such conduct. Therefore, in an attempt to cope with their frustrations and misfortunes, they projected them onto the courtesans while assuming the role of protector and savior for these beautiful women who endured a harsh life. They discovered solace and psychological comfort by providing commentary and writing on these women. However, they deemed their writings as the redemption of women confined in brothels, laying bare their conceit. It merely catered to the inner needs of literati who yearn to place their affection on landscapes and pleasure quarters amidst political turbulence and frustration.

Similar to the cultural space correspondences established in the “cultural and educational district – pleasure quarter” category, there was also a group that has been

⁷⁶² Penghua sheng, “*Qinhuai huafang lu zixu*” 《秦淮画舫录》自序, in *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu: Wenyan biji xiaoshuo xuba bufen* 中国历代小说序跋辑录：文言笔记小说序跋部分, ed. Huang Qingquan 黄清泉, comp. Zeng Zuyin 曾祖荫 (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989), 439.

⁷⁶³ Ibid.

overlooked by previous researchers, namely, the “slum area – pleasure quarter” represented by beggars’ “caves” at *dong shuiguan* and river houses in Diaoyu Lane 钓鱼巷. Unlike the correspondence between *caizi* and *jiaren*, characterized by positivity and romance, the latter compared the harsh reality of beggars and homeless individuals residing in *dong shuiguan* with the opulent fantasy of pleasure quarters.

In the Ming dynasty, the *dong shuiguan* was reconstructed on its former site in the Southern Tang dynasty. It and *xi shuiguan* were situated at the east and west confluences of Inner and Outer Qinhuai. They were both equipped with sluices for military defense and for controlling the water level of the inner Qinhuai River. According to historical documents, during the Song dynasty, Zhang Xiaoxiang 张孝祥 (1132-1170), the chief administrator in Nanjing, once remarked, “Although the old east and west Water Passes of Qinhuai River were wide, they were slightly constructed narrower after the rebellion. While this may be convenient for temporary defense purposes, it hinders water circulation and slows its flow” 秦淮旧上下水门展阔，自兵变后，砌叠稍狭，虽便于一时防守，实遏水源，流通不快。⁷⁶⁴ After establishing Nanjing as the capital, Emperor Taizu of the Ming dynasty transformed the water pass of Tongji Gate into a three-story structure with 36 *yanyue dong* 偃月洞 (half-moon-shaped cave), which further impeded water flow.⁷⁶⁵

Wang Mingyue 汪明玥 did a thorough research on the historical documents of the *dong shuiguan*.⁷⁶⁶ Base on her research, it can be seen that in the late Ming dynasty, *dong shuiguan* remained 33 archways. The upper two tiers of archways no longer functioned as water conduits and could potentially provide shelter for the homeless. However, the presence of soldiers on guard made it uncertain whether beggars resided there.

With the fall of Nanjing and the Qing dynasty’s destruction of the Southern Ming regime, refugees would likely have occupied this space; however, there is no remaining evidence to support this claim. The earliest known documents regarding *dong shuiguan* (*dong guantou* 东关头) being utilized as shelters can be traced back to the late Qing dynasty. However, the juxtaposition of *dong shuiguan* and Qinhuai river houses can be seen in Kangxi’s reign. In the *Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi* 康熙江宁府志 (Records of Jiangningfu in the Kangxi Period), one of the 40 sceneries in Nanjing titled “Qinghuai” depicts the *dong shuiguan* and river houses on

⁷⁶⁴ *Tongzhi Shangjiang liangxian zhi* 同治上江两县志, vol. 4, cited in Pu Xiaonan 濮小南, *Shili Qinhuai qiaodao zhi* 十里秦淮桥道志, comp. Pu Shikun 濮仕坤 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2018), 5.

⁷⁶⁵ See *ibid.*, 5: 自明初建城，改置通济水关，为偃月洞三十有六，水至此皆逡巡哽咽而入，其阻遏之弊，又不至止于孝祥所云矣。

⁷⁶⁶ See Wangmingyue 汪明玥, “Nanjing chengqiang dong shuiguan, xi shuiguan de lishi yange ji baohu liyong” 南京城墙东水关、西水关的历史沿革及保护利用 (Master diss., Nanjing Normal University, 2020), 9-29.

the left and right, respectively (Fig. 2.4.1-12).⁷⁶⁷ Since this painting aimed to depict the most picturesque views of Nanjing, it can be inferred that the artist would have intentionally avoided including any slum areas. Therefore, although attention was paid to the spatial correspondence between *dong shuiguan* and Qinhuai river houses during Kangxi's reign, the discourse on “slum area - pleasure quarter” may not have been established.

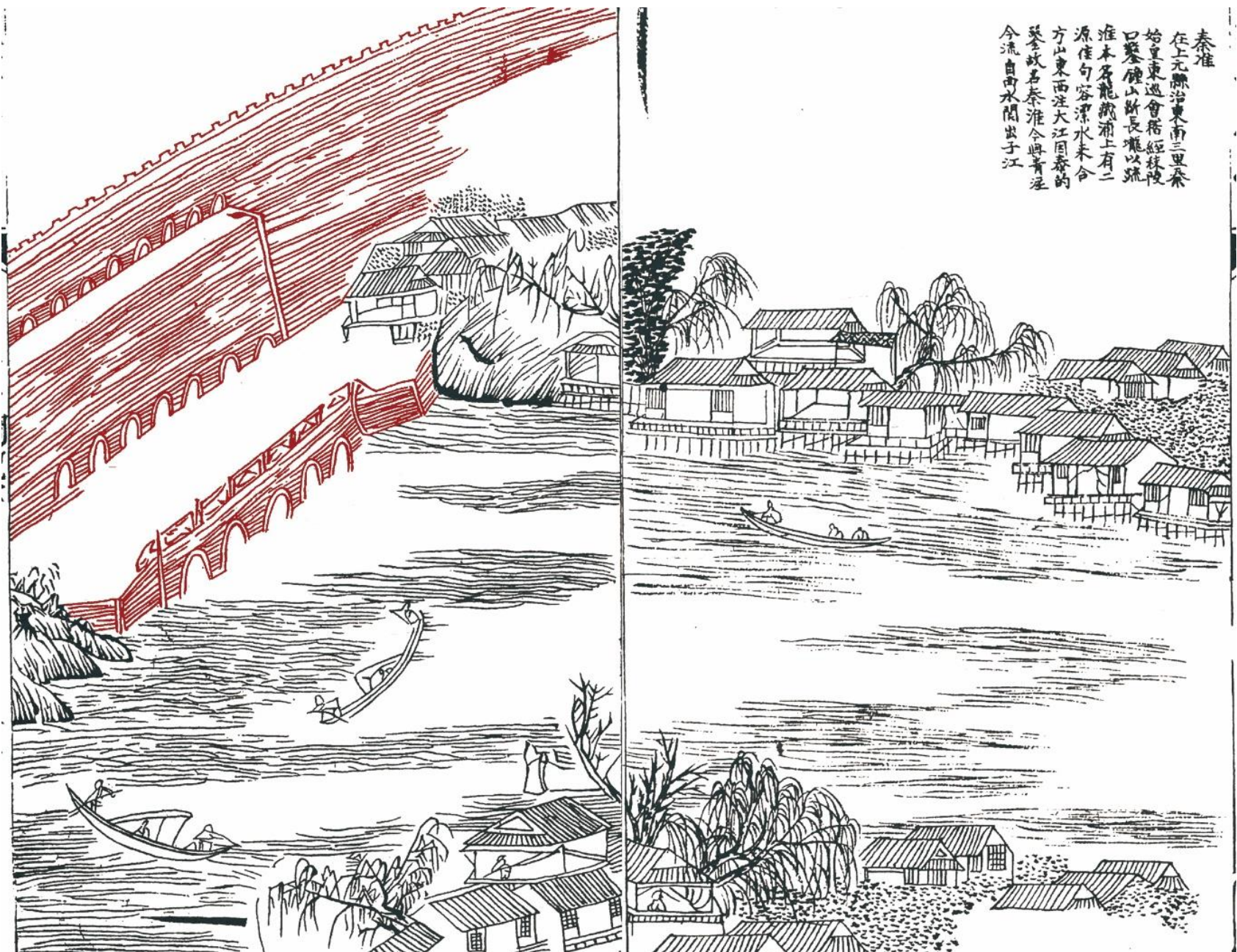


Fig. 2.4.1-12 One of the 40 sceneries in Nanjing titled “Qinghuai,” *Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi*.

The exact time when *dong shuiguan* was occupied by beggars remains unknown, yet interestingly, it was frequently recorded as a spatial correlation with the “pleasure quarters” in many local chronicles from the late Qing dynasty to the Republic of China. For example, *Qinhuai ganjiu ji* 秦淮感旧集 (The Collection of Qinhuai Nostalgia) wrote: “*Dong guantou*, situated on the southern bank of Qingxi River, was inhabited by beggars while the opposite shore was rife with brothels. It can be said that those who are sorrowful grieve for themselves, while those who are joyful entertain themselves” 东关头，在青溪南岸，乃乞儿所居，彼岸则妓家鳞次也。

⁷⁶⁷ See Chen Kaiyu 陈开虞, *Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi* 康熙江宁府志 (1667), vol. 2, 39b-40a, in *Jinlingquanshu* 金陵全书 – *Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi* (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2011), 304-305.

可谓哀者自哀，乐者自乐矣。⁷⁶⁸ *Dongcheng zhilue* 东城志略 (published in 1899) recorded: “Perennial porridge supplies have been established on the south bank [of the Qinhuai River] to provide sustenance for famine refugees. The sight of this should serve as a warning to the indulgent prodigal sons” (淮水) 南岸有长年赈粥厂，以食饥民，豪华浪子睹之，其有警心乎!⁷⁶⁹ *Jinling zazhi xuji* 金陵杂志续集 (published in 1922) also documented:

Shuiguan caves are located in *dong guantou*. People call it ‘the 33-*jian*-pavilion.’ It consists of two floors, with the upper floor unoccupied and the lower floor as the sweet nest for beggars. It is warm in winter and cool in summer, facing the bustling Diaoyu Lane, where flower boats congregate. The melodious music and songs that fill the air throughout the night have earned it the moniker “the bitterest among the bitter and happiest among the happy.”

水关洞，在东关头，俗云：“三十三间楼。”上下分两层，上层无人居住，下层为乞丐安乐之所。冬暖夏凉，面临钓鱼巷，花船咸聚集于此。通宵达旦，笙歌盈耳，所谓“苦中苦，乐中乐”是也。⁷⁷⁰

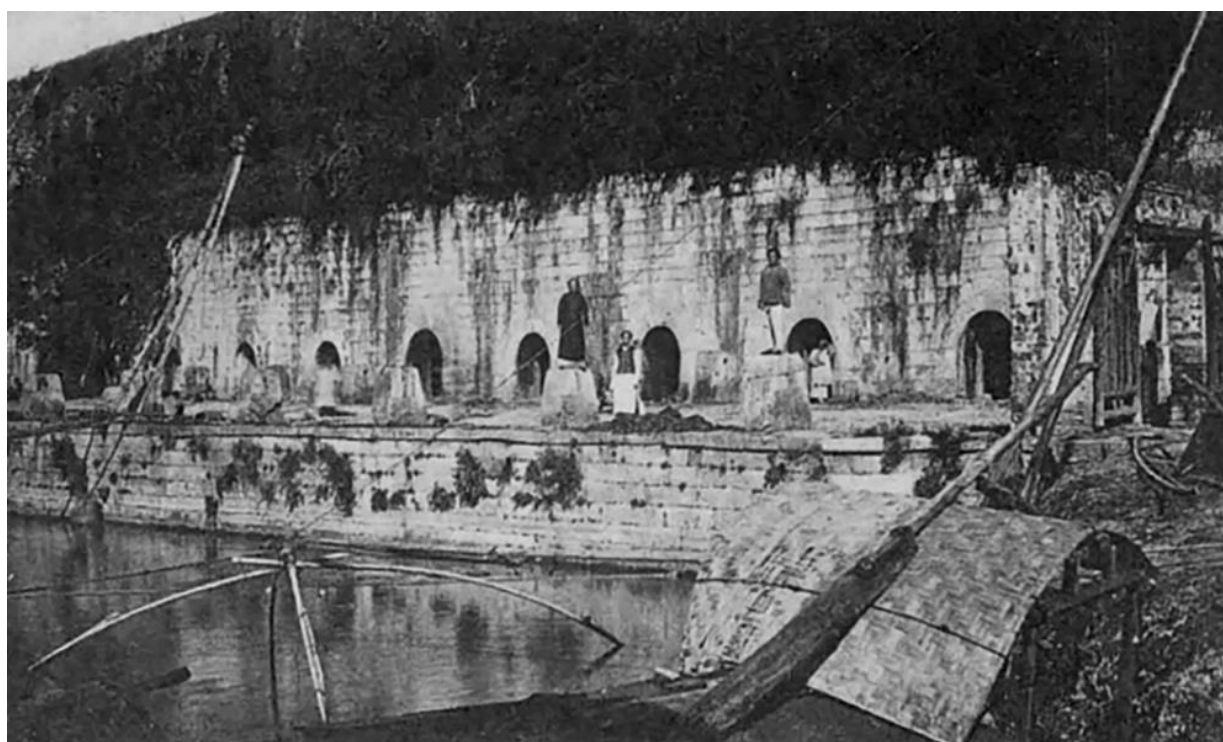


Fig. 2.4.1-13 The old postcard depicted *dong shuiguan*.

Apart from textual documents, there were also visual representations depicting space utilization in *dong shuiguan* as a slum area. In the old postcard (Fig. 2.4.1-13), several men

⁷⁶⁸ Ping Geng 蘋梗, *Qinhuai ganjiu ji* 秦淮感旧集, cited in Jiang Qiqun 姜泣群, comp., *Yuchu zhi heji* 虞初志合集 6, *Yuchu guangzhi* 虞初广志 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1986), vol. 12, 38.

⁷⁶⁹ Chen Zuolin 陈作霖, *Dongcheng zhilue*, in Chen Zuolin 陈作霖, and Chen Yifu 陈诒绂, *Jinling suozhi jiuzhong* 金陵琐志九种, ed. Li Hairong 李海荣 and Xu Suning 徐苏宁 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2008), 114.

⁷⁷⁰ *Jinling zazhi xuji* 金陵杂志续集, cited in Pu Xiaonan, *Shili Qinhuai qiaodao zhi*, 148.

were standing on the second floor of the west side (inside) of *dong shuiguan* while a lone woman leaned against one of its archways. The vintage photographs of 1947 captured vividly the living conditions of those who resided within these archways (Fig. 2.4.1-14). During this period, the water level in Inner Qinhuai was significantly lower than that observed during the late Qing dynasty.

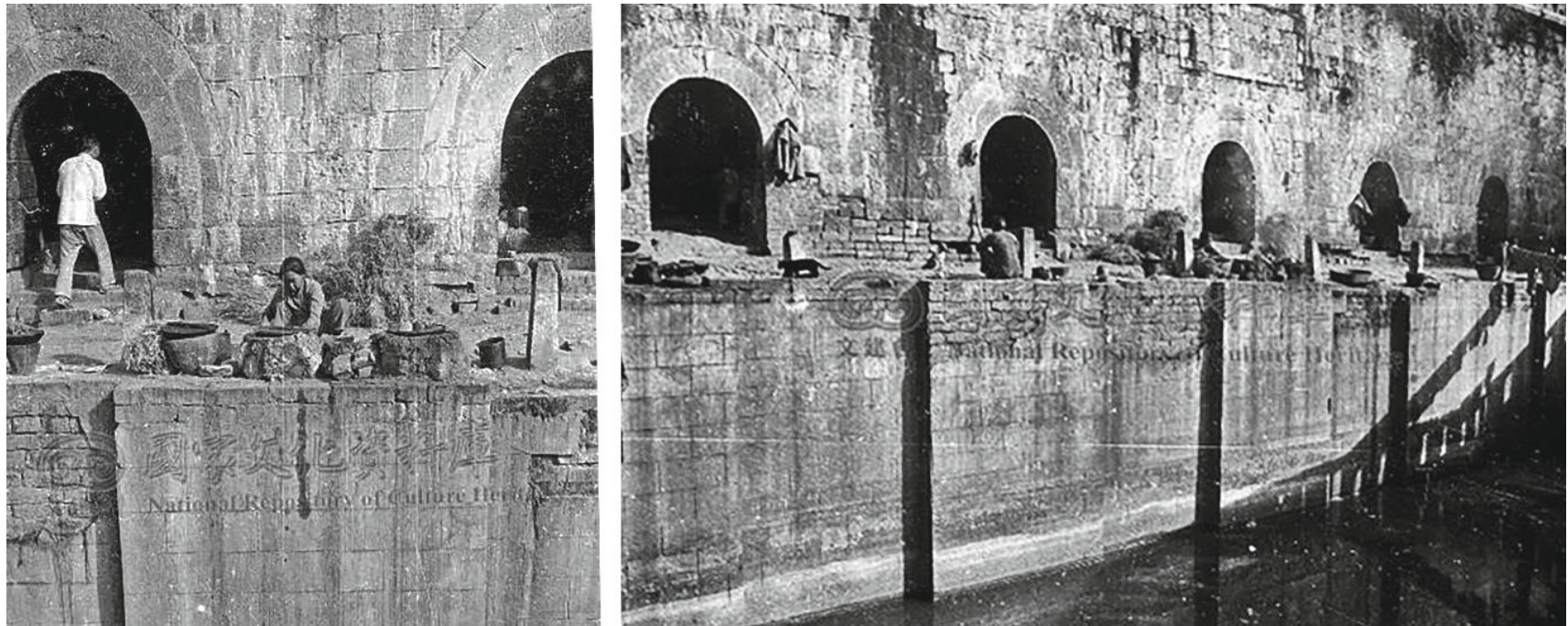


Fig. 2.4.1-14 The vintage photographs of *dong shuiguan* in 1947.

After establishing the corresponding relationship between the pleasure quarter and the aforementioned urban spaces, a spatial configuration featuring three nodes of “scholar-courtesan-beggar” emerged. The connection between the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter highlights the contrasting identities of “literati” and “beggars,” as well as their corresponding urban spaces. The urban spatial correspondence among these three locations holds a profound significance that can be savored by intellectuals, given the historical and geographical context of Nanjing and Qinhuai during the Ming dynasty: Zhu Yuanzhang, the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty, had a humble background similar to that of beggars. In Chinese feudal society, “becoming an emperor” and “wandering and begging” symbolize the extremes of prosperity and decadence in a man’s life journey. In the Qing dynasty, the significance was explicitly conveyed, at least through folk tales.

There is a story behind the folk saying in Nanjing, “Beggars at the *dong shuiguan* – Take by force” 东关头的花子——恶要, which shows this kind of contrast. In the narrative, the leaders of the *dong shuiguan* beggars were the descendants of a beggar who had been a close friend of Zhu Yuanzhang. After ascending to the throne, Zhu Yuanzhang bestowed upon his destitute beggar friend the title of “King of Beggars,” whose descendants subsequently served as leaders among beggars in *dong shuiguan*. In the Qing dynasty, Emperor Qianlong once made an incognito visit to *dong shuiguan* in Nanjing during his Southern Tour. Not knowing who Qianlong was, the beggar leader prepared a simple dinner for him. Then Qianlong and the beggar had a conversation on a couplet hanging on the door, which read, “Carefree as the cave of immortals; the abode of the top leader of the world’s poor” 逍遥自在

神仙府，天下贫穷第一家。⁷⁷¹ In the conversation, the beggar made similar remarks about his humble abode as those found in *Jinling zazhi xuji*. Qianlong expressed great satisfaction with the dinner and conversation, thus rewarding the beggar by instituting a special tax, *huazi juan* 花子捐 (beggar tax), in Nanjing to support local beggars.

Lengyan guan 冷眼观, published between 1907-1908, also referenced a similar discourse on the dichotomy of prosperity and decadence. It first vividly depicted the spatial resonance of *dong guantou* and Diaoyu Lane river house through its portrayal:

It was in the midst of the third lunar month, the chill had yet to dissipate. The limpid waters mirrored a full moon, shimmering in unison with the several lights emanating from beggars' dwellings nestled within *dong guantou*'s archways. As [I] turned around, the line of *ding*-shaped curtains and drapes came into view, [their] candle lamps aglow, illuminating [the river houses] as if it were daytime.

时正三月中旬，轻寒未退，盈盈一水中，拥出一丸凉月，与东关头城圈里面丐户两三灯火互相明灭。再转面一看，却是一带丁字帘栊，灯烛点得如同白昼。⁷⁷²

Through the reflection of water and moonlight, this description connected the archway “caves” where beggars lived with the *taoyuan* “cave” in the pleasure quarters (see 2.2.2). The former resembled a primitive or real cave, illuminated by only two or three lights amidst darkness. In contrast, the latter embodies a fantastical cave with an alluring river-facing façade that emits a unique luminosity, distinguishing it from all other places at night. After highlighting this contrast, the author also mentions Zhu Yuanzhang as the initiator of this spatial relationship:

It turns out that in this *dong guantou* there are more than 20 caves in a row on the city wall, all of which are inhabited by beggars. [...] But [this location] is exactly on the far opposite of the Diaoyu Lane. [This spatial correspondence] was originally created by Zhu Yuanzhang, Emperor Taizu of the former Ming dynasty. He warned future generations that if they indulge themselves in Diaoyu Lane and forget to return, there will come a day when they enter *dong guantou* and become beggars.

原来这东关头有一连二十几座城洞，都是伙食乞丐居住。……却好与钓鱼巷官妓河房遥遥相对。本是前明朱太祖创设的，所以警戒后人，倘要在钓鱼巷乐而

⁷⁷¹ See Liu Yonglong 刘永龙, ed., *Youmo fengqu gushi* 幽默风趣故事 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1997), 36-38.

⁷⁷² Babao Wanglang 八宝王郎 (Wang Junqing 王浚卿), *Lengyan guan* (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2000, based on Xiaoshuo lin she edition in 1907, Shanghai Library), 18.

忘返，则必有入东关头身为乞丐之一日。⁷⁷³

The description above is situated towards the conclusion of the initial chapter in this novel, and it is noteworthy that the author reinterprets this particular scene through the protagonist's dialogue in the subsequent chapter:

I don't have much to worry about, but this Diaoyu Lane happens to be close to the *dong guantou*. On one side, there are intricately decorated architectures hosting performances throughout the night; the opposite side, however, showcases reed curtains and grass beds with only chilled leftovers. In this stark contrast, [I] truly appreciate the profound intentions behind the design of our predecessors. When nowadays individuals witness it, they cannot help but sigh at the vicissitudes of life. Furthermore, having served as a subordinate official for over a decade and now being able to accompany you on this boat tour thanks to your father's support, [I am] filled with gratitude. However, merely three years later, the pavilions along the Qinhuai River have already lost their former allure, evoking a sense of nostalgia within me...

我心中没得甚事，不过看这钓鱼巷就可巧紧对着东关头，一边画栋连云，笙歌达旦；一边就芦帘草榻，冷炙残羹，相形之下，实在感慨前人创意之深，令当局者视之，未免有转眼沧桑之叹。加之兄弟随侍此间，十有余载，此番承尊大人格外提携，得以旧地重来，叨陪游宴，但相隔不过三易寒暑，而秦淮河一带楼台，已非昔比，一时触景伤情……⁷⁷⁴

This description appears to refer to the same scene as the preceding paragraph, yet it carries a more profound connotation derived from its predecessor: against the backdrop of a tumultuous social milieu and the unfortunate fate befalling the country during the late Qing dynasty, when *Lengyan guan* was initially published, the juxtaposition of “prosperity” and “decadence” undeniably presents a bleak portrayal of disillusionment.

The disillusioned portrayal can be traced back to numerous literary works during the Ming-Qing transition. One notable example is the renowned verse set, “Ai Jiangnan” 哀江南 (Mourning for the Jiangnan) within *The Peach Blossom Fan*. This particular work effectively captures and conveys the distress caused by the collapse of a nation, as depicted through a poignant scene experienced by Su Kunsheng 苏昆生 (the teacher who taught songs to the heroine) upon his return to Nanjing following the downfall of the Southern Ming dynasty. In this context, the desolate Qinhuai pleasure quarter serves as a striking juxtaposition against its previous glory:

[...] The Qinhuai pleasure quarter, where we spent our days: Torn window-papers rustled in the breeze; the river lapped across broken sills, no sight but filled the eye with

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁴ Babao Wanglang, *Lengyan guan*, 19.

sorrow. Where now do flutes play soft for the powdered beauties we knew? At the Midsummer Feast the lantern boats are dark; at Mid-autumn the wineshop flags stay furled. White birds hover; green waves roll; butterflies woo the yellow blossoms. Leaves turn red with none to notice.

Remember the bridge that crossed Green Creek? Not one of its scarlet planks is left. The stream flows on, but few men cross; And in the cold sunset only a single willow dances slowly.

I came to the old pleasure-house: No need to knock, No fear the dog would bark. A dried-up well, an abandoned nest, moss-covered tiles, the steps sprouting weeds. The trees we planted, you and I, had been stripped at random for fuel – and whose were the ashes of this cooking-fire?

I, who have heard the orioles greet the dawn in the jade halls of Nanjing's elegance, who have watched spring bloom on the Qinhuai river walks – How could I dream that all would vanish like the melting of ice? I saw the crimson balconies rise; I saw the feasting of the guests; I have seen all lie in ruins. Where moss creeps over the rubble, in times long gone I dreamed of love and glory. Now I have seen it all, the rise and decay of half a hundred years. [...] ⁷⁷⁵

……问秦淮旧日窗寮，破纸迎风，坏槛当潮，目断魂消。当年粉黛，何处笙箫？
罢灯船端阳不闹，收酒旗重九无聊。白鸟飘飘，绿水滔滔，嫩黄花有些蝶飞，
新红叶无个人瞧。

你记得跨青溪半里桥，旧红板没一条。秋水长天人过少，冷清清的落照，剩一
树柳弯腰。

行到那旧院门，何用轻敲，也不怕小犬哞哞。无非是枯井颓巢，不过些砖苔砌
草。手种的花条柳梢，尽意儿采樵；这黑灰是谁家厨灶？

俺曾见金陵玉殿莺啼晓，秦淮水榭花开早，谁知道容易冰消！眼看他起朱楼，
眼看他宴宾客，眼看他楼塌了！这青苔碧瓦堆，俺曾睡风流觉，将五十年兴亡
看饱。……⁷⁷⁶

The juxtaposition of spatial elements and the temporal overlap in the writings on Qinhuai pleasure quarter exemplify two narrative structures, both illustrating the stark contrast between “prosperity” and “decadence.” The focus of the first structure centered on the spatial juxtaposition between the *gongyuan*, *dong shuiguan*, and the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, with an emphasis on individual men’s achievements and setbacks. The second structure, which highlights contrasting scenes of desolation at *dong shuiguan* with the prosperous ambiance of Qinhuai pleasure quarter, serves to emphasize the temporal overlap between past prosperity

⁷⁷⁵ The English translation presented here has been revised based on the English rendition of *The Peach Blossom Fan*. See K’ung Shang-jen, *The Peach Blossom Fan*, trans. Chen Shih-hsiang and Harold Action with Cyril Birch (New York: NYRB Classics, 2015), 308.

⁷⁷⁶ Kong Shangren, *Taohua shan*, 217.

and present desolation, evoking the poignant dynastic replacements and bitter fluctuations in family and national fortunes.

The first narrative structure can be traced back to the Tang dynasty, as it was already vividly depicted in “Li Wa zhuan” 李娃传 (The Tale of Li Wa): Student Zheng 郑生, the son of Xingyang-gong 荃阳公, went to Beijing for the Imperial Examination. There, he indulged in the refined companionship of the courtesan Li Wa, who left after he depleted his funds. His destitution led him to beggary and brought him perilously close to death, constituting a nadir in his life. With compassion and love, Li Wa once again took care of him after their reunion, enabling him to successfully pass the imperial examination – a pinnacle moment in his life.⁷⁷⁷ The folk tale exemplifies the intricate interplay among the three facets of male identity, which allude to the philosophy of life, and illustrates how a male individual’s success and failure can be subtly influenced by captivating women.

Similarly, within the second narrative structure, there is an underlying notion that literati perceive women as *huoshui*. It appears that literati often attribute the success or failure of a dynasty or even a nation to the influence of beautiful women (see 2.2.1.3). Regarding the female entertainers in the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, the aforementioned poem by Du Mu, “The singsong girls are oblivious to the grief of the captive emperor. Beyond the river, they are still singing the Backyard Flower,” effectively conveys this attitude. Similarly, the protagonist in *Lengyan guan* lamented: “The only [presence above] the Qinhuai River is the sentimental moon, which casts a glow upon these beauties but fails to illuminate the lessons of rise and fall” 多情惟有秦淮月，不照兴亡照美人。⁷⁷⁸

However, upon closer examination, a subtle shift in attitude can be observed between the two examples. The latter group no longer perceive the Qinhuai pleasure quarter and its female entertainers as a manifestation of moral decline; instead, they viewed them as an unfortunate representation of a lost prosperous culture from the Ming dynasty. The shift can be attributed to the fact that the late Ming courtesans, represented by the “Qinhuai bayan” 秦淮八艳 (the eight beauties in the Qinhuai pleasure quarter) were invented as a “cultural ideal,”⁷⁷⁹ which will not be elaborated upon here. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that 17th-century literature’s portrayal of female protagonists (courtesans), as Wai-yee Li has pointed out, exemplifies a recurring theme: “the self-transcendence of those defined by romantic-aesthetic sensibility and their consequent capacity for heroic action and religious renunciation.”⁷⁸⁰ For example, the female protagonist Li Xiangjun, who belonged to the “Qinhuai bayan,” was not

⁷⁷⁷ See “Li Wa zhuan” cited in Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 484, 1a-11b. See *SKQS*.

⁷⁷⁸ Babao Wanglang, *Lengyan guan*, 18.

⁷⁷⁹ For further reading on how late Ming courtesans were invented as a “cultural ideal,” see Wai-yee Li, “The Late Ming Courtesan.”

⁷⁸⁰ Wai-yee Li, “Heroic Transformations: Women and National Trauma in Early Qing Literature,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59, no. 2 (1999): 394.

only depicted as a “water goddess,”⁷⁸¹ but also a patriotic chivalrous woman, especially in the drama *The Peach Blossom Fan*.⁷⁸²

Ironically, in contrast to the drama’s ending where both Li Xiangjun and her lover Hou Fangyu renounce their worldly pursuits to become Taoist priests, it is noteworthy that in history, Hou Fangyu went on to hold an official position during the Qing dynasty. This reminds us of the story discussed in the preceding section, featuring Liu Rushi, another beauty of the “Qinhuai bayan,” and Qian Qianyi, a predecessor to Hou Fangyu who shared similar political inclinations.

The following introduction of another Qinhuai courtesan’s story will prove intriguing, as it draws a comparison between its female protagonist, Fang Zhi 方芷, and Li Xiangjun and Liu Rushi.⁷⁸³ Fang Zhi was a charming courtesan, yet paled in comparison to the “Qinhuai bayan.” She had a close friendship with Li Xiangjun and upon witnessing Li’s affection for Hou Fangyu, she extended her congratulations while also alluding to her own standards of choosing a lover:

Sister’s wish has now been fulfilled after serving as the beloved of Hou! However, *minshi* [like Hou] can only attain fame during a specific time. I aspire to find a royal and righteous man, [so that our names] may be intertwined and [be remembered] for a thousand years.

妹侍候郎，得所托矣！但名士只倾倒一时，妾欲得一忠义士，与共千秋。⁷⁸⁴

Li Xiangjun, who was then deeply content with her own lover, derided Fang Zhi’s words. Later, Fang Zhi developed an affection for Yang Wencong upon witnessing his exquisite portrayal of plum trees in his paintings, ultimately leading to their marriage. However, contrary to Fang Zhi’s desires, their marriage was widely perceived as a lamentable choice due to her selection of a partner associated with the treacherous Ruan Dacheng and thus faced disdain from the literati. Li Xiangjun also found it amusing in her heart that Fang Zhi’s previous statement was just a joke, but Fang Zhi remained indifferent to others’ opinions and offered no explanations. She only confided in Yang Wencong, on the night of their union, revealing her

⁷⁸¹ For example, Yu Huai compared her with the goddess of Wu Mountain in his poem. See Yu Huai, *Banqiao zaji*, [...], one-volume edition, 21: 何缘十二巫峰女，梦里偏来见楚王。

⁷⁸² The patriotic and chivalrous actions of Li Xiangjun are portrayed multiple times in this drama, exemplified by her reprimanding the treacherous official Ruan Dacheng and his guests in the 24th scene. See Kong Shangren, *Taohua shan*, : 堂堂列公，半边南朝，望你峥嵘。出身希贵宠，创业选声容，后庭花又添几种。……东林伯仲，俺青楼皆知敬重。干儿义子从新用，绝不了魏家种……。

⁷⁸³ See Shen Qifeng 沈起凤, *Xie duo* 谐铎, cited in Lu Lin, ed., *Qingdai biji xiaoshuo leibian: Yanfen juan*, 118-119.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

reason for choosing him – she saw an unwavering loyalty emanating from his heart through his brushwork. She promised him that her trousseau contained valuable treasures and she would eventually assist in maintaining his integrity.

After the Qing dynasty overthrew the Ming, Fang Zhi presented a golden chest to Yang Wencong, claiming that it contained the precious treasures she had promised him. Upon opening the chest, Yang was taken aback to find only a roll of straw rope and a small dagger inside. Seeing his hesitation, Fang Zhi sternly admonished him on the paramount importance of moral integrity for a man. In contrast to Qian Qianyi and Hou Fangyu, upon absorbing his beautiful confidante's words, Yang Wencong valiantly chose to end his life by hanging himself. Following his demise, Fang Zhi laughed with satisfaction and declared that now her aspiration had been fulfilled. Then she took the dagger and cut her throat to die.

At the conclusion of the narrative, the author highlights that upon learning about this incident, Li Xiangjun expressed her profound admiration for Fang Zhi and earnestly requested Hou Fangyu to compose a biography on his behalf. Regrettably (but understandably), however, Hou Fangyu did not fulfill this request. In the very end, the author draws attention to the contrasting story of Liu Rushi and Qian Qianyi, expressing his sympathy towards Liu.

The author's comparison of Fang Zhi, Li Xiangjun and Liu Rushi is clearly intentional. He initially utilizes the conversation between Fang Zhi and Li Xiangjun to establish a distinction between a *minshi* and a *zhongyishi* 忠义士 (royal and righteous man), which is further exemplified through the subsequent actions of these courtesans' lovers. Although all of the *minshi* appeared to possess loyalty and righteousness, their true colors are revealed during times of crisis. While some of these *minshi*, who basked in their fame, fell short in front of their patriotic confidantes, the once "despicable" individuals despised by the *minshi* turned out to be true *zhongyishi*.

Correspondingly, the portrayals of Fang Zhi, along with Li Xiangjun and Liu Rushi, demonstrate a transformation in the literati's writings of the "water goddess" (corresponding to *minshi* identity), evolving into embodiments of patriotic chivalrous women (corresponding to *zhongyishi* identity). Wai-yee Li studied this heroic transformation in early Qing literature, where she argued that:

Such transformations often imply the male authors' own projected self-transformation, motivated by a mixture of self-reproach and self-justification. Qian and Wu tentatively reaffirm the romantic-aesthetic realm by showing how the courtesans who represent this sphere of experience emerge as heroes in the traumatic Ming-Qing transition.⁷⁸⁵

Chapter 2.2.3 has illustrated that under the discipline of the boat-architecture space, female entertainers such as Juntian adhered to the *xian* persona. Her characteristics demonstrate the projection of literati's *minshi* demeanor. Here, in the writings on Fang Zhi, the previously mentioned Li Xiangjun, Liu Rushi, and those unmentioned, such as Ge Nen 葛嫩, Kou Baimen 寇白门, and other famous courtesans, we witness the invention of patriotic women.

⁷⁸⁵ Wai-yee Li, "Heroic Transformations," 394.

The literati of the late Ming dynasty found themselves confronted with the demise of the subject matter to which they had devoted their loyalty and the subsequent erosion of their own significance. They confronted a dilemma between upholding moral principles (remaining loyal to the fallen Ming dynasty) and achieving career success (obtaining official positions in the new Qing dynasty). Consequently, they chose to disregard their own value judgments and turned towards aesthetic evaluations of women. Under the historical context of dynastic transitions, the Qinhuai pleasure quarter was depicted by literati in a manner that evoked romantic fantasies. The female entertainers within these depictions were also perceived as projections of literati.

Literati during the Ming-Qing transition found solace in documenting the renowned courtesans who shared close ties with their respective circles, as well as the enchanting realm of Qinhuai pleasure quarter that once whisked away their worldly concerns. Their writings on women provided a form of dissociation, shielding them from profound sorrow stemming from the loss of past opulence, self-worth, and irretrievable homeland. On one hand, by immersing themselves in the enchantment of courtesans and the realm of pleasure quarters, they “hide” their survival after the collapse of their state; on the other hand, they assert their presence within the fractured history through “collecting” these women’s bodies and thoughts.

2.4.2 The Flower Boat on the Pearl River

In Chinese, the term *changhai sangtian* 沧海桑田 (the sea [turns into] the farmlands) is often employed to describe the vicissitudes of the world and the impermanence of life. This term originates from the words of Ma Gu 麻姑, a Taoist goddess whose utterances were recorded in Ge Hong’s 葛洪 (283-363) *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙传 (Biographies of the Deities and Immortals) during the Eastern Jin dynasty. Ma Gu, who appears to be no more than 18 or 19 years of age, yet in fact “has borne witness thrice to the metamorphosis of the East Sea into verdant fields teeming with mulberry trees and crops” 已见东海三为桑田.⁷⁸⁶ Although mortals may never witness the sea’s transformation into farmland during their brief lives, the transition between seawater and land is no stranger to knowledge – the Yangtze River Delta and Pearl River Delta, both alluvial plains of estuaries, are well-known examples among Chinese people.

Compared with the Yangtze River Delta, the development of the Pearl River Delta is relatively late. Although Fanyu 番禺 has emerged as a significant foreign trade hub in southern China since the Qin and Han dynasties’ conquest of Baiyue 百越, Guangdong’s 广东 economic and demographic center remains in the north and west. During the Tang and Song dynasties, many clans from both north and south of the Yangtze River migrated further southward to evade warfare, gradually adapting to the climate of Linnan 岭南 (south of the Five Ridges, which referred to the area covering Guangdong and Guangxi). These immigrants, particularly those hailing from the southern regions of the Yangtze River, possessed extensive expertise in paddy

⁷⁸⁶ Ge Hong, *Shenxian zhuan*, vol. 3, 9b. See *SKQS*.

field agriculture and were thus drawn to the fertile yet untilled shores and river swamps that gradually formed through sediment accumulation within the Pearl River Delta. By means of embankment and reclamation in the Pearl River Delta, the significantly increased food production further stimulated population growth, ultimately shifting Guangdong's demographic center of gravity from the northern region to this area during the Song and Yuan dynasties. During the Ming dynasty, Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang implemented a policy of *tuntian* 屯田 (have garrison troops or peasants open up wasteland and grow food grain) throughout China, leading to a large influx of soldiers who immigrated to Guangdong for land reclamation purposes. This official policy resulted in the extensive development of the Pearl River Delta region, attracting population and resources to the area and establishing Guangzhou as the economic, cultural, and political hub of Guangdong province.⁷⁸⁷ This transition from the sea to the farmlands of the Pearl River Delta was also a fundamental factor in its initial development, as summarized in ancient texts: "Initially, the southern region of the five Mountains was solely occupied by the sea. As time passed, islands emerged and villages were established, resulting in a proliferation of inhabitants" 昔者五岭以南皆大海耳，渐为洲岛，渐成乡井，民亦蕃焉。⁷⁸⁸

From the reclamation of silted rivers and swamps to active embankment reclamation, inhabitants of such environments have long been accustomed to seeking additional benefits from the water surface beyond the ground they stand on. In addition to the conversion of sea into farmlands, the advancement and maturation of shipbuilding technology have opened up new possibilities for local communities to utilize rivers and seas. "Guangdong is a region characterized by its abundant water resources, and the livelihoods of most residents are closely tied to boats" 广为水国，人多以舟楫为食，⁷⁸⁹ "Cantonese are good at sailing boats" 粤人善操舟，⁷⁹⁰ and other documents have underscored the inseparable nexus between the social fabric of local communities and waterborne transportation via

⁷⁸⁷ Based on research, the distribution of population in Guangdong during the Han dynasty is closely linked to two migration routes taken by Central Plains immigrants moving southward. Firstly, they established settlements in Gaoyao 高要 and Luoding 罗定 through the Hunan-Guangxi corridor, with some venturing further south to the Leizhou 雷州 Peninsula. Secondly, they descended the Lian 连 River and arrived at Lian 连 county, Yangshan 阳山, and other regions in northern Guangdong via the Zheling 摺岭 Hill pass. As a result of the migration routes, the largest population concentration in the Han dynasty was found in the northern mountainous region of Guangdong followed by the West Pearl river basin. See Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 广东省地方史志编纂委员会, ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi: Renkou zhi* 广东省志：人口志 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), 34-35.

⁷⁸⁸ Fen Fengchu 冯奉初 and Guo Rucheng 郭汝诚, (*Xianfeng*) *Shundexian zhi* (咸丰) 顺德县志 (1853), vol. 3, 35a-b.

⁷⁸⁹ Qu Dajun 屈大均, *Guangdong xinyu zhu* 广东新语注, annotated by Li Yuzhong 李育中 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1991), 350.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 424.

boats.

On the one hand, the boat, as a means of transportation, not only interconnected the criss-crossing inland waterways into a dense network but also facilitated oceanic trade across the South China Sea. Especially from the 22nd year of Qianlong reign (1757) when the Qing government designated Shisan Hang 十三行 (Thirteen Branches) in Guangzhou as the sole customs for foreign trade, to the signing of *Treaty of Nanjing* between China and Britain in the 22nd year of Daoguang reign (1842), Pearl River Delta underwent an unparalleled boom in its social and economic development for nearly a century. As a representative of this region, the Pearl River's inland waterway and ocean shipping facilities offer highly accessible transportation options that almost monopolize trade between China and Western countries. It has made it the leading international trade center in China and across the wider East Asian region.



Fig. 2.4.2-1 The painting depicted the boats by Auguste Borget.

Meanwhile, just as deposited sediment forms the fertile land for crops, boats of various sizes from both inland river networks and external oceans converge on the Pearl River to construct another spatial structure that facilitates human activities. Auguste Borget (1808-1877), a French painter who traveled in China, arrived in Hong Kong in August 1838, and then stayed in Guangzhou for about 2 months and Macau 7 months. With the discerning eyes of an artist, he repeatedly depicted the intricate waterways and boats brimming with life within his book, tirelessly capturing these scenes through his paintings (Fig. 2.4.2-1):

Initially, there was a scarcity of boats, but subsequently their numbers proliferated. [...] The vessels are gradually departing from the coastline. The stretch of river where we have docked is teeming with people and activity, indicating that this may be the city's bustling marketplace, with the entire metropolis sprawling on either side of the waterway. [...] We navigated through a network of rivers that divide the rice paddies,

mulberry groves, and banana plantations. [...] Numerous boats glide along each river, seemingly soaring above the water before vanishing amidst the rice fields after a time. [...] We navigated into the river, passing by the tributary on the right where Canton lies. As we sailed through a dense forest of masts, I eagerly anticipated catching sight of European flags and finally beheld the foreign agency house. The sheer number of ships and sailboats lining both sides of the river was staggering; our sailors had to exert great effort and constantly shout to carve a path through them all before finally delivering us to the Chinese Customs Wharf. [...] ⁷⁹¹

The sight would have undoubtedly astonished the Westerners who voyaged across the ocean and arrived for their initial visit to the Pearl River Delta region. Therefore, when describing Guangzhou and China to the West, they often mentioned the bustling boats that line the entire section of the river from Huangpu 黄埔 (Whampoa) to Guangzhou. ⁷⁹² Prior to Borge, Charles de Constant (1762-1835) had documented the bustling scene of numerous boats crisscrossing the Pearl River, which were later compiled in *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant sur le Commerce à la Chine* by Louis Dermigny. Constant observed that many of these vessels surpassed their European counterparts in size and opulence. The boats were transformed into venues for revelry, where individuals engaged in socializing, imbibing inebriations and consuming sustenance while being serenaded by music. Additionally, some of these boats served as establishments for prostitution. ⁷⁹³ It is evident that the space within these boat structures serves a multitude of purposes, including hosting banquets, providing leisure and entertainment activities, and facilitating grocery sales. These boats, particularly those primarily intended for entertainment and hospitality purposes, can be regarded less as watercrafts and more as aquatic venues or lounges. It is also reflected in their local nicknames such as *sizhu dating* 四柱大厅 (four-poster hall) and *datingting* 大厅艇 (hall boat).

⁷⁹¹ It is translated based on the Chinese version. See Auguste Borget, *Auguste Borget de Guangzhou sanji* 奥古斯特·博尔热的广州散记, trans. Qian Linsen 钱林森 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2006), 21, 23, 26.

⁷⁹² On December 10, 1860, an American correspondent for the *New York Times* observed a gathering of boats as he approached Guangzhou: “We discovered the *Verlamet* gliding silently through a labyrinthine network of channels. We were astounded by the skillful maneuvers of the helmsmen who navigated at full speed with confidence amidst hundreds of sailboats and junks anchored in the heart of the river” 我们发现‘维尔拉麦号’在一条迷宫般错综复杂的航道上悄无声息地滑行。我们对舵手熟练的操作相当惊讶，他们能在成百上千只停泊在河流中心的帆船和舢板之间，毫无惧色地全速行驶。 See Zheng Xiyuan 郑曦原, ed., *Diguo de huiyi: Niuyue shibao wan Qing guan cha ji* 帝国的回忆：《纽约时报》晚清观察记 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), 13.

⁷⁹³ Charles de Constant, *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant sur le Commerce à la Chine*, compiled and edited by Louis Dermigny (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1964). Cited and translated in Geng Sheng 耿昇, “A Review of Memoirs of Guangzhou’s Foreign Trade in China’s 18th Century by Constant,” in *Jinan shixue* 暨南史学, eds. Ji Zong’an 纪宗安 and Tang Kaijian 汤开建, vol. 2 (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 2003), 368-369.

Additionally, numerous small vessels navigate between these larger ships to facilitate personnel exchanges, logistics distribution, and other essential services.

A retinue of the French minister Theodore de Lagrene (1800-1862), Dr. Yvan, who arrived in Guangzhou after Borger, likened the spatial structure composed of numerous boats to a “floating city” in his book. As the old city of Guangzhou is occupied by government and military barracks (Europeans are only allowed to enter under very special circumstances), for Westerners like him, “there exists only one joyous, poetical, noisy, and laborious Canton; this is the Canton of pleasure, of industry, and of business – that is to say, the suburbs and the floating city.”⁷⁹⁴ He astutely discerned the dual nature of this “floating city”:

The floating-city presents itself under two very different aspects: during the day, it is an industrial hive, whose moving honeycombs are occupied by a laborious and intelligent race – ever active, never flinching from the severest exactions of incessant toil. By night, the same city is a rich and beautiful courtesan, crowned with flowers, decked with bright jewels, murmuring, with winsome voice, quaint melodies and songs of love-in-idleness, and plying, with little reticence, her voluptuous trade, under the shadow of the dark.⁷⁹⁵

With the flourishing of the shipping trade, these pleasure boats, regarded as the happy and idealized “floating city of Guangzhou” by foreigners, evidently imply the spontaneous formation of a unique water pleasure quarter on the Pearl River. The practice may have originated from the *danhu* prostitutes (see 2.1.3), who turned to sexual services for income when their families could no longer rely on fishing. However, establishing prostitution boats on the Pearl River did not initially yield successful results. Guangzhou’s most renowned pleasure quarter was situated along the Yudai Hao 玉带濠 (Jade Belt River) in the city’s southern region from the Southern Song dynasty to the Ming dynasty.

Yudai Hao was initially excavated during the Northern Song dynasty as a moat outside the southern city wall. At that time, the surrounding area of this river consisted of flat land formed by silted river beaches. Due to its utilization as the Pearl River wharf, this region has gradually evolved into southern Guangzhou’s most prosperous commercial district. In the Ming dynasty, an outer city was constructed beyond the original Guangzhou city walls, and Yudai Hao was integrated into the urban fabric, culminating in unprecedented prosperity for this region. Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630-1696), in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, wrote in *Guangdong Xinyu* 广东新语 (The New Talk of Guangdong):

Guangzhou’s [Yudai] Hao water flows between the East and West Water Pass, meandering southward through the city. The ten-mile pleasure quarter was situated outside the Jingde 景德 Gate, adjacent to the city wall and facing Hao water in the south.

⁷⁹⁴ Dr. Yvan, *Inside Canton*, 55.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

Endless rows of crimson towers and painted pavilions stood side by side, housing the singsong girls within. The beautiful performers resided in close proximity to one another. This [pleasure quarter] was named Xi Jiaolou 西角楼. On the opposite bank, there were various stores and markets selling items from different regions, attracting merchants from all around the world. Bridges were frequently situated behind the houses, providing access to the pleasure quarter via water crossings. The banquet attendees all deemed this locale as a sumptuous setting. [...] During its peak in peaceful time, an abundance of spices, pearls, rhinoceros' horns, ivory [and other treasures] were amassed like towering mountains while the presence of flowers and birds resembled vast seas. Foreign nationals congregate here, expending millions of gold coins daily. The profusion of food and drink, as well as the frequency of music and dance, surpassed that of Qinhuai [pleasure quarter] by several times [...]

广州濠水，自东西水关而入，逶迤城南，径景德门外。背城旧有平康十里，南临濠水，朱楼画榭，连属不断，皆优伶小唱所居。女旦美者，鳞次而家，其地名“西角楼”。隔岸有百货之肆，五都之市，天下商贾聚焉。屋后多有飞桥跨水，可达曲中，宴客者皆以此为奢丽地。……当盛平时，香珠犀象如山，花鸟如海，番夷辐辏，日费数千万金。饮食之盛，歌舞之多，过于秦淮数倍……。⁷⁹⁶

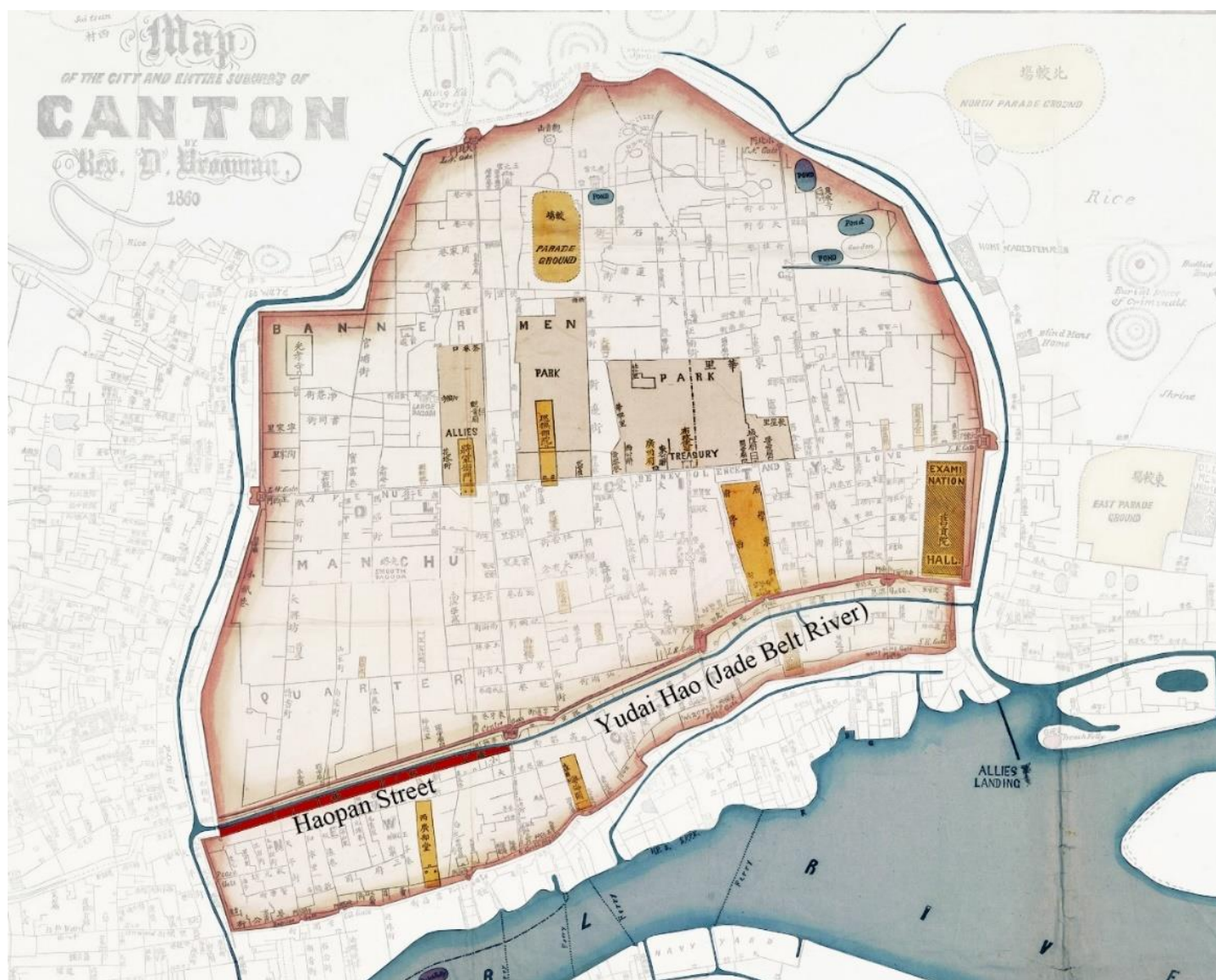


Fig. 2.4.2-2 The Yudai Hao in Guangzhou's southern region.

⁷⁹⁶ Qu Dajun, *Guangdong xinyu zhu*, 420.

From this record, it can be seen that Yudai Hao pleasure quarter was comparable to the Qinhuai counterpart model. However, during the Qing dynasty, Guangzhou's pleasure quarter shifted from Yudai Hao to the Pearl River. From the available historical records, it can be observed that literary works gradually increased their written depictions of pleasure quarter on the Pearl River after Qianlong's reign, and the buildings flanking Haopan Street 濠畔街 (Fig. 2.4.2-2) ceased to serve as brothels.⁷⁹⁷ This change was in line with the Qing government's policy of closing foreign trade ports in Fujian, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, leaving only Guangzhou as a trading port. The thriving commercial trade in the Pearl River Delta region has enticed business groups and merchants from all corners of the country to flock to Guangzhou for commerce. These affluent businessmen from around the country, whether for social or personal entertainment, require a more spacious and refined place where they can indulge in courtesans and music. This far exceeds the capacity of the original space along the Yudai Hao. Additionally, Haopan Street, the commercially most prosperous area, naturally attracts a large number of business groups from other provinces who have built various provincial guild halls one after another. It has resulted in limited land space for river houses where prostitutes once lived. In contrast to the cramped urban streets and buildings, the expansive water surface of the Pearl River aptly caters to the communication and recreational needs of numerous enterprising merchants.

In addition, to prevent banditry, Guangzhou City usually closed its gates after dusk to restrict entry and exit.⁷⁹⁸ For merchants who arrived by boat for trade in Guangzhou, dining within the city necessitated an overnight stay without proper supervision of their goods. Hence, conducting activities such as meeting with business partners and even hosting social events on water was unquestionably more expedient.

Finally, due to prolonged land siltation and consequent expansion of the wharf area to the south, Yudai Hao has gradually become unsuitable for unimpeded navigation by boats. Meanwhile, as previously discussed in relation to the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, boat-architecture's characteristics and symbolism played a crucial role in embodying men's goddess fantasies. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why Guangzhou's pleasure quarter eventually migrated towards the wider water surface of the Pearl River.

Under the influence of the above-mentioned factors, the Pearl River pleasure quarter,

⁷⁹⁷ For more documents on Haopan Street, see Huang Foyi 黄佛颐, *Guangzhou chengfang zhi* 广州城坊志, punctuated and collated by Zhong Wen 钟文 (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 1994), 258-260. For example: 广州南城之右, 为归德门。背城一带旧为押邪地, 南临缘水, 朱楼画榭, 鳞次相接。隔岸为濠畔街, 商贾聚焉。今街名依旧, 市肆依然, 而征歌艳饮之初, 则不能复问矣 (258, Yu Xunqing 俞洵庆, *Helang biji* 荷廊笔记); 宋南汉时, 妓馆多在南濠, 今皆为客寓, 即濠畔街 (260, Cai Shiyao 蔡士尧, *Jinghua shuwu shichao* 荆花书屋诗钞).

⁷⁹⁸ See Ouyang Juyuan 欧阳钜源, *Fupu xiantan*, in Ouyang Juyuan and Huang Shizhong 黄世仲, *Nianzai fanhua meng – Fupu xiantan* 廿载繁华梦 负曝闲谈 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1995), 277: 原来广东一省, 盗风甚炽, 一到黄昏, 便将城门紧闭, 无论什么人都叫不开的。所以, 到城外来逛的总是一夜, 第二天才能进城回去。

which took the shape of Dan people's prostitute boats, formed and developed into the most prestigious entertainment venue in Guangzhou. "In the midst of the month, as the full moon just ascends overhead, thousands of boats anchor on the water, forming a street where musical performances are staged. The ten-mile expanse of Pearl River is awash with women's rouge, and it is in Guangzhou that its affluence emanates" 十五盈盈初上头，水街弦管碇千舟。珠江十里胭脂水，流尽繁华是广州。⁷⁹⁹ This is a poem composed by Zhao Yi, one of the Guangzhou prefects in the Qing dynasty, describing the romantic scenery of the Pearl River. According to his records in *Yanpu zaji*, there were no fewer than seven or eight thousand boats used for prostitution on the Pearl River.⁸⁰⁰ Most of the female performers here have adopted the lifestyle of the Dan people, who reside on boats. Even those who live on land "have to embark on boats to conduct their business" 也要下船做生意。⁸⁰¹ Similarly, male consumers are also accustomed to hosting banquets and meetings on board.⁸⁰² As Jiang Jianguo 蒋建国 pointed out, although there were water-based pleasure quarters in the Jiangnan region that make use of water area (such as the Qinhuai Pleasure Quarter), "The operation of brothels on boats at such a large scale and for such an extended period, as was the case in mid-Qing dynasty Guangzhou, constituted a rare and unique phenomenon among Chinese cities throughout the entire Qing dynasty" 清代中期广州这种大规模、长时期集中在船上经营的妓院群落，在清代中国城市中是罕见的。⁸⁰³

Although the prosperity of the sex industry has resulted in issues such as human trafficking and exploitation of prostitutes,⁸⁰⁴ it has not been officially prohibited due to Guangzhou government officials viewing this aquatic pleasure quarter as a source of employment for locals and wealth redistribution. On the one hand, a sudden ban would result in tens of thousands of people being deprived of basic income, leading to severe social unrest. On the other hand, allowing its development can stimulate wealth consumption among the affluent and drive growth across related industries, ultimately elevating local economic

⁷⁹⁹ Zhao Yi 赵翼, *Oubei ji* 瓯北集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 1230.

⁸⁰⁰ See Zhao Yi, *Yanpu zaji*, 158-159: 广州珠江，昼船不下七八千，皆以脂粉为生计，猝难禁也。

⁸⁰¹ See Menghua guanzhu 梦花馆主, *Jiuwei hu* 九尾狐 (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang meishu chubanshe, 2014), 64: 船中的妓女大半以水为家，即使住在岸上，也要下船做生意的。

⁸⁰² See *ibid.*: 故不论富商贵介，均在船上摆酒，一样请客叫局，热闹得了不得。笙歌彻夜，弦管连宵，比苏州的热水船、秦淮河的荡湖船更胜十倍。

⁸⁰³ Jiang Jianguo 蒋建国, *Qinglou jiuying: Jiu Guangzhou de jiyuan yu jinü* 青楼旧影：旧广州的妓院与妓女 (Guangzhou: Nanfang ribao chubanshe, 2006), 17.

⁸⁰⁴ See Paul A. Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels and the Canton Flower Boats 1750-1930," *Revista de Cultura* 37, no. 1 (2011): 135-136; Zhang Chaojie 张超杰, "Pingmin shiye zhong de Guangzhou huachuan yu shehui bianqian" 平民视野中的广州花船与社会变迁, *Dazhong wenyi* 大众文艺, no. 20 (2016): 267; Ou Annian 欧安年, "Jiu Guangzhou changji wenti zhi lishi huigu" 旧广州娼妓问题之历史回顾, *Lingnan Culture and History*, no. 01 (1995): 46.

standards.⁸⁰⁵ This also resulted in the emergence of a unique department, Hebo Suo 河泊所, during the late Qing dynasty in Guangdong Province. The department was responsible for managing the Pearl River pleasure quarter and imposed *hua juan* 花捐 (flower tax) to augment government revenue. It is worth noting that this tax, which may not be as preposterous as Nanjing's *huazi juan* (see, 2.4.1), persisted until at least 1933. As the modern writer Ba Jin 巴金 (Li Yaotang 李尧棠, 1904-2005) wrote in his diary on June of 1933:

As my boat passed the final painted boat, my attention was immediately drawn to a larger boat that stood out from all others. Although splendid in appearance, it exuded a more solemn aura. [...] [Upon closer inspection,] I observed a police officer stationed at the prow and a sign affixed to its exterior bearing the inscription "XXXXX Flower Tax Tollhouse." Although succinct in nature, this signage served as an unequivocal indicator of those who profit from the exploitation of women. It is also easy to comprehend the magnitude of *huajuan's* contribution to the nation's annual revenue.

它走过最后一只画舫时，我却看见了一只大船，这只船与其余的完全不同，船上也是灯烛辉煌，但是它摆起了庄严的面孔。……我看见站在船头的一个警察和挂在船头的一块招牌，招牌上大书着“XXXXX 花捐征收处”。这块招牌不过十个字，它却清楚地告诉我们：真正靠着女人的皮肉吃饭的是一些什么人。至于国家每年收入的捐款数目之大，这也是容易理解的事了。⁸⁰⁶

The opulent indulgence of merchants and the complaisance and endorsement of the government constitute the primary impetus for the development of Pearl River's pleasure district. However, one cannot disregard the affirmative influence that boat-architecture's potential as a romantic space had on this entertainment area. Due to the vast expanse of the Pearl River, large pleasure boats were able to dock and navigate with ease. These vessels not only served as a venue for prostitutes to accompany their male clients while enjoying the scenery, but also provided ample residential space for said prostitutes. In the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, residential functions were not provided by boats but rather by river houses – the other form of boat-architecture relevant in our context. However, the Pearl River pleasure quarter's boat was utilized as a fully functional brothel, and thus deserves further study.

⁸⁰⁵ Zhao Yi once used these reasons to oppose the governor's request to ban the Pearl River prostitute boats. See Zhao Yi, *Yanpu zaji*, 158: 余守广州时，制府尝命余禁之。余谓此风由来已久。每船十余人，恃以衣食。一旦绝其生计，令此七八万人，何处得食？且缠头皆出富人，亦哀多益寡一道也。事遂已。

⁸⁰⁶ Ba Jin, *Ba Jin xuanji* 巴金选集, vol. 8 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2009), 36-37.

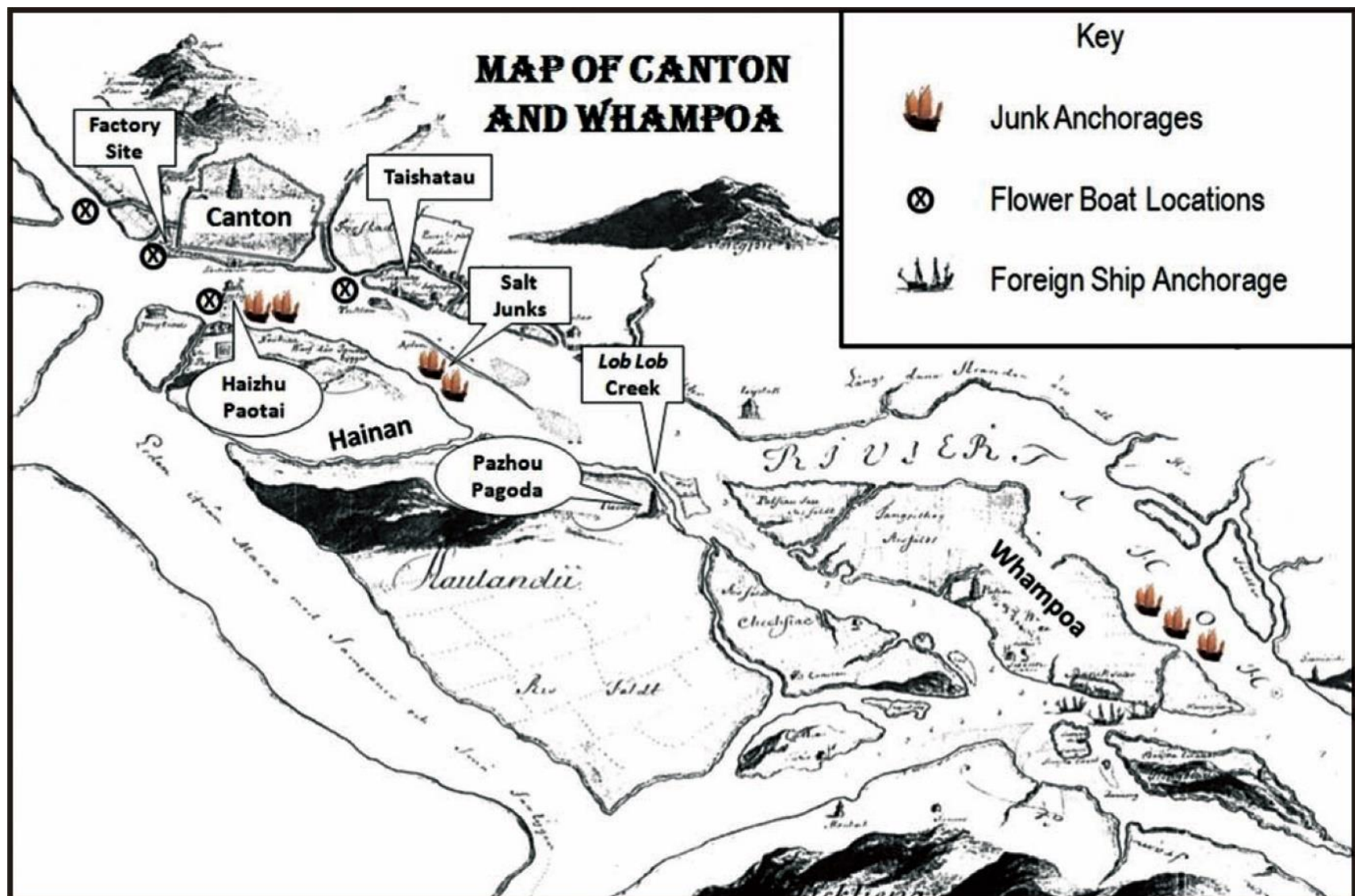


Fig. 2.4.2-3 The location of the flower boat and the *lob lob* boat, according to Van Dyke.

Van Dyke divided these brothel boats into two categories, *lob lob* boats and flower boats (Fig. 2.4.2-3). The former refers to small family-run brothels operated by *danhu*. They were generally moored on a small stream along the coast north of Pazhou Pagoda 琶洲塔. This creek was also called “*Loblob* Creek” by the Westerners at least until the 1860s.⁸⁰⁷ The location here, situated on the channel to Guangdong, provides a steady stream of customers for these small brothels from both returning sailors who have completed long voyages and foreign fleet sailors moored in Huangpu.

The corresponding Chinese names of “flower boat” are *huachuan* 花船, *huating* 花艇 or *huafang* 花舫, referring to the prostitute boats in the massive floating brothel zone moored on the Pearl River near Guangzhou city. During the Qianlong reign of the Qing dynasty (1736-1796), records about *huachuan* or *huafang* began to appear in the local gazetteers of Guangdong.⁸⁰⁸ Li Tiaoyuan 李调元 (1734-1803) also recorded in his *Nanyue biji* 南越笔记

⁸⁰⁷ Thanks to the information provided in Van Dyke’s article, it is known that this name is recorded in Tim Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventure of John Nicol, Mariner* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1997), 107; Alfred Spencer, ed., *Memoirs of William Hickey*. 4 vols. (London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1913; reprint 1950), vol. 1, 198; Mrs. H. Dwight Williams, *A Year in China; and a Narrative of Capture and Imprisonment, when Homeward Bound, on Board the Rebel Pirate Florida* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1864), 176. See Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 141: note 7, 10, 11.

⁸⁰⁸ Van Dyke gave the reference of these gazetteers in his article: The *Funing fu zhi* 福寧府志 and *Panyu xian zhi* 番禺縣志 show the terms being used in the Qianlong period.

(The Notes of Southern Yue, completed in late Qianlong reign):

Boats are ubiquitous in Guangdong. The boat designated for banqueting and sightseeing outside of Guangzhou is commonly referred to as a *huachuan* (flower boat), also known as *gaoweiting* 高尾艇 (high-tailed boat) or *binlangting* 檳榔艇 (betel nut boat). Some boat owners have been involved in prostitution, which has since been strictly prohibited and punished.

粵郡遍集舟航，廣州城外載酒移棹春游者名曰花船；又有高尾艇、檳榔艇諸名，船戶間有鬻色者，此風近已懲格。⁸⁰⁹

The available documentation indicates that these flower boats exhibited varying forms and adhered to a more obscure nomenclature system. On the one hand, each boat was likely assigned a unique name. This fact is corroborated by a letter bearing the signatures of multiple boat owners, which is provided in Van Dyke's article.⁸¹⁰ On the other hand, there was no precise classification when people referenced these boats. The disorderly nomenclature can be exemplified by the *zidongting* 紫洞艇 (*zidong* being a geographic name, yet literally translated as "purple-cave"), the most exemplary boat on the Pearl River. In the 26th year of Daoguang reign (1846), Zhou Shouchang 周寿昌 (1814-1884) took it as the general name of the flower boat when he toured Guangdong: "The most magnificent boats in the water region are those in the east of Guangdong, while those in Suzhou and Hangzhou pale in comparison. A variety of boats can be found [in Guangdong], collectively referred to as *zidongting*" 水国游船，以粤东为最华缛，苏、杭不及也。船式不一，总名为紫洞艇。⁸¹¹ In *Zhongguo changji shi* 中国娼妓史 (History of Chinese Prostitutes, published in 1932), Wang Shunu 王书奴 cited from the *Zhujiang huashi* 珠江花史 (The Prostitution History of the Pearl River), mentioned *zidongting* as a distinct category separate from *huafang* – the flower boat.⁸¹² The flower boat, *huating*, was also distinguished from the *zidongting* by Muramatsu Shōfu 村松梢風 (1889-1961) in his *南華に遊びて* (Touring in Southern China), which documented his experience in

Funing fu zhi, vol. 36, 689; and *Panyu xian zhi*, vol. 17, 338. He also mentioned that these terms continue to show up in Guangdong gazetteers up to the Republican Period. For several examples, see Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 141: note 22.

⁸⁰⁹ Li Tiaoyuan, "Huachuan" 花船, in *Nanyue biji*, cited in Fujiansheng yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui 福建省炎黄文化研究会 and Zhonggong Fuzhou shiwei xuanchuanbu 中共福州市委宣传部, eds., *Mindu wenhua yanjiu* 闽都文化研究 (Fuzhou: Haixia wenyi chubanshe, 2006), 780.

⁸¹⁰ See Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 124.

⁸¹¹ Zhou Shouchang 周寿昌, *Siyi Tang rizha* 思益堂日札, punctuated by Li Junzheng 李军政 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), 193.

⁸¹² Wang Shunu 王书奴, *Zhongguo Changji shi* 中国娼妓史 (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2004), 260.

Guangzhou. However, he described the *huating* as “lovely small-sized boat” 可愛らしい小さな船 with only “a small chamber under an arcing mat roof” 蒲鉾形の屋根の下の小さな座敷.⁸¹³

Therefore, a clear typology study on the flower boats and their corresponding names is temporarily impossible due to insufficient data. Instead, they can only be seen as a complex assembly of units with varying spatial scales but similar spatial structures. Based on available visual evidence, such as old photographs and paintings, these boats are roughly classified into three size categories, which will be elaborated upon through corresponding descriptions in literature records.



Fig. 2.4.2-4 The photograph of the typical flower boat, *zidongting*.

The medium-sized flower boats provided us with the most abundant imagery. Their depictions in photos and paintings share a striking resemblance, making them the most accurate representation of the name *zidongting* (Fig. 2.4.2-4). *Yueyou xiaoji* 粤游小记 (The Records of Travelling in Guangdong) recorded: “The *zidongting* on the river are all brothels. The boat has two floors and is called *henglou*, [...]” 河下紫洞艇，悉女閭也。艇有两层，谓之横楼。⁸¹⁴

⁸¹³ Muramatsu Shōfu 村松梢風, *Nanka ni asobite* 南華に遊びて (Ōsaka: Yagōshoten 大阪：屋号書店, 1931), 142.

⁸¹⁴ Zhang Xintai 张心泰, *Yueyou xiaoji* 粤游小记, cited in Lu Lin, ed., *Qingdai biji xiaoshuo leibian: Yanfen juan*, 454.

According to this document, *zidongting* was also called *henglou* 横楼.



Fig. 2.4.2-5 The photograph of the “Long double-decked boat,” *henglou*.

Fortunately, the image of *henglou* can be found in Qing dynasty paintings of Guangzhou (Fig. 2.4.2-5). As can be observed, the “Long double-decked boat” depicted in this image strikingly resembles the “flower boat” captured in the previous vintage photograph, thus unequivocally belonging to the same category. Dr. Yvan wrote about this type of *huachuan* in detail, which is also consistent with the image of *henglou* in the export painting:

The flower-boats of the first size, consist of two storeys: namely, a basement, or, if the reader prefers it, a first landing, and an upper storey. [...] The roof forms a terrace, which is usually furnished with tables and chairs. The basement is divided into a multitude of small apartments, decorated with rather free pictures, after the Chinese fashion, and each containing perhaps a table, a few chairs, and sometimes a bed. The upper storey serves as a cloak-room for the visitors of both sexes, and a store for the various articles consumed. This explains perfectly, by the way, the name given to these boats: Keng-Heou (*henglou*), which signifies compartments and storeys. [...]

The flower-boats are the great ornament of the floating city of Canton. Externally, they are decorated with unheard-of luxury, the entrance is covered with carving; the lateral parts, composed, so to say, of open work, are sculptured with an art of which the beautiful Chinese ivory fans can alone convey an idea. The main body of the boat is red, blue, or green, all the raised parts being carefully gilt. In front, four lanterns, brilliantly painted, are hung on masts, and, at the back, four lozenge-shaped streamers wave their joyous colours. The terraces, vestibules, and staircases, are decorated with large china vases, in which great bunches of flowers are constantly kept. [...]⁸¹⁵

As depicted in the image, the height of the first floor of *henglou* exceeds that of the second. The middle area of the first floor is generally used for entertaining guests, while the

⁸¹⁵ Dr. Yvan, *Inside Canton*, 142-143.

rear section is partitioned as bedrooms. For example, the novel *Jiuwei hu* 九尾狐 (Nine-tailed Fox) wrote: “The middle cabin has an unusually capacious and unobstructed layout, equivalent to the size of two rooms. [...] The rear cabin boasts a more opulent decor, with all bed curtains, bedding and other furnishings crafted from Guangdong gold embroidery that is resplendent in its vivid hues” 中舱开阔异常，足有两间房屋大小……再看到房舱里，点缀得更觉华丽。所有床帐被褥等件都用着广东金绣，五光十色，照耀眼帘。⁸¹⁶ *Fupu xiantan* 负曝闲谈 (Small Talks in Basking) mentioned: “The cabin has the capacity to accommodate four banquet tables, just like the main hall in a residence” 那舱可以摆得下四席酒，就和人家的厅屋一般。⁸¹⁷ According to Wang Shunu’s documentation, the prow area in the first floor can be utilized for relaxing in the cool breeze or sightseeing, while the middle and aft sections offer flexible partitioning options: “The large *zidongting* features an interior and exterior hall, separated by a brocade curtain that distinguishes between male and female areas. The decor is reminiscent of a flower boat, with a couch and round table situated at the prow for tourists to enjoy the cool breeze or admire the moon” 大的紫洞艇有内外厅，隔以锦帐，分别男女内外，陈设与花舫等，艇头置睡椅一，圆桌一，以备游客纳凉或赏月之用。⁸¹⁸

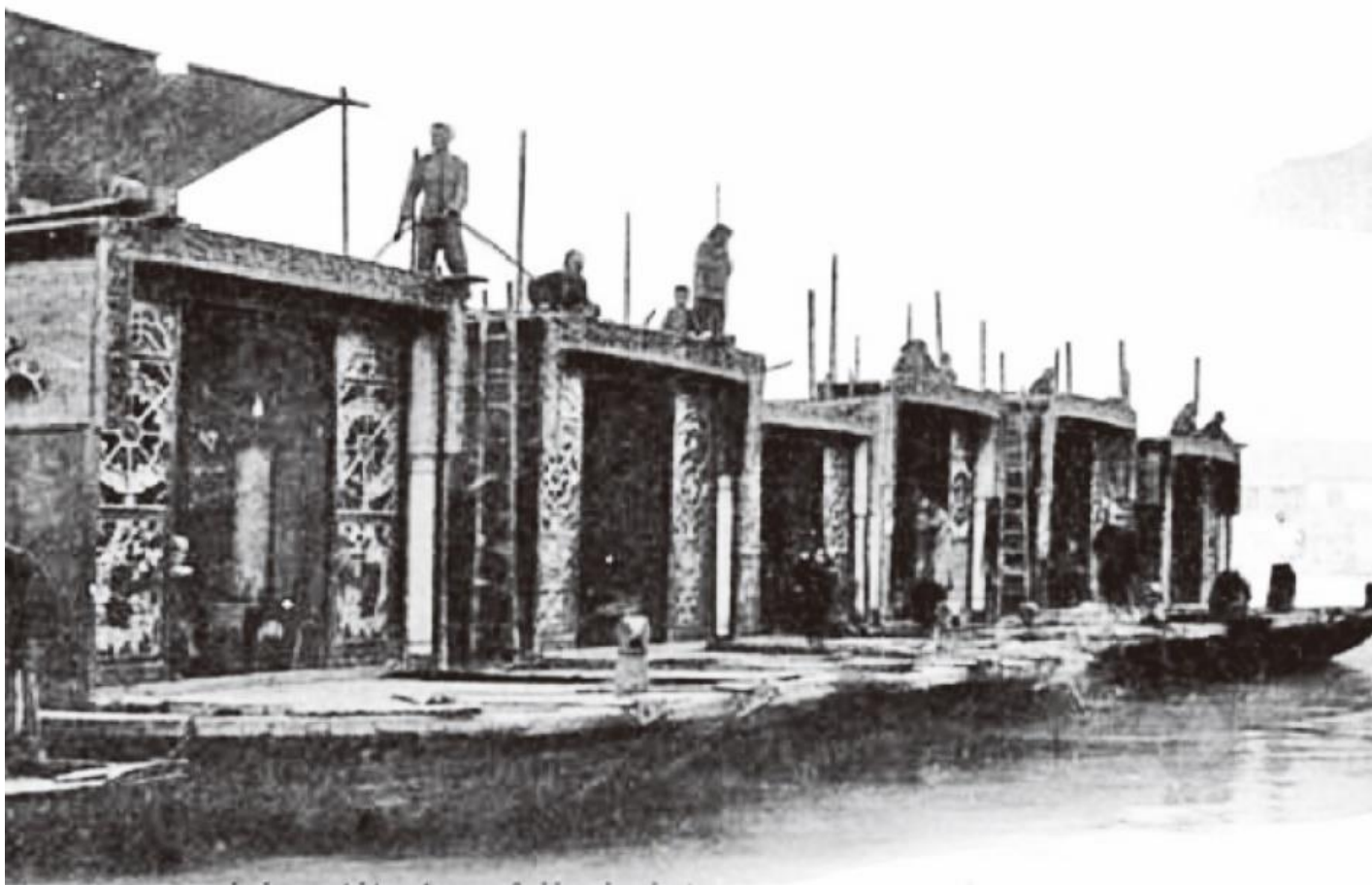


Fig. 2.4.2-6 The photograph of the fixed *zidongting*.

The *zidongting* is classified into two categories: fixed (Fig. 2.4.2-6) and movable. The former is typically docked at the East Embankment and Shamian Island for hosting banquets, while the latter is available for individuals to rent for river tours. Based on the images, it appears that there is no significant size difference between *zidongting* themselves, which may be

⁸¹⁶ See Menghua guanzhu, *Jiuwei hu*, 90.

⁸¹⁷ Ouyang Juyuan, *Fupu xiantan*, 277-278.

⁸¹⁸ Wang Shunu, *Zhongguo Changji shi*, 260.

attributed to their group spatial organization form – a topic that will be further discussed later.

Literature also documents a category of flower boats that possess a significantly larger space compared to the *zidongting*. This kind of boat resembled more of a floating brothel building, given its ability to accommodate a larger number of prostitutes. Liu Xutang 刘叙堂, a scholar in the late Qing dynasty, provided a detailed account of this particular type:

[...] The boat utilized for the purpose of prostitution is named *liao*. One *liao* can accommodate more than 100 prostitutes. The rooms are closely partitioned, like pigeon cages. There is a public hall which is furnished with exquisite decorations. The god of wealth is worshiped there. After the guests have enjoyed their tea, the steward positions himself under the eaves and calls for the girls. Just as the valley echoes the sounds from the hill, all the prostitutes flock like birds alighting. They are arranged in a line, awaiting the guests' closer inspection and selection of their preferred companions. [...] The calligraphy and paintings, the bedding and curtains, everything is exquisitely crafted. The lanterns and basins, the mirrors and dressing cases, nothing is wanting.

……所居楼船，名之为寮，一寮贮百余妓，比屋分房，形如鸽笼。中有公堂，铺设华丽，供奉财神。客至奉茶毕，管事立于檐前，大呼挂号，山鸣谷应，众妓闻声而出，如鸟飞基。排立，请客细观，意中所属何人，……床帐字画，靡不精细，灯盆镜奁，无一不备。⁸¹⁹

Another description was given by Wang Shunu in his *Zhongguo changji shi*:

The flower boats of Gubu house courtesans in the midship, each with her own cabin known as the *baige long* (cage of the white dove). The boat has halls at both ends, a front hall in the prow and a back hall in the stern. A room called the cabinet room is located at the rudder area. The front and back halls serve as banquet spaces, and are lavishly furnished. Upon entering, one would experience the sensation of residing in a floating abode.

谷埠花舫，以艇肚住妓女。各有房舱，名叫白鸽笼。艇面有厅，前有前厅，尾有尾厅。舵尾有房，名叫柜底房。头尾厅为宴客之所，陈设华丽，一入其中，几不知为浮家泛宅了。⁸²⁰

These grandiose flower boats may feature a central public hall, or may have halls located at either end of the vessel, or a combination of both. A significant portion of the

⁸¹⁹ Liu Xutang, *Yueyou cao* 粤游草, cited in *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao* 广州文史资料, vol. 18, ed. Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Guangdong sheng Guangzhou shi weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议广东省广州市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1980), 312.

⁸²⁰ Wang Shunu, *Zhongguo Changji shi*, 261-262.

remaining space is allocated for residential purposes, specifically for prostitutes. Despite the limited area, these luxurious prostitute ships boast exquisitely decorated and fully equipped living quarters for their occupants.



Fig. 2.4.2-7 The photograph of a large flower boat.

There is a scarcity of images depicting these large brothel boats. An old photograph displays what appears to be a capacious boat with the capacity to house approximately dozens of bedrooms (Fig. 2.4.2-7). Judging from the relative size of individuals in the picture, it can be deduced that the length of this boat measures approximately that of two *zidongting*. The front section comprises a single storey with the upper level serving solely as a platform, whereas the top platform of the rear section is marginally elevated, suggesting that its interior may be bifurcated into two levels. In addition, towards the front of the latter section lies a pavilion-like structure on the platform, which could potentially serve as the “public hall” for guests mentioned in literature. It is probable that the steward stands beneath the eaves of this location to procure prostitutes for the guests.

The smallest type of flower boat is scarcely larger than a diminutive bedroom. Wang Shunu elucidated its nomenclature: “The prostitutes who keep the guests overnight use this kind of boat as a place for sexual activities, so it is called *yinyuanting* 姻缘艇 (marriage boat)” 妓女留髡的即以此艇为阳台，所以叫姻缘艇。⁸²¹ For example, in “*Zhujiang huafang ji*” 珠江花舫记 (The Record of the Pearl River Flower Boat), Wang Tao documented the story of a prostitute named Caiyu 彩玉: “[...] After a while, Caiyu became intoxicated and Shufang feigned drunkenness, so they stayed overnight in a *yinyuanting*. In the dead of night, when [Shufang] stirred from slumber, he found Caiyu nestled snugly in his embrace” ……须臾彩玉

⁸²¹ Ibid., 262.

竟醉，而漱芳佯作玉山颓矣，于是同宿姻缘艇上。夜半酒醒，彩玉已纵体入怀。⁸²²

Fupu xiantan also mentioned this kind of boat as *pitiaoting* 皮条艇 (pimping boat), as documented in the text:

Beside the *zidongting*, there is a type of boat known as *pitiaoting*, which is specifically designed for guests and girls to spend the night. Despite being closely adjacent to the *zidongting*, they are significantly lower in height by about five or six feet. If a man frequents [the pleasure quarter], he can easily jump down [from the *zidongting* to the *pitiaoting*]; otherwise, he risks submerging in the water upon rolling over.

紫洞艇旁边，有一种小船叫作皮条艇，是专门预备客人带着姑娘到其中过夜去的。这皮条艇虽紧紧靠着紫洞艇，一个太矮，一个太高，相距总是五六尺光景。要是惯家，一跳便跳下去；不然，一翻身跌下水去，那可无影无踪的了。⁸²³

Zhou Yueran 周越然 (1885-1962) recorded a diary of Sun Nanzhou 孙南周,⁸²⁴ which described this kind of boat in his essays: “Those on board shall hire another boat for the night and refrain from remaining aboard. [...] Its name is *yuanyangting* 鸳鸯艇 (mandarin duck boat), also known as *yinyuanting*. The bedding and curtains are neat and tidy, the tea and desserts are clean and ready, as well as a comprehensive set of toiletries” 船上者，另加雇船过夜，不准在船上住……其船名鸳鸯艇，又曰姻缘艇，床帐齐整，茶点洁备，水浆褰布均全。⁸²⁵

Muramatsu Shōfu also cryptically recorded his overnight stay in such a boat with a boat girl, A Jin 阿金:

The cabin, as narrow as a birdcage, is adorned with gilded and brightly colored accents throughout. Its arching canopy curves like a fish cake and is so low that one cannot stand up straight. The floor is covered in woven bamboo matting. At the boundary between the main room and alcove lies a one-inch step, upon which two exquisite doors are set. Ornate plaques and couplets hang there. [...]

[...] As I prepared for bed within the boat, A Jin retrieved bedding and pillows from the bottom of the boat. She drew a crimson curtain closed towards the front-facing side and secured a heavy tarp over it.

⁸²² Wang Tao, “Zhujiang huafang ji,” in Wang Wenru, ed., *Xiangyan congshu*, 216.

⁸²³ Ouyang Juyuan, *Fupu xiantan*, 279-280.

⁸²⁴ The available records on this individual are scarce, with only one surviving diary entry from the eighth lunar month in the fourth year of Guangxu reign to the eighth lunar month in the seventh year of Guangxu reign. The majority of its contents pertain to the customs and traditions of Guangdong, including a mention of his visit to Wang Tao in Hong Kong.

⁸²⁵ Zhou Yueran 周越然, *Zhou Yueran jingdian zuopin xilie: Fengsu suitan* 周越然经典作品系列：风俗随谈 (Ha'erbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 58.

其の部屋は鳥籠のやうに狭くて、そして金箔と螺鈿が隙間なく鏤めてある。蒲鉾なりに彎曲してゐる天井は低くて真っ直ぐに立つことができなかつた。床には竹を編んだ敷物が敷いてある。胴の方との境には一寸した腰があつて、其の上に二本の綺麗な戸が立てゝある。其處には額や聯が懸つておる。……
……私の船では寝る仕度をした。阿金は船底から蒲團や枕を取り出した。表へ面した方へは紅い幕を掛け、更に其の外側を厚い防水布で包んでしまった。
826

A wirephoto depicted the *yinyuanting* in 1949 (Fig. 2.4.2-8), revealing its buoyant appearance with an upper structure that was remarkably lightweight. The stern installed two operable panels which may correspond to Matsumura's description of the exquisite doors adorned with plaques and couplets. The other three sides were devoid of walls and instead draped with curtains. The outermost curtain that nearly touches the water's surface in the photograph appears to be a dark, low-hanging "tarp", as Matsumura had suggested. The interior of the boat may be compact, yet it is still compartmentalized into fore, midship and aft areas through the creation of a sunken central space. Located at the fore is a deck featuring a bonsai tree in one corner, with its port and starboard sides extending inward to form seating areas flanking the sunken central space. The recessed area serves as a foot stretching zone and is equipped with a small square table.

Prior to being draped in curtains and tarps, the *yinyuanting* is open to public viewing, with most activities centered around the sunken space at its core. Matsumura once depicted a scene where individuals were gathered around these small tables, with some engaging in the game of mahjong while others indulged in alcoholic beverages.⁸²⁷ The sunken area is encompassed by accessible storage spaces, which are visible on the left side of the photograph. It is plausible that A Jin retrieved the bedding and pillows from these storage spaces. Once the guest is prepared for slumber, the focal point shifts further back towards the internal section of the bed. The front portion without walls is draped with a "red curtain," while its exterior surface is enveloped in a thick tarp. At this juncture, the outer perimeter of this space is obscured by the tarpaulin, rendering it concealed from reality. The occupants aboard the vessel further discern the hue of the weighty crimson drapery and interpret its message conveyed through undulating water waves – a realm of elusive reveries.

⁸²⁶ Muramatsu Shōfu, *Nanka ni asobite*, 144, 146.

⁸²⁷ Muramatsu Shōfu, *Nanka ni asobite*, 141-142.



Fig. 2.4.2-8 The wirephoto depicted the *yinyuanting* in 1949.



Fig. 2.4.2-9 The water street formed by the *zidongting*.

These three distinct types of flower boats, varying in size, comprised the floating pleasure quarter on the Pearl River. In this floating city, the medium-sized ones, referred to as *zidongting*, served as the fundamental framework. As Wang Tao wrote, “The rows of *zidongting* are arranged in an orderly fashion, resembling the formation of wild geese and as tightly packed as fish scales. They are closely interconnected, almost forming a bustling street market where people can freely wander back and forth” 紫洞艇排如雁齿，密若鱼鳞，栉比蝉联，几成衢市，可以信足往来。⁸²⁸ It can be observed that these *zidongting*, which are of similar shape and size, are closely interconnected, forming a spatial pattern akin to a street (Fig. 2.4.2-9). The *zidongting* in the “street” belong to the aforementioned type that hosts banquets and generally remain anchored year-round with infrequent movement. One drawback of boats with this shape

⁸²⁸ Wang Tao, “Zhujiang huafang ji,” 214.

is their high center of gravity, which makes them vulnerable to wind and waves. For example, *Fanyuxian xuzhi* 番禺县续志 (Continued Chronicle of the Fanyu County) recorded: “[...] The boat’s shallow draft causes it to be top-heavy and bottom-light, resulting in precarious situations when encountering wind and waves. Therefore, the boat is always moored rather than moved” 舟底甚浅，上重下轻，偶遇风涛，动至危险，故每泊而不行。⁸²⁹ As an old photograph depicted, four *zidongting* connected together in their movement could be one way to keep their stability (Fig. 2.4.2-10). On the other hand, prolonged parking may lead to structural deterioration and compromise its stability upon movement. This is evidenced by the letter penned by the flower boat owners to Mr. Forbes of the American firm Russell and Company on March 25th, 1868. The owners stated in their correspondence to the request of moving that “some of the boats were in very poor condition and might sink if they were moved.”⁸³⁰

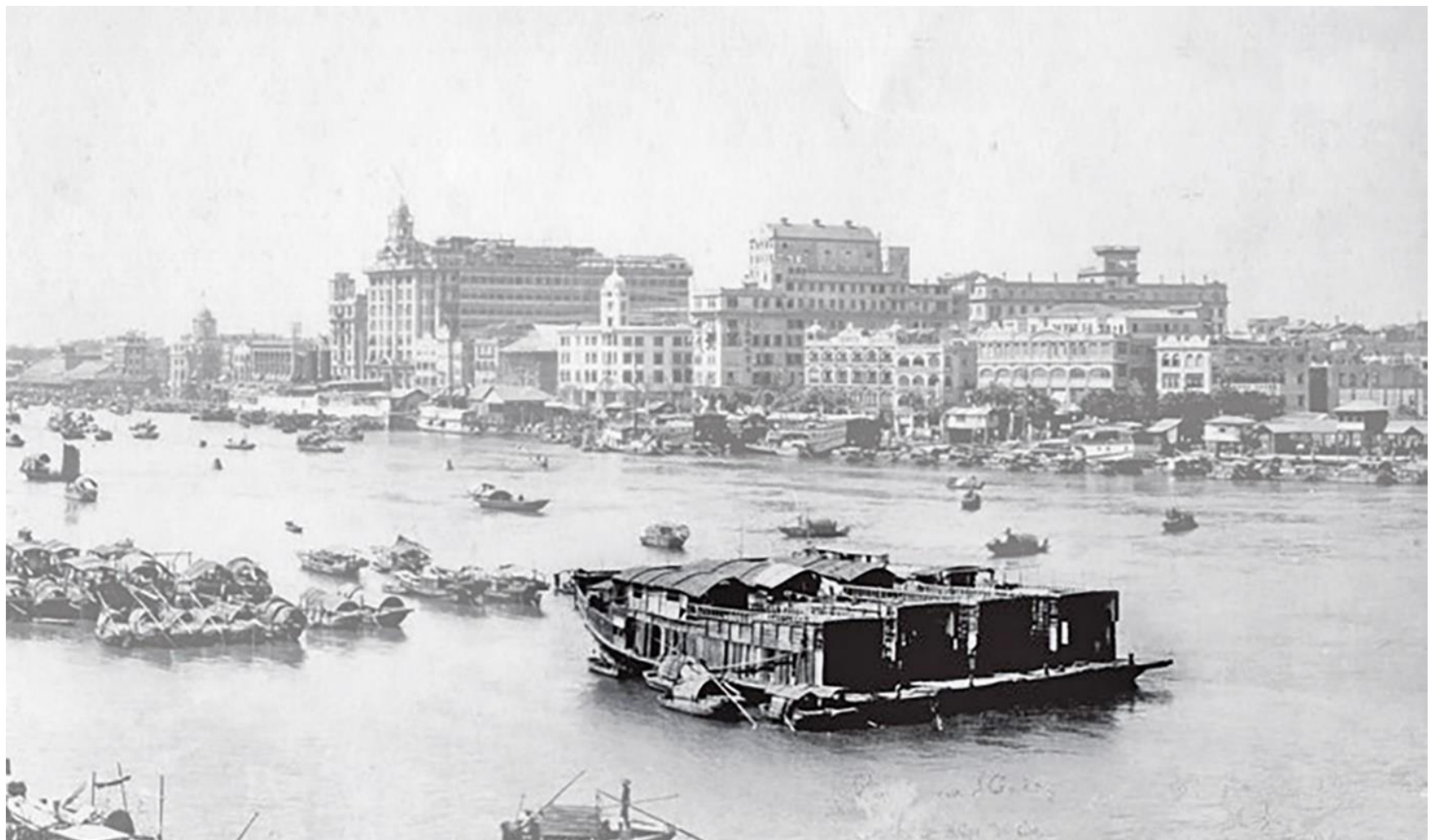


Fig. 2.4.2-10 The photograph of four *zidongting* connected together.

Although the confusing nomenclature of flower boats by recorders sometimes makes it difficult to discern which type of boat is being referred to, contextual evidence from certain documents indicates that this form of spatial organization might also employed by other types of boats. Liu Shixin 刘世馨 (1752-1837), a native of Guangdong who was born during the

⁸²⁹ Liang Dingfen 梁鼎芬 and Ding Renchang 丁仁长, *Xuantong fanyuxian xuzhi* 宣统番禺县续志 (1931 reprinted edition), vol. 44, 9a. See *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Anhui fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成: 广东府县志辑, vol. 7, comp. Shanghai shudian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2003), 609.

⁸³⁰ For further information, see Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 120-125.

Qianlong reign, recorded in *Yuexie* 粤屑 (Pieces of Guangdong) that the flower boats “are arranged in the first, second and third lines [...] The first line is where the elite courtesans reside. Across a bridge and up a ladder lies the *liao*, known as *liaowei*, which houses the top-tier courtesans. [...] Moreover, there are rows of flower boats named *henglou* that line up with their dazzling lights shining through the waves” 有第一行、第二行、第三行之目，……其第一行，珠娘之上品者居之。桥而梯上之有寮焉，名寮尾，尤品者居之。……又有花船横楼，摆列成行，灯彩辉煌，照耀波间，令人应接不暇。⁸³¹ From the way that he wrote *henglou* (i.e. *zidongting*) separately, it can be inferred that the previous ones referred to the larger type. Furthermore, the name *liao* is also consistent with Liu Xutang’s statement.



Fig. 2.4.2-11&12 The Dan people’s settlement on boat.

This practice of interconnecting boats may have been influenced by the spatial organization pattern of the Dan people’s settlement on boat (Fig. 2.4.2-11&12). Zhao Yi once recorded:

⁸³¹ Liu Shixin, *Yuexie*, cited in Huang Foyi, *Guangzhou chengfang zhi*, 635.

The boats of the Dan people form a settlement that stretches for seven or eight *li*, consisting of over ten layers arranged in rows. Pillars are anchored [into the water] to elevate the boat above its surface, and they remain steadfast against strong winds and waves. The water streets lie in between, serving as a thoroughfare for hundreds of boats.

蛋船所聚长七八里，列十数层，皆植木以架船，虽大风浪不动。中空水街，小船数百往来其间。⁸³²



Fig. 2.4.2-13 The multi-layered linear spatial structures of Dan people's settlement on the Pearl River.

Unable to live ashore, the Dan people devised methods to anchor their boats against the relentless waves. As securing boats in deeper waters becomes increasingly challenging, their settlements are limited in how far they can extend into the sea. Therefore, a spontaneous formation of multi-layered linear spatial structures along the shoreline emerged as their settlements expanded (Fig. 2.4.2-13). The waterways between these rows functioned as navigable thoroughfares for boats.

Liu Shixin recorded a brothel with waterborne wooden structures erected on stilts:

The wooden houses, erected on stilts, comprise corridors, bedrooms, halls and pavilions or terraces that are named as *ting*, *guan* or *yuan*. Adorned with opulent hues of gold and emerald and embellished with western brocade carpets on the floors; these abodes belie their true location of being afloat in water. The windows and doors are decorated with peacock feathers and glass that vie for attention in their grandeur yet remain distinct from each other.

⁸³² Zhao Yi, *Yanpu zaji*, 158.

架木成板屋，为廊为房，为厅为堂，亭阁台榭毕具。又若亭、若馆、若苑不一名。金碧迷离，皆用洋锦氍毹铺垫，不知其在水涘也。孔翠蓬窗，玻璃棂牖，各逞淫侈，无雷同者。⁸³³

This waterside brothel shows a combination of architectural form found in *dan* settlements and the aesthetics of literati gardens.

The floating pleasure quarter on the Pearl River was constructed not depending on supporting pillars; instead, it was assembled by boats connected to each other with wooden planks, iron nails, and chains. A few extracts shall give an image how common they were integrated in everyday life. According to Liu Shixin, “The boats are interconnected by planks and nails, forming a level pathway. Their opposite arrangements create a small harbor in between, which can be traversed in a zigzag manner.” 其船用板排钉，连环成路如平地。对面排列，中成小港，层折贯通。⁸³⁴ *Fupu xiantan* recorded that these boats were interconnected with chains: “The boat slowly navigated to the opposite bank and docked prow-to-prow with the row of chained boats, creating a alley-like [space]” 那船慢慢的开到对河，与那一排铁链锁住的船，面对面一排停着，船头相接，赛如一条弄堂。⁸³⁵ Many photographers had documented such scenes. From the several old photographs in Van Dyke’s article, we can see that these boats were joined together (see Fig. 2.4.2-6&9&15). Despite occasional minor irregularities, pedestrians were able to move back and forth without hindrance.

Between the two rows of connected boats, “the distance is about three *zhang*, allowing the ‘*shating*’ 沙艇 (sand boat) to travel” 中离三丈许，可容“沙艇”往来。⁸³⁶ These so-called “sand boats” are shallow-draft vessels designed for passenger transportation. In addition, some kitchen boats also congregate along the waterways, awaiting opportunities to conduct their business.⁸³⁷ The majority of food and beverages are prepared and served by these kitchen boats, with the exception of larger ones that may possess their own onboard kitchens. Shen Fu 沈复 poetically described this scene in *Fusheng liuji* 浮生六记:

A resplendent moon in the clear sky is reflected on the vast expanse of water. Interlaced like drifting leaves are the wine boats; twinkling like the stars are their lamps onboard. More small boats gracefully navigating through the water like combs and shuttles, the melodies of instruments and songs blending with the rhythmic tide, leaving onlookers in awe.

一轮明月，水阔天空。纵横如乱叶浮水者，酒船也。闪烁如繁星列天者，酒船之

⁸³³ Liu Shixin, *Yuexie*, 635.

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

⁸³⁵ Ouyang Juyuan, *Fupu xiantan*, 278.

⁸³⁶ Wang Shunu, *Zhongguo Changji shi*, 261-262.

⁸³⁷ For more details, see Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 126, 128.

灯也。更有小艇，梳织往来。笙歌弦索之声，杂以长潮之沸，令人情为之移。⁸³⁸

Wang Tao also wrote:

There are several other vessels for the storage and sale of goods. Should one require anything, it is easily obtainable. During the night, the moon shines brightly and a refreshing breeze blows while the waves remain still as mirrors, illuminating with clarity from shining glass lights. Groups of boat girls, having just completed their evening makeup, elegantly pose in a variety of gestures.

别有数船，储货出鬻，如或有所缺乏，取携甚便。至夜，月明风清，波平若镜，琉璃灯火，皎洁如昼。所有珠娘，成群结队，晚妆初罢，妖态万方。⁸³⁹

Matsumura put it more informally:

We called the kitchen boat, had them cook in front of us and drank some strong liquor. The water street became increasingly bustling, with a multitude of food vendors' vessels roaring back and forth. The boats transporting the boat girls are akin to a floating river, shuttling between incoming and outgoing vessels.

私達は料理船を呼んで目の前で料理を作らせ、強い焼酒を少量飲んだ。水の上の街は賑やかさを増すばかりであった。いろんな飲食物を賣る船が呼聲をあげて通る。遊女の送り迎ひをする盪のやうな小さな船が、行き交ふ艇の間を縫ひながら矢のやうに走って行く。⁸⁴⁰

Ba Jin, conducted a more detailed description in his writings in June, 1933:

It was strange that, after a turning, before I knew it, our boat had drifted into a place resembled the bustling streets of a small city. My eyes were opened to a new world. On either side were sparkling shops with people sitting in front of each door – at least one young woman inside, sometimes two or three – all with heavily powdered faces. Yet they did not pay much attention to their clothes, most wore light jackets and shorts while going barefoot...

What kind of street is this?

No, those are not shops. They are boats. They are painted boats. They are bigger and better than our boat, lining up on either side to create a pathway for passing pleasure

⁸³⁸ Shen Fu, *Fusheng liuji*, annotated by Qiu Chongbing 邱崇丙 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993), 95.

⁸³⁹ Wang Tao, “Zhujiang huafang ji,” 214.

⁸⁴⁰ Muramatsu Shōfu, *Nanka ni asobite*, 144.

boats. There are four streets like this. Our boat is about to pass through them.

[...] At this moment, many pleasure boats crowded in the middle of the street, rendering the oars useless. The boats were next to each other, so close together that there was hardly any space between them. To propel the boat, one must rely upon a bamboo pole and some hands. [...]

The busy market was not over yet. As we continued on our way, with brightly painted boats moored one by one along the shore. Some boats' guests were playing mahjong; Some boats' girls were sitting in the prow of the passing boat, doing business, while other boats had women applying makeup in front of mirrors.

很奇怪，一转弯，在我不知不觉间我们的船就好像流进了一个闹市。我仿佛坐着黄包车走过一个小城市的热闹街道。我的眼界变换了。两边都是灯烛辉煌的商店，每一家门前都坐了几个人，里面至少有一个年轻女子，有时候还有两三个。她们的脸上粉擦得很多；衣服却并不讲究，大都是一身浅色短衣短裤，脚全光着……

这是什么样的街道呢？

不，两边不是什么商店，它们都是船，都是画舫。它们比我们的船大，比我们的船好。它们排列在两边，中间留下一段路让来往的游船经过。这样的街，一共有四条。我们的小船就要走过四条街。

……这时候许多游船在街中间拥挤着。桨简直没有用处。船靠着船，而且靠得那么紧，差不多没有一点缝隙。要移动船，就要靠着一根竹竿和一些手。……

这闹市还没有完结。我们的船继续往前走。两旁的画舫依旧固定地摆在那里。一只一只地紧紧挨着。有几只上面的客人在打麻将；有几只上面的姑娘坐在船头向走过的船只兜生意；有几只上面的姑娘们对着镜子在搽粉。⁸⁴¹

According to a book titled *Laoguangzhou de jiyi* 老广州的记忆 (Memories of the Old Guangzhou) compiled by the Guangzhou Local Chronicle Office, “prostitute boats were concentrated in the areas of *guipengwei* in Huangsha and the iron bridge on the East Embankment” 妓艇较为集中的要算是黄沙“鬼棚尾”和东堤铁桥边一带。⁸⁴²

Sitiao jie 四条街, the “four streets” of boats, as described by Ba Jin, referred to the floating pleasure quarter located at the so-called *guipeng wei* 鬼棚尾 (tail of the devil's shed).⁸⁴³ “*Guipeng* (devil's shed) is [the name for] the concession (Shameen Island), because Chinese used to call the Westerner *yangguizi* 洋鬼子 (foreign devil)” “鬼棚”是租界（即沙面），因为中国人从前叫西洋人做洋鬼子。⁸⁴⁴ As the eastern part of the concession is regarded as the “head” and the western part as the “tail,” therefore, the term “devil's shed tail”

⁸⁴¹ Ba Jin, *Ba Jin xuanji*, vol. 8, 36.

⁸⁴² Deng Youquan 邓佑全 and Chen Yanxia 陈燕霞, ed., *Lao Guangzhou de jiyi* 老广州的记忆 (Guangzhou: Guangzhou shi Baiyun qu difangzhi bangongshi, 2017), 135.

⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

refers to the west of Shameen Island.

The water pleasure quarter near the East Embankment was called *san malu* 三马路 (the Third Road). Like the *sitiao jie*, it was recorded that:

The so-called *san malu* did not refer to a road, but rather to the orderly arrangement of prostitute boats from the shore to the river in two rows. A wide passage was left in the middle for boats to enter and exit freely, hence why it was called a ‘road.’ There were several such ‘roads’ from the East Embankment to Donghao Chong, with a large dock onshore for people to disembark.

所谓“三马路”，这不是马路名，而是“妓艇”从岸边整齐地分两边并排延伸至江面上，两排船的中间留有宽阔的通道，使船艇出入自如，因此称为“马路”，这些所谓的“马路”在东堤至东濠涌口多达几条。而在岸边有大码头供人上落。⁸⁴⁵

In addition to functioning as a brothel, during periods of slow business, it “also served as an inn available for rent by individuals from all corners of the country” 也作为旅店供四乡客租住 (Fig. 2.4.2-14).⁸⁴⁶



Fig. 2.4.2-14 The boats served as inns available for rent.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid.

Regarding the distribution of pleasure quarters along the Pearl River, Zhang Xintai 张心泰 (b. 1857), noted: “According to locals: These boats (*zidongting*) were originally anchored near Shameen but have since relocated to Gubu in recent years and are now settling in Nandutou (Southern Dock), which represents only one-tenth of their presence 30 years ago” 土人云：此艇（紫洞艇）本泊沙面，近年始移谷埠，今又迁南渡头，较三十年前，仅十之一矣。⁸⁴⁷

Van Dyke also did some research and he argued that: “From 1750 to 1850, there were three areas where Canton flower boats were normally stationed. Some time after 1850, a fourth group emerged.”⁸⁴⁸ In the four sites Van Dyke mentioned, the first is Shamen Island, the second is Tashatau Island, and the third is the area in front of the Factories, and the fourth is located near the Dutch folly.⁸⁴⁹ With the aid of Van Dyke’s research and Zhang Xintai’s records, as well as relevant modern sources such as local gazetteers and novels, we can more accurately deduce the location and resettlements of the pleasure quarters along the Pearl River.

The water pleasure quarter near Shameen was established during the earliest period, specifically around the Qianlong reign. Van Dyke noted that when Shameen Island was occupied as a concession by Anglo-French troops, “these flower boats moved farther upriver.”⁸⁵⁰ In this context, the “upstream” is situated towards the west, which aligns with the recorded name of *guipeng wei* in local gazetteers. “These boats serviced the community in the western suburbs and the tens of thousands of people traversing the river.”⁸⁵¹

Gubu 谷埠, as mentioned by Zhang Xintai, refers to a geographical location situated in close proximity to the old Factories, which is the third location according to Van Dyke. “They serviced the prominent Canton merchants, local officials, and inland agents who arrived each year from the interior.”⁸⁵² *Fupu xiantan* described it as:

Across from the Gubu is the flower fields. The jasmine and yellow jasmine planted in the flower field, resembled a verdant forest. On nights of full moon, they appeared like snowflakes adorning the sky. These *zidongting* are anchored on both sides of the Gubu, resembling a perpetual Hanshi Festival during the day and an eternal Lantern Festival at night [because of the candles and lanterns in the boats].

谷埠对面就是花田。花田栽的茉莉花、素馨花，一望成林，到了好月亮的时候，望过去便如天上下了雪的一般。这些紫洞艇都在谷埠两边停着，真个是朝朝寒

⁸⁴⁷ Zhang Xintai, *Yueyou xiaoji*, 454.

⁸⁴⁸ Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 118.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*

食，夜夜元宵。⁸⁵³

However, in the twentieth year of Guangxu reign (1894), Gubu was devastated by a fire that originated from a large flower boat and quickly spread to the Shameen Island.

After the Gubu fire, the foreign consuls requested that the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi prohibit boats from mooring near Shameen Island. Although this request was denied, the subsequent governor ordered for flower boats to be relocated to Dasatou,⁸⁵⁴ the second site mentioned by Van Dyke (Tashatau Island). According to his research, the pleasure quarter here “remained in this area at least until January 1909, when most of them were destroyed by a devastating fire.”⁸⁵⁵ This fire, resulted in the relocation of the pleasure quarter slightly westward to the East Embankment, as recorded in local gazetteers, and gradually led to a shift away from boats and towards land-based activities.⁸⁵⁶ From a temporal perspective, this location may correspond to Zhang Xintai’s Nandutou; however, it remains unclear whether Nandutou is an alternative name for Dashatou due to the difficulty in pinpointing its exact whereabouts.

Regarding the fourth site mentioned by Van Dyke, it appears to be absent from Chinese historical records. According to him, the flower boats here “serviced the hundreds of sailors that arrived every year on the Asian junks and the sailors on the Canton junks when they were in harbour.”⁸⁵⁷ Perhaps this is why the literati did not keep extensive records of it, resulting in an unknown spatial configuration for this pleasure quarter. It might resemble the first three or could have been unstructured as well.

Regardless of their location, it is evident that these floating pleasure quarters on the Pearl River possessed a strong heterotopic quality. From the Qianlong reign to the Republic of China, the aquatic prostitute industry flourished in Guangzhou. In the mind of the Cantonese who have developed a routine of dining and revelry aboard watercrafts, two divergent worlds coexist – the “flower realm” of the water goddesses along the Pearl River and the “mundane realm” inhabited by common folk on its banks. During the late Qing dynasty, the heterogeneity of this fantastical space on the Pearl River in Guangzhou was more conspicuous than any other floating pleasure quarters due to its triple overlapping heterotopia.

The first heterotopia was a daily space that accommodated aquatic livelihoods, and was predominantly shaped by the activities of the Dan people. As previously mentioned, the Dan people were a distinctive group in China, embodying a lifestyle that diverged from the mainstream. This heterogeneity was evidently passed down to the floating pleasure quarters of

⁸⁵³ Ouyang Juyuan, *Fupu xiantan*, 277.

⁸⁵⁴ Liu Guoxing 刘国兴, “Qingmo yihou de Guangzhou changji” 清末以后的广州娼妓, in *Wenshi ziliao jingxuan* 文史资料精选, vol. 1, ed. *Wenshi ziliao xuanji bianjibu* 《文史资料选辑》编辑部 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1990), 476-477.

⁸⁵⁵ Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 118.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 477.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Pearl River, which adopted the spatial structure of *dan* settlements.

Still more intriguing is the particular attention paid by Western observers, who combine the heterogeneity of this aquatic space with the enigma of the Far East. Yvan even wrote: “The floating-town of Canton is, to all the Europeans who visit the Celestial Empire, the object of an exclusive predilection; for them China, the real China, the fantastic China of our screens, fans and lacquer work, is all on the river which balances on its overhanging surface [...]”⁸⁵⁸ From his words, it is evident that the refined lifestyle of traditional Chinese literati, including boat travelling and dwelling, was conveyed to Western audiences through various handicrafts depicting these images. Therefore, upon their arrival in China during the Qing dynasty, the Dan people’s floating lifestyle immediately resonated with the “Chinese culture” they had internalized, which was itself a heterogeneous concept to Westerners.

Augustus Frederick Lindley (1840-1873) once wrote: “The *Emeu* was scarcely moored when I was startled by the appearance of those amphibious creatures, the Chinese boat and laundry women. The Tanka (boat) girls lead an almost entirely aquatic life, and are actually born, live, and die, on board their floating homes. Their time seems fully occupied in rowing, or sculling with a large oar over the stern of the boat; and this incessant labour makes them strong and well-figured.”⁸⁵⁹ When Swedish naturalist Pehr Osbeck first came to China, he mentioned that people living on boats “have no other habitations than these on the surface of the water, and live by thousands by fishing, picking up old rags, dead hogs, or whatever else is thrown from the ships.”⁸⁶⁰

The Japanese Matsumura Shōfu was evidently cognizant of the distinctiveness of the Dan people. This obviously led to his gaining a more profound comprehension of their heterogeneous aquatic livelihoods which he idealized with literary aesthetics into a form of “freedom” that came at some expense. He wrote:

They made such boats their homes, their cities, their possessions. They reside in a boat, and perish in it too. Coming-of-age, marriage, and burial ceremonies are all conducted aboard their boat and weathered 50 years of life on the waves. Since ancient times, the Dan people have been considered a lower class and have faced social exclusion from those on land. In the Qing dynasty, the Dan people were excluded from participating in the imperial examinations and denied the privileges of ordinary citizens. On the other hand, they were deemed as unregistered individuals who were exempt from tax and corvee labor, thus, a free people floating within the waves.

彼等は其の一隻の小艇を以て家庭とし、城廓とし、財産としてゐる。生れるのも此の内であれば、死ぬるのも此の艇内である。冠婚葬祭すべて此の小艇内で行って、波濤を友として其の五十年を終始するのである。蛋民は古来一

⁸⁵⁸ Dr. Yvan, *Inside Canton*, 129.

⁸⁵⁹ Augustus Frederick Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh: The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution* (London: Day & Son, Lithographers & Publishers, 1866), 4.

⁸⁶⁰ Pehr Osbeck, *A Voyage to China and the East Indies* (London: B. White. 1771), 270.

種の賤民階級に屬してゐて、陸上の者は彼等と交際をしない。清朝時代には、蛋民は進士舉人たるの資格が無いばかりか、普通人民としての権利は大概興へられてゐなかつた。其の代り一方から見ると、政府は彼等を編戸の外に置いてゐたので、有らゆる義務を課せられることもなく、謂はゞ波浪と共に浮かんでゐる一種の自由民であつた。⁸⁶¹

The second heterotopia pertains to the brothel, which engenders a fantastical space. This aspect has been extensively examined in prior research within this chapter, particularly with regards to the Qinhuai pleasure quarter; therefore, it shall not be expounded upon here. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that there exists something quite exceptional concerning the Pearl River pleasure quarter during the late Qing dynasty – namely, Western imports and the introduction of electricity.

Zhang Xintai wrote:

[...] the lower floor windows are adorned with glass inlays, while the cabin boasts foreign lamps and mirrors that provide perfect illumination at night. From a distance, the river sparkles like a myriad of stars. Foppish young men, select the beauties and revel in the songs, no less than being in the Guanghan Palace on the moon, and concern themselves not with mundane affairs.

……下层窗嵌玻璃，舱中陈设洋灯洋镜，入夜张灯，远望如万点明星照耀江面。纨绔子弟，选色征歌，不啻身到广寒，无复知有人间事。⁸⁶²

It is evident that he placed emphasis on “glass,” “foreign lamp” and “foreign mirror.” While the Qinhuai pleasure quarter relied solely on moonlight and candle or lantern light reflected off the water’s surface, the Pearl River pleasure quarter took it a step further by utilizing brighter electric lights and incorporating glass and mirrors onto their flower boats to enhance the overall reflection effect of the surrounding water environment.

In his article, Van Dyke mentioned the use of electricity on the flower boats. The closely adjacent mooring of boats creates a spatial arrangement that facilitates the drawing of cable bundles from shore into the boat “streets.” One old photo in the article depicts electric lights inside (Fig. 2.4.2-15), while another photo shows cables on the flower boats’ decks (Fig. 2.4.2-16). Firstly, the substitution of electric lights for candlesticks on board would undoubtedly enhance fire prevention measures. Secondly, in terms of spatial experience, the use of these appliances further blurs the boundary between flower boats and shore architecture. Thirdly, it is crucial to consider that the general public, who lacked familiarity with electric energy sources at the time, subconsciously perceived the electric lamp – a means of illumination without fire – as a form of enchantment.

⁸⁶¹ Muramatsu Shōfu, *Nanka ni asobite*, 147-148.

⁸⁶² Zhang Xintai, *Yueyou xiaoji*, 454.



Fig. 2.4.2-15 The electric lights inside a flower boat.



Fig. 2.4.2-16 The cables on the flower boats' decks.

The third heterotopia is intricately linked to the Western invasion and colonization of China during that period, and it bears a close relationship with the first two. These colonists who arrived by boat have clearly undergone several months of secluded life on water. Due to restrictions, the majority of sailors were prohibited from entering the Guangzhou city and thus had to continue living in isolation from the mainland. To aggravate the issue, the Chinese government prohibited any non-Chinese females from residing in Guangzhou city, just as it forbade any Europeans from engaging with Chinese women. Europeans were not allowed to be accompanied by female companions irrelevant whether wives or concubines, particularly in Guangzhou. Thus, their long-suppressed sexual desires need to be satisfied by the floating brothels. In contrast, the prostitute boats' customer selection reflected Chinese resistance to colonization to some extent.

Van Dyke explored in detail the Pearl River floating brothels' social function of maintaining placidity by fulfilling these sailors' sexual needs. He mentioned that in August 1763, for example, the customs superintendent in Canton was informed by citizens at Whampoa that "a group of officers from the European ships' had entered their village in an effort to 'become familiar with their women.'"⁸⁶³ The unsatisfied sailors were prone to instigate conflicts with the local Chinese population.

As mentioned above, Van Dyke highlighted a significant difference between the Pearl River floating brothels, the *lob lob* boat and the flower boat. He wrote:

There are three distinctions that need to be made between the prostitutes in the Canton flower boats and those at Whampoa. First, girls in the Canton flower boats only serviced

⁸⁶³ Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters. 1763* (Macao: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2008), August 27.

Chinese, whereas the Whampoa prostitutes serviced anyone. Second, Canton flower boat girls tended to cater to the wealthy elite, whereas the Whampoa girls paid no attention to social status and accommodated anyone who had the money to pay. Third, the Canton flower boat prostitutes had their feet bound, whereas, as far as we know, the Whampoa prostitutes did not.⁸⁶⁴

The presence of the *lob lob* boat seemed to alleviate sexual restrictions among Western sailors, although there may be potential hazards. Just as Noble pointed out, “The pimps are numerous. If an European wants to see a lady of pleasure, it is only speaking to these fellows, who will immediately conduct you in a small sampan, to a place, where your wishes may be gratified. These enterprises however are not always executed without danger”⁸⁶⁵ Van Dyke also sorted out in detailed description the information about the risk and misfortune, represented by the hapless Mr. Evans, who died “for a half hour romp with a lob lob girl.”⁸⁶⁶ However, he also concluded that “Fortunately, out of 140 years of exchanges from 1700 to 1840, we only have a couple of examples of such misfortunes. The silence in the records suggests that these sexual encounters probably contributed more to keeping the peace than to disturbing it.”⁸⁶⁷

The majority of prostitutes catering to Western sailors were *dan* girls, who initially gained access to the ships by working as washerwomen. According to Dobell, “some years ago, none but washerwomen were allowed to visit the ships, but now all sorts are permitted, and an unrestrained intercourse is as common at Whampoa as at London or Portsmouth. Certain boats, having licenses from the Mandarins, visit the ships as soon as it is dark, literally loaded with women.”⁸⁶⁸ Lindley also recorded that:

It is a usual thing to see, the moment a ship has anchored, several old laundry hags, each with an attendant retinue of fascinating nymphs, ‘taking charge’ and establishing themselves in possession of all quarters of the vessel, from the skipper’s cabin to the black cook’s galley. Of course, these little witches make sad havoc of the sailors’ hearts, and generally of their clothes.⁸⁶⁹

Interestingly, Lindley, an English naval officer, also referred to these Dan beauties as “fascinating nymphs,” echoing the water goddess in Chinese literati’s yearning. This suggests

⁸⁶⁴ Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 117.

⁸⁶⁵ Charles-Frederick Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies* (Calcutta: The Press of Stuart and Cooper, 1765), 281.

⁸⁶⁶ For details, see Van Dyke, “Floating Brothels,” 114-115.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁸⁶⁸ Peter Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia: with a Narrative of a Residence in China*. 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1970), vol. 2, 140.

⁸⁶⁹ Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh*, 5.

that the aquatic lifestyle of the Dan girls provided a certain spiritual solace for these isolated sailors. Lindley further described the dan girls in a gentle amazement:

They seem to have become a distinct part of the population of China since the arrival of Europeans to its shores, as employment by the latter affords their principal means of livelihood. Throughout the year they constantly amuse themselves in the water, swimming and disporting themselves about the above-mentioned harbours, like so many young porpoises in a gale of wind.⁸⁷⁰

In a starkly contrasting manner, the high-class courtesans in the Canton flower boats gave Westerners the cold shoulder, even if they were accompanied by Chinese friends. Van Dyke provided a detailed account of the prohibition imposed on foreigners from boarding flower boats. He noted that the women on the flower boats exhibited reluctance to socialize with foreigners, as evidenced by two documents from Del Mar and Walter Mundy.

When Del Mar was invited by a Chinese acquaintance to enjoy an evening in one of the vessels, he commented that the women on the boats were very careful to keep their distance from foreign guests: “[...] no amount of persuasion would induce any one of them to so much as shake hands with us, and our host apologized for this in explaining that they were bound to avoid all contact with Europeans for fear of losing caste, and endangering their chances of advancement to the position of concubine with an established legal position.”⁸⁷¹ Walter Mundy also said in a similar manner: “[...] it is not at all sought for by them, as they shrank away at the slightest sign of approach on our part, the reason being that they lose caste among their own people if a foreigner even chances to touch them.”⁸⁷²

By imposing restrictions on foreign visitors, the high-class flower boat (as the same way as the Buxi Yuan discussed in Chapter 1, see 1.4.3) establishes a space characterized by an ethnocentric power structure. When the Chinese officials escort their foreign acquaintances into this realm, an immediate power dynamic becomes evident: The Chinese literati would immerse themselves in extravagant entertainment and delight in the complete exploitation and objectification of the female entertainers. The magnificence of the “Celestial Empire” was relived as they assumed mastery over this ethereal abode of pleasure. Conversely, when courtesans hesitated or refused to serve foreign clients, it reinforced a negative perception that tarnished the personal image of those who were already more fortunate than other foreigners to gain access to this wonderland: they were perceived as uncivilized individuals striving for the favor of the “goddesses,” an aspiration that would never be fulfilled due to their perceived lack of literacy and expertise in art connoisseurship. Even their mere presence, as foreign people, poses a threat to the sanctity of the “water goddess” and disrupts the perfection of the

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁸⁷¹ Walter Del Mar, *Around the World Through Japan* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903), 99-100.

⁸⁷² Walter William Mundy, *Canton and the Bogue: The Narrative of an Eventful Six Months in China* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1875), 152.

wonderland.

This power structure on the flower boat is nothing but a fantasy dream. During that era, the Western countries' dominance, achieved through warfare and advancements in natural and human sciences, shielded them from feeling ashamed in the face of the exotic ambiance of the Far East, which they perceived as "inferior" and "ignorant." In the contrary, Chinese officials sought solace in indulging themselves on the flower boats, akin to drowning men clutching at straws. The Chinese Canton official, Pan Shicheng 潘仕成 (1804-1873), was recorded by Dr. Yvan as he extolled the magnificent of the flower boats on the Pearl River:

When our mandarin (Pan Shicheng) had taken breath, he added, addressing my friend: "And you, in the land of the West, have you anything to compare even with our flower-boats?"⁸⁷³

After delivering an extensive and derogatory comment, Pan Shicheng directed his attention towards female performers in both Western countries and China, with a particular emphasis on their feet.:

"[...] What attraction for a great lord can there be in a woman who walks like a boy, straddles about, and could even run, if we wanted her to do it? Ah, no! the only lovely woman is she whose feet are so small that she totters like a baby, and can scarcely stir from place to place. Why, what can equal the graceful movements she is forced to make in order to hold herself up? [...]"⁸⁷⁴

As mentioned before, the courtesans on the high-class flower boats had their feet bound, whereas the Dan girls who served the foreigners did not undergo this practice. The literati, such as Pan Shicheng, who were enthusiastic about the practice of foot binding, seemingly believed that it contributed to enhancing "femininity" in women. The bound-footed female's sedentary posture and limited mobility served as a pronounced embodiment of *yin* ("femininity"), thereby accentuating the *yang* ("masculinity") of their male counterparts. The bound-footed women's shoes were utilized as saucers for wine cups or tobacco by some and even seen as a medicine for certain disease,⁸⁷⁵ as imbibing from the vessel of *yin* would imbue them with the *yang*.

This *yin-yang* dynamics proved to be more complicated, especially in the late Qing dynasty, as Li Yingtao 李英桃 posited:

When examining international politics from a gender perspective, China's gradual transformation into a semi-colonial country can be viewed as the process through which

⁸⁷³ Dr. Yvan, *Inside Canton*, 169.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁸⁷⁵ See Wu Kai 吴凯, ed., *Zhongguo shehui minsushi* 中国社会民俗史, vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhongguo guji chubanshe, 2010), 1933-1934, 1943.

Western capitalist (imperialist) nations with “masculine characteristics” in the global community seek to “feminize” China or shape it into a country with “feminine” attributes.

从社会性别角度看，中国逐渐沦为半殖民地国家的过程，是在国际社会中具有“男性特征”的西方资本主义（帝国主义）国家使中国“女性化”的过程，或者说是中国沦为一个具有女性特征的国家的过程。⁸⁷⁶

Despite maintaining a feudal patriarchal autocracy domestically, China’s “masculine” attributes were undermined due to its perceived “submissive” stance in the international arena, resulting in the shame of being symbolized as “feminine.” As a nation embodying an embarrassing “dual gender” representation, on one hand, “she” experienced the subjugation and the humiliation imposed by the Western “male” others, while on the other hand, “he” also exhibited a more intensified male hormonal impulse than ever.

The Chinese officials immersed in the pleasure quarters of the Pearl River flower boats showed no urgency in reclaiming China’s repeatedly lost identity as a “masculine” nation. They lived in a sweet dream of self-deception. On one hand, they could readily discern the strength emanating from the defiance displayed by the courtesans aboard these flower boats towards Westerners, serving as a surrogate for their own suppressed resistance that they were unable to express through official diplomacy. Through projecting onto these female entertainers, they observed and acknowledged China’s resistance personified as a “female.” On the other hand, through the possession and exploitation of female’s objectified and alienated body (specially feet) within feudal society, they strategically emphasized their “male” identity as the primary embodiment and spiritual foundation of the Chinese nation. Through exerting control over the female entertainers, they reaffirmed the power of feudal patriarchal China and reinstated its “masculinity.” The space of the flower boats on the Pearl River, in the form of triple heterotopia, has evolved into a medium for projecting and embodying this mentality.

This section thoroughly examines the spatial characteristics of boat-architecture in the floating pleasure quarters on the Qinhuai River and Pearl River during the Ming and Qing dynasties, while also delving into its heterotopian nature within a historical and social context. It explores the manifestation of male dominance within a traditionally “feminine” domain, thereby deepening our comprehension of boat-architecture’s significance for female entertainers and its cultural symbolism as an alternative form of literati’s boat-architecture.

Concurrently, within the intricate social fabric of the Ming and Qing dynasties, this section’s investigation enhances our comprehension of the distinctive spatial characteristics inherent in boat-architecture, thereby elucidating its pivotal role in conveying societal culture and history while unveiling underlying psychological aspects associated with its cultural symbolism.

⁸⁷⁶ Li Yingtao 李英桃, *Shehui xingbie shijiao xia de guoji zhengzhi* 社会性别视角下的国际政治 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003), 263.

In conclusion, the second chapter commences with an exploration of boat-architecture as a performing stage on water, delving into the distinctive attributes of this architectural space and its correlation with female performers through historical records. Subsequently, by discerning subtle distinctions among the roles of female entertainers, the primary focus group for this chapter is identified. Furthermore, an investigation into the dual poles within the echelon of female entertainers reveals their living conditions and their working space. Especially the interaction between the *nü jiaoshu* and their literati patrons, as well as the male literati's portrayal of their beautiful confidants, suggests that studying the boat-architecture of female entertainers can provide insights into the symbolism employed by literati officials.

The subsequent analysis in this chapter delves into the portrayal of the relationship between women and water by male literati, emphasizing their imaginative connection of prostitutes (pleasure quarters) with water goddesses (wonderlands). Building upon this premise, it is observed that the boat-architecture space possesses distinctive characteristics discernible to female entertainers and their clientele, contributing to the alienation of the enchanting pleasure quarter into a realm associated with self-discipline and self-deception.

In the third section, the boat-architecture space, portrayed as a backdrop for romantic and sexual encounters in popular novels written by intellectuals, has been subjected to analysis across three distinct categories. This analysis enables us to revisit the characteristics of boat-architecture space as a drifting study discussed in chapter one. However, due to the spatial attributes of the boat-architecture serving as performance stage, female entertainers were unable to overlap their boat-architecture space with that of the literati. Consequently, the female entertainers and their boat-architecture were perpetually portrayed as a reflection of male self-projection.

Finally, this chapter examines the boat-architecture space in detail by using the pleasure quarters on the Qinhuai River and the Pearl River as case studies. The spatial relationship between the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, Confucian Temple, and *dong shuiguan* in the city is extracted and reconstructed as a cultural symbolic relationship by scholars. On the other hand, the Pearl River flower boat not only captivated Chinese literati but also attracted attention from foreigners within a specific historical context, thereby encapsulating a more intricate cognitive projection.

The research content of Chapter 2 is closely intertwined with that of Chapter 1. While the first chapter explores the literati's boat-architecture space where female entertainers occasionally appeared, the second chapter predominantly relies on written records from literati. As a result, not only does the second chapter narrates its own story, but it also offers a distinct perspective for readers to reexamine the boat-architecture of literati and officials discussed in the first chapter.

Following the exposition of Chapters 1 and 2, readers will readily discern that the research presented in Chapter 3 and even Chapter 4 is intricately interwoven with or juxtaposed against the content of Chapter 1. While no longer mirroring each other explicitly, comprehending these corresponding relationships will yield two significant benefits. Firstly, the comprehension of subsequent content will be greatly facilitated by understanding how the

cultural symbols underpinning boat-architecture's foundation, as proposed in Chapter 1, are recognized, expressed, inherited, and innovated. Secondly, the contents of the remaining three chapters will continue to resonate and juxtapose with both the first chapter and each other, establishing the primacy of the content in Chapter 1 as a foundational element and progressively deepening its comprehension layer by layer.

3. Emperors/Royal Families: Metaphors Rule the Country

If we shift our perspective to re-evaluate the literati/officials' contemplation of the contradiction of "entering/escaping the world" in Chapter 1, it becomes apparent that an implicit locus of power exists, namely the supreme ruler of the feudal dynasty who exerted control over both imperial examinations and official appointments – the "emperors/royal families."

If the female entertainers in Chapter 2 are regarded as a social collective that passively assumes the self-projection of the literati's life circumstances within literary works, then to some extent, the emperors discussed in this chapter actively exert dominance over the life choices of the literati. The Imperial Examination System, which was employed for the selection of officials, served as a manifestation of imperial authority. The mere act of entering the court as an official symbolized one's identification and loyalty to the sovereign. Officials preferred by the emperor were granted privileged access to the innermost echelons of power within the court, while those who fell out of favor with the ruler faced exile to remote regions or even met with dire consequences.

The seemingly apparent unidirectional relationship of dominance and subordination between individual emperors and officials often obscures the intricate power dynamics within the literati-emperor social group. Particularly when imperial authority fell into the hands of non-Han individuals, the complex interplay between the literati, who were convinced to represent superiority of Han culture over foreign cultures, and the foreign emperor who conquered the Han nation became significantly convoluted.

Interestingly, within the context of this study, the symbol "boat" holds a distinct and significant connotation for emperors and their governance. When this connotation is integrated into the symbolic contrast ("entering/escaping the world") presented by the literati, boat-architecture emerges as a cultural phenomenon that serves as a pivotal lens for comprehending the identification and confrontation between the emperors and the literati, thereby rendering the perspective of this chapter an indispensable component in discussing boat-architecture.

Therefore, this chapter's research will commence by examining the distinctive correlation between the "emperors/royal families" as a user group of boat-architecture and the specific symbolic representation of the "boat." Subsequently, it will delve into a focused exploration of the design and construction of boat-architectures under the patronage of Emperor Qianlong, a Manchu (non-Han) ruler during the Qing dynasty. The successful and unsuccessful emperors of previous dynasties, along with the ruling Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908) of the late Qing dynasty, will be regarded as contrasting figures. Through the in-depth examination of two case studies, this chapter will conduct a comprehensive analysis of the intricate psychological structures conveyed by Emperor Qianlong through boat-architecture, thereby unveiling the profoundly intricate cultural symbolism that can be embodied within such specialized design for an emperor.

3.1 Emperor and Boats: Start with a Metaphor

“What do disease, a flooding river, and a chaotic state have in common? They all need to be treated.”⁸⁷⁷ That is the opening sentence of *Radical Expressions*, a popular book about Chinese characters in English, when looking up the entry “zhi” 治 (treat, cure, or govern). The character *zhi* has always held significant importance in Chinese history. Han dynasty Xu Shen 许慎 (ca. 58-147) wrote in *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 (Analytical Dictionary of Characters, 121): “Zhi, [is the name of] a river. [It] originates from Yangqiu Mountain in Qucheng county, Donglai city, and flows southward into the sea” 治，水。出东莱曲城阳丘山，南入海。⁸⁷⁸ He posited that *zhi* was originally a river’s name; however, this explanation is not universally accepted. Nevertheless, it is generally believed that the evolution of *zhi* from a noun to a verb has something to do with *zhishui* 治水 (water treatment).

For an agrarian civilization, a river could provide a reliable water source for irrigation if it is properly managed. However, controlling the Yellow River had always been a challenging task for those living in the birthplace of Chinese civilization – the Yellow River basin. As early as over 4,000 years ago, during ancient times that were shrouded in myths and legends, devastating floods were already present. There exist myths or legends regarding the Great Flood in nearly all ancient cultures across the globe. Most of the documented history of ancient civilizations began after the flood but was somewhat elusive before. However, it is noteworthy that in contrast to the myths of Western and even China’s southwestern ethnic minorities, which depict gods exterminating the world to purify it from human wickedness, the myths originating from the central plains of China’s Yellow River basin focus on treating floods.⁸⁷⁹

Historians’ accounts illustrate the necessity of comprehending this approach to flood management and its implications. According to legend, Yao 尧, the leader of the tribal alliance at that time,⁸⁸⁰ initially commissioned Gun 鲧 to treat the floods. Gun attempted to treat the floods for a period of nine years by constructing dykes and dams; however, his efforts proved unsuccessful. During this timeframe, Shun 舜 assumed leadership of the alliance and subsequently appointed Yu 禹, Gun’s son, as his successor in tackling this task after Gun’s failure. Yu acquired the wisdom from his father’s failure; instead of forcibly blocking the floods, he implemented a topographical-based drainage system. He commanded individuals to excavate trenches and gradually divert the silted floods towards the sea.

⁸⁷⁷ *Hanyu shijie zazhishe youxian zeren gongsi* 《汉语世界》杂志社有限责任公司, ed., *Hanzi hui shuohua* 汉字会说话 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan chubanshe, 2019), 94-97.

⁸⁷⁸ Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, vol. 11, 9a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁸⁷⁹ Some scholars posit that the disparity is linked to the Chinese Central Plain’s geographical location, which only exposes it to flooding rather than more catastrophic events such as tsunamis. See Ma Xin 马新 and Qi Tao 齐涛, *Zhongguo yuangu shehui shi lun* 中国远古社会史论 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2003), 66-77.

⁸⁸⁰ The period before the emergence of the Xia dynasty, around 2100 BCE, is characterized by a lack of written historical records, with only myths and legends remaining.

The flooding had a widespread impact, affecting the territories of nearly all tribes at that time. However, the damage was not evenly distributed among different tribes. In certain instances, it became necessary to sacrifice one tribe's agricultural fields in order to release water and safeguard another tribe that was severely affected. Additionally, smaller tribes may have encountered challenges due to insufficient labor and thus required assistance from larger ones. Meanwhile, there were also conflicts and even rivalries observed among these tribes. Therefore, the planning of diverting flood water to the sea necessitated a comprehensive investigation into both the disaster situation and landscape geography, as well as navigating complex tribal interests.

The various challenges encountered in *zhishui* underscored the vulnerability of tribal alliances when confronted with natural disasters. Ultimately, the process of collective action among all tribes to overcome flooding served as a mechanism for integrating small and large settlements into a cohesive whole. Throughout this endeavor, Yu demonstrated exceptional leadership skills, astute problem-solving abilities, a selfless spirit of sacrifice, and unwavering determination. These qualities earned him deep recognition from all tribes and made him a universally admired hero worshipped by the people.

According to the legend, upon accomplishing this remarkable feat of flood treatment, Yu emerged as the leader of the new social order that most tribes merged into – the Xia dynasty – which is recorded as the first hereditary dynasty in Chinese history.⁸⁸¹

3.1.1 From *zhishui* to *zhiguo*: The Metaphor of *junzhou-minshui* and *zaizhou-fuzhou*

The aforementioned narrative illustrates that the process of Yu's flood control involves the extension of *zhi*'s object from pure nature (floods) to human society (tribes). In order to manage floods, he must secure the approval of all tribes, coordinate labor and material resources, balance interests and losses among all tribes, etc. Only by fulfilling these requirements can floods be successfully treated.

From this, the verb *zhi* gave rise to the connotation of “governing.” Simultaneously, both the people and the river – as objects of *zhi* – acquired similar characteristics, and Gun's *du* 堵 (blocking) and Yu's *shu* 疏 (draining) strategies in flood control were also elevated from the methods of water treatment to governing strategies for the country. The significance and profound implications of this ancient flood treatment legend are reflected in numerous historical narratives.

“Zhao-gong jian Liwang mibang” 召公谏厉王弭谤 (Duke Zhaomu Remonstrated

⁸⁸¹ It is important to note that our discussion in this chapter solely pertains to the metaphorical interpretation of Yu's flood treatment in subsequent generations. While Great Yu's accomplishments in flood control may have elevated the status of the Xia Hou clan within the kingdom, positioning them as a unifying force, it does not automatically grant them political authority over various tribal states or establish the Xia dynasty with centralized rule. However, despite the lack of support from a modern archaeological perspective, this discourse was regarded as the “official/authentic” history by ancient emperors.

Against King Li's Eliminating the Slanders) in *Guo yu: Zhou yu* 国语·周语 by Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (lived in the Spring and Autumn period, 770-476 BCE) is one of these stories. This story is set against the backdrop of the reign of King Li of the Zhou dynasty 周厉王 (Ji Hu 姬胡, r. 878-842 BCE, d. 828 BCE), a renowned tyrant in Chinese history. He subjected and exploited the populace to such an extent that they could no longer endure it and voiced their grievances about his governance. King Li, oblivious to his own transgressions, mercilessly exterminated those who dared to voice dissent against him. Consequently, the populace refrained from speaking candidly and resorted to nonverbal communication, such as eye contact, while traversing public thoroughfares. The king was satisfied with this outcome and told Duke Zhaomu 召穆公 (Ji Hu 姬虎) that he had successfully eradicated any defamatory remarks.⁸⁸² This prompted Duke Zhaomu to remonstrate:

[What you did] was blocking. It is crucial to handle civilian discourse with utmost care, even more so than managing rivers. Just as an obstructed river can cause widespread damage through flooding, neglecting civilian voices can have similar consequences [on society at large]. Therefore, [it is essential] to clear any obstacles in rivers through dredging and ensure smooth communication channels for civilians' expression [of their thoughts and concerns]. [...] Mouths of civilians are akin to rivers on the land, [...] the articulation of opinions can serve as an indicator for the success or failure of government policies. Implement strategies aligned with individuals' perception of success and mitigate actions perceived as failures; this is the key to augmenting wealth. Civilians possess intrinsic thoughts and articulate them verbally. When concerns are sufficiently incubated, they inevitably manifest. How can one impede such expression? If you were to prohibit individuals from engaging in conversation, how many supporters would be available to assist you?

是障之也。防民之口，甚于防川；川壅而溃，伤人必多。民亦如之。是故为川者，决之使导；为民者，宣之使言。……民之有口也，犹土之有山川也，……口之宣言也，善败于是乎兴。行善而备败，所以阜财用衣食者也。夫民虑之于心，而宣之于口，成而行之，胡可壅也？若壅其口，其与能几何？⁸⁸³

In this remonstration, Duke Zhaomu employed the wisdom of *zhishui* as an analogy to *zhiguo* 治国 (to govern the country). By likening the civilians' mouths to the rivers on the land, he believed that their discourse could serve as an indicator of political success or failure and even provide guidance to the king. Therefore, just as the principle of *zhishui* should be adopted, it is imperative to allow civilians' opinions to be expressed freely. The way King Li suppressed his people's dissent was akin to damming a river. The error of the latter had been proven by

⁸⁸² See Zuo Qiuming, *Guo yu*, annotated by Wei Zhao, vol. 1, 5b-6b: 厉王虐，国人谤王。召公告王曰：“民不堪命矣！”王怒，得卫巫以告则杀之。国人莫敢言，道路以目。王喜，告召公曰：“吾能弭谤矣，乃不敢言”。 See *SKQSHY*.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*, 5b-6b.

Gun's failure to treat the floods, while the damage caused by the former could be even more significant than that of the latter. However, King Li did not listen to Duke Zhao Mu's advice. The fact that he was overthrown and exiled by the enraged populace three years later serves as yet another testament to the significance of *zhishui* experience in *zhiguo*.

Similarly, Confucius also used "river (water)" as an analogy to civilians. *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家语 (The Confucian School's Analects) recorded the story when Ai-gong of the Lu Kingdom 鲁哀公 (Ji Jiang 姬将, r. 494-468 BCE, d. 468 BCE) asked about political wisdom. Confucius answered by not only comparing the civilians to "water" but also introducing the image of a "boat" as the symbol of the king. He said, "[What does] a king [like]? A boat. Civilians, water. Water is what can carry the boat and is also what can capsize the boat. You take this as an alarm, and then you will know when danger comes" 夫君者，舟也；庶人者，水也；水所以载舟，亦所以覆舟，君以此思危，则危可知也.⁸⁸⁴ The concept of *junzhou-minshui* 君舟民水 (king as the boat and civilians as the water) thus appeared.

This passage was later quoted by Xunzi 荀子 (Xun Kuang 荀况, *zi* Qing, ca. 313-238 BCE) in his *Xunzi: Wang zhi* 荀子·王制 (Xunzi: Treatises on the Rule of Kings): "The king is a boat; the civilians are water. Water can carry the boat, and water can capsize the boat" 君者，舟也；庶人者，水也。水则载舟，水则覆舟.⁸⁸⁵ The concept of *junzhou-minshui* was once again emphasized, followed by another concept of *zaizhou-fuzhou* 载舟覆舟 ([water] can carry the boat and also capsize the boat). Xunzi's disciple Hanfeizi 韩非子 (Han Fei 韩非, ca. 280-233 BCE) later converted this idea in his *Hanfeizi: Anwei* 韩非子·安危 (Hanfeizi: Safety and Danger), especially extracting the correspondence between "king" and "boat," and thus put forward: "Hence the one who rules is like the boat or carriage⁸⁸⁶ of the state" 故号令者，国之舟车也.⁸⁸⁷

During the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty, Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 (179-104 BCE) movement of *tuiming kongshi yichu baijia* 推明孔氏，抑黜百家 (promoting Confucianism and suppressing other schools), established Confucianism as the dominant ideology of feudal dynasties. This in turn laid the foundation for the popularity of the *junzhou-minshui* metaphor among ruling elites. Although Dong Zhongshu's advocacy of the *junquan shenshou* 君权神授 (the rights of the emperors are bestowed upon them by divine providence) deified autocratic monarchy, his ideas regarding the connection between heaven and the emperor also linked natural disasters, particularly droughts or floods, to the loss of imperial virtue. These calamities were considered as the *tiannu* 天怒 (wrath of heaven), embodying the

⁸⁸⁴ Liao Mingchun 廖名春 and Zou Xinming 邹新明, collated and punctuated, *Kongzi jiaoyu* (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 15.

⁸⁸⁵ Xun Kuang, *Xunzi*, collated and punctuated by Liao Mingchun and Zou Xinming (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 33.

⁸⁸⁶ Han Fei alluded to the two metaphors he previously employed, namely the boat and carriage. However, this study solely concentrates on the former.

⁸⁸⁷ Han Fei, *Hanfeizi*, annotated by Zhao Pei 赵沛 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 230.

minyuan 民怨 (resentment of the civilians) in a distinctive manifestation. Thus, under extreme circumstances, the rationality of imperial authority bestowed by “heaven” could be challenged by civilian agents representing *tianyi* 天意 (will of heaven). Against this backdrop, the cautionary function of the parable *zaizhou-fuzhou* has assumed greater significance for emperors.

In the Eastern Han dynasty, Empress Dowager Liang (Liang Rui 梁嬪, 116-150) took power, and appointed her brother Liang Ji 梁冀 (d.159) as the Great General. Together, they wielded control over the government and orchestrated the poisoning of Emperor Zhi of the Han dynasty 汉质帝 (Liu Zuan 刘缵, 138-146) in the first year of the Benchu 本初 period (146). Then they made Emperor Huan of the Han dynasty 汉桓帝 (Liu Zhi 刘志, 132-168) a mere puppet king. Because of the protection and credulity of Empress Dowager Liang, the royal relatives led by Liang Ji colluded with the eunuchs and acted arbitrarily and tyrannically. An official named Huangfu Gui 皇甫规 (104-174) risked his life to admonish Liang Ji. He mentioned the fact that the state was “in an oppressive drought, while the evil enemies roam freely, the bloodshed colored the fields and rivers, and the civilian people are in turmoil” 旱魃为虐，大贼从横，流血川野，庶品不安.⁸⁸⁸ By characterizing these events in this manner, he clearly attributed them to Liang Ji’s loss of virtue. Huangfu Gui also wrote: “Emperor is like a boat, civilians are like water, ministers are like the passengers on the boat, and the Great General and his brothers are the boatmen. If [the Great General] serves the civilians with all strength, it is a so-called blessing. If [the Great General] neglects [his duty], then [the boat] will sink among waves. [He] must not be careless” 夫君者舟也，人者水也，群臣者乘舟者也，将军兄弟操楫者也。若能平志毕力，以度元元，所谓福也。如其怠弛，将沦波涛，可不慎乎!⁸⁸⁹ It can be seen that Huangfu Gui further enriched the idea of *junzhou-minshui* and extended the concept of “passenger” and “boatman.”

The influence of the symbol of a “boat” representing the concept of “benefiting the world,” as discussed in Chapter 1, can be observed in Huangfu Gui’s ideology. In this context, the literati (passengers on the boat) played a crucial role in governing the country by providing advice to the emperor (the boat), while the most influential courtier acted as a leader who steered and controlled its direction (the boatman). As the “boatman” (the Great General), Liang Ji neglected the potential threat posed by “water” (civilians), and eventually led to the capsizing of the “boat” (regime). Thus, *zaizhou-fuzhou*’s meaning in *junzhou-minshui* was integrated with the symbol of a “boat,” which signifies a tool for “benefiting the world.”

A story about the Great General Liang Ji recorded in the *Hou Han ji* 后汉纪 (Records of the Later Han Dynasty) by Zhang Fan 张璠 (a historian of the Wei and Jin dynasties) also reflected this point. Interestingly, this anecdote highlights the contradiction between the symbolic representation of a “boat” as a tool for leisurely games (as discussed in Chapter 2) and its function as a means to “benefit the world.” According to records, Liang Ji once constructed a large pool in his garden and placed a pleasure boat on it for his own enjoyment. One day, the boat capsized inexplicably. Zhu Mu 朱穆 (100-163), an auxiliary official,

⁸⁸⁸ Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, vol. 95, 3a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 3b.

admonished Liang Ji, saying, “A boat is a tool for benefiting society and should not be treated as a mere plaything. Today’s incident of the capsized boat serves as a heavenly warning to you, the esteemed General, reminding you to prioritize serving the people rather than indulging in games” 舟所以济渡万物，不施游戏而已。今覆者，天戒将军济渡万民，不可常念游戏也。⁸⁹⁰ However, Liang Ji disregarded this unpleasant advice, ultimately resulting in the demise of both himself and his family.

Ironically, after the Liang siblings and Emperor Huan died one after another, Emperor Ling of the Han dynasty 汉灵帝 (Liu Hong 刘宏, 157-189) not only neglected his responsibilities in governing the country but also exploited his imperial position for personal gain by engaging in the sale of ambassadorships and titles, solely to accumulate wealth for indulgent pleasures. *Shiyi ji* 拾遗记 recorded a story of Emperor Ling:

In the third year of Chuping, the emperor Ling commissioned the construction of pavilions consisting thousands of *jian* 间 (the space within four pillars) in the west garden for his nude excursions [...] sailing on a small boat for pleasure. He selected palace maids with a complexion resembling jade and slender figures to navigate the boat, swaying it back and forth in the shallow and crystal-clear channel using bamboo poles. During the peak of summer, he deliberately capsized the boat in order to observe the elegant figures of these young women [as their garments became soaked upon immersion into the water].

汉灵帝初平三年，于西园起裸游馆千间……乘小舟以游漾。宫人乘之，选玉色轻体者，以执篙楫摇荡于渠中，其水清浅，以盛暑之时，使舟覆没，视宫人玉色。⁸⁹¹

Such reckless behavior persisted until the end of his reign, when Yellow Turban 黄巾 revolts erupted as a manifestation of widespread civilian resentment. Consequently, the Han dynasty was engulfed in relentless turmoil, ultimately leading to its downfall and the rise of the Three Kingdoms (Wei 魏, Shu 蜀, and Wu 吴). The lessons from *zaizhou-fuzhou* evidently failed to alert Emperor Ling. Otherwise, he would not have indulged in such an ominous game of capsizing the pleasure boat. The profound irony embedded in the story of Emperor Ling of the Han dynasty renders it a vivid exemplar for future generations in terms of cultural transmission. The foolish emperor, who failed to comprehend the wisdom of *junzhou-minshui* and regarded “boat” as a mere recreational tool, would ultimately be overthrown by the deluge of the populace.

Similar to the story of Emperor Ling of the Han dynasty is Emperor Yang’s of the Sui dynasty 隋炀帝 (Yang Guang 杨广, 569-618). Yang Guang is a paradoxical figure in history.

⁸⁹⁰ Zhang Fan, *Hou Han ji*, cited in Li Fang, *Taiping yulan* 太平御览, vol. 769, 1b. See *SKQS*.

⁸⁹¹ Wang Jia 王嘉, *Shiyi ji*, cited in Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 236, 7b-8a. See *SKQS*.

On the one hand, he gained notoriety for his profligacy: needlessly depleting national resources through frequent military campaigns; wastefully squandering labor and finances on grandiose endeavors; indulgently constructing opulent palaces and gardens; excessively embarking on extravagant dragon boat cruises to Yangzhou city. On the other hand, he exhibited exceptional intellectual prowess and leadership skills as an emperor: successfully pacifying the Chen dynasty and unifying a country that had been fragmented since the Wei and Jin dynasties; expanding territorial boundaries by subduing Tuyuhun and compelling the Turks to divide; prioritizing education, thereby laying the groundwork for the Imperial Examination System; exhibiting remarkable proficiency in poetry and prose, earning praise from esteemed scholars throughout various dynasties. Denis Twitchett (1925-2006) called Yang Guang a “political aesthete” – and he used Harold D. Lasswell’s (1902-1978) words to express Yang Guang’s characteristics: “Indeed, self-deception is perhaps the rule, for the political personality with a strong artistic component possesses a florid imagination which dramatizes his personal history and subordinates all reality to ambitious plan.”⁸⁹²

The Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal is undoubtedly the most renowned among Yang Guang’s ambitious projects: Rather than criticizing his extravagant construction of cities and palaces, Confucian historians directed their most vehement criticisms towards this engineering feat and his grandiose boating parade. However, in reality, the canal project of the Sui dynasty was undertaken to meet the demands of social and economic development as well as military affairs. It can even be regarded as a “monumental endeavor that bridged the new circumstances between northern and southern China” 贯通中国南、北两方新形势之伟大工程也。⁸⁹³ In the late Tang dynasty, poet Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (838-883) provided a relatively impartial assessment of Yang Guang’s Grand Canal project:

It was once believed that the Sui dynasty met its demise at the hands of this river, yet today our travels still rely upon its thousand-mile expanse. Had it not been for the misuse of dragon boats as water pavilions, one could liken this grand endeavor to Yu’s legendary feats in taming floods.

尽道隋亡为此河，至今千里赖通波。若无水殿龙舟事，共禹论功不较多。⁸⁹⁴

It can be referred from this poem that the majority of people during the Tang dynasty attributed the collapse of the Sui dynasty to the Grand Canal. However, Pi Rixiu extolled its

⁸⁹² Harold D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and politics* (Chicago, 1930), 50. See Denis Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China, vol 3, Sui and Tang dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 120.

⁸⁹³ Qian Mu 钱穆, *Guoshi dagang* 国史大纲 (Taiwan: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1991), 381.

⁸⁹⁴ Pi Rixiu, “Bianhe huaigu ershou” 汴河怀古二首, see Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫, ed., *Tangshi Songci Yuanqu quanji* 唐诗宋词元曲全集, vol. 12 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1999), 4606.

merits, comparing it to the Great Yu's efforts in treating the floods. He indicated that primary sticking points in Yang Guang's rule were related to his construction of the "dragon boat water pavilion" and his parade in Yangzhou city.

Among the records of the literati and folk literature,⁸⁹⁵ the most beloved tale has always been that of Yang Guang's dragon boat water pavilion in Yangzhou City and his voluptuousness with the so-called *dianjiao nü* 殿脚女 (the feet-of-the-palace lady).

Du Bao's 杜宝 (Tang dynasty) description of the "dragon boat water pavilion" allows the reader to make a picture of indulgence arise and provides insight into the rumors surrounding the boat.:

The boat was 45 *chi* (about 1,332 cm) high, 50 *chi* (about 1,480 cm) wide, two hundred *chi* (about 5,920 cm) long, and had four floors. The upper floor housed the main, inner, east and west halls surrounded by corridors while the middle two floors comprised of 160 rooms adorned with cinnabar powder paintings and embellished with gold, jade and pearl decorations. The carvings were uniquely beautiful featuring tassels, feathers and red silk. The queen's maids, servants, and sailors stayed on the lower floor. [The boat] was hauled by six large silk ropes from both sides of the strait. The individuals responsible for pulling the boat were referred to as *dianjiao* 殿脚 (feet of the palace). There were 1,080 of them, all wearing jackets of assorted colors and had leg wrappings and socks – with 180 persons per rope. They were categorized into three groups, each consisting of 360 individuals who were carefully selected from the young and robust population residing south of the Yangzi and Huai Rivers.

舟高四十五尺，阔五十尺，长二百尺，四重。上一重有正殿内殿东西朝堂，周以轩廊。中二重有一百六十房，皆饰以丹粉，妆以金碧珠翠，雕刻奇丽，缀以流苏羽葆，朱丝网络。下一重长秋内侍又乘舟水手。以素丝大绦绳六条，两岸引进，其引船人并名殿脚，一千八十人，并著杂锦彩妆袄子行缠鞋袜等。每绳一条百八十人，分为三番，每一番引舟有三百六十人。其人并取江淮以南少壮者为之。⁸⁹⁶

In addition to the Dragon Boat, there was also *Xiangchi* 翔螭 boat for the empress, *Fujing* 浮景 and *Yangcai* 漾彩 boats for the concubines, *Zhuniao* 朱鸟, *Cangchi* 苍螭, *Baihu* 白虎, *Yuanwu* 元武 boats for the palace people, and various colored pavilion boats for the royal and nobles, officials, monks, and nuns, etc. Besides, there were guard soldiers stationed on both sides of the river and patrolling the water, responsible for various material transportation

⁸⁹⁵ In folk tales, Yang Guang is consistently depicted as a dissolute figure – indulging in the sensuality of beautiful women in various capricious ways within numerous distorted historical legends where he serves as the protagonist.

⁸⁹⁶ Du Bao, *Daye zaji* 大业杂记, cited in Tao Zongyi, *Shuo fu*, vol. 110A, 18b-19a. See *SKQS*.

tasks.⁸⁹⁷ The scale of human and material resources involved was beyond imagination.

Among them, *Xiangchi*, *Fujing*, and *Yangcai* boats were called “water pavilions” together with the Dragon Boat. These boat-architectures can be better described as floating palaces rather than mere vessels on water. Due to their substantial weight and limited space for sails and other propulsion devices, they heavily relied on human workforce to be pulled ashore. Consequently, the barge haulers came to be known as “the feet of the palace.” Perhaps in an attempt to further tarnish the reputation of Yang Guang, the last emperor of the preceding dynasty, Yan Shigu 颜师古 (581-645) of the Tang dynasty depicted these barge haulers as alluring women and referred to them as *dianjiao nü* in his book *Daye shiyi ji*:

At the Bian River, the emperor embarked on the Dragon Boat, while Empress Xiao boarded the Phoenix Boat. These boats were sumptuously decorated with brocade sails and colored ropes. [...] A thousand exquisite, statuesque, tall, fair-skinned maidens were selected for each boat. They grasped the gilded hollow oars and were referred to as *dianjiao nü*.

至汴，帝御龙舟，萧妃乘风舸，锦帆綵缆，穷极侈靡……每舟择妙丽长白女子千人，执雕板镂金楫，号为殿脚女。⁸⁹⁸

Afterwards, the image of the *dianjiao nü* became the most sensational detail in shaping Emperor Yang Guang’s image through folk histories and erotic narratives. Notable works include the renowned *Sui Yangdi yanshi* 隋炀帝艳史 (The erotic stories of the Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty, 1631) in the Ming dynasty and the *Sui Tang yanyi* 隋唐演义 (Romance of Sui and Tang, 1695) in the Qing dynasty.

Considering the widely disseminated warning of *junzhou-minshui*, the cultural symbolism of “boat” as a means of recreation or a tool for “benefiting the world,” and various previous historical precedents, it is not difficult to comprehend why Emperor Yang’s most prominent label in Sui dynasty history was the Dragon Boat parade (and the Grand Canal project itself), and why it was considered a direct cause of its downfall. After all, what could be more suitable as a negative footnote to *zaizhou-fuzhou* than such a historical story?

The antithesis of Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty is exemplified by Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty 唐太宗 (Li Shimin 李世民, 599-649, r. 626-649), who serves as a positive role model. One notable anecdote surrounding Emperor Taizong revolves around the renowned counselor Wei Zheng’s 魏徵 (580-643) remarks on *junzhou-minshui*. Upon ascending to power, Emperor Taizong assimilated the lessons from Emperor Yang Guang’s failure. He maintained a frugal and prudent political style, implemented policies aimed at benefiting the nation and its citizens, and created the *zhenguan zhi zhi* 贞观之治 (Government of the Zhenguan Period).

After ten years of development, the Tang regime became more and more stable, and

⁸⁹⁷ See *ibid.*, 19a-20a.

⁸⁹⁸ Yan Shigu, *Daye shiyi ji*, cited in *ibid.*, vol. 110, 25b.

Emperor Taizong gradually relaxed his vigilance. At this juncture, Wei Zheng discerned the latent perils lurking beneath the veneer of prosperity and, from the third to seventh lunar month of the 11th year of the Zhenguan period (637), proffered four memoranda within brief intervals to apprise the emperor of both gains and losses.⁸⁹⁹ In the second memorandum, which was later named “Jian Taizong shisi shu” 谏太宗十思疏 (Remonstrance for Taizong: Ten Reflections) in the Qing dynasty, Wei Zheng raised ten questions worth pondering. He mentioned: “No matter how big or small the resentment of the civilians is, the scary thing is losing their support; *zaizhou-fuzhou* is what should be treated with deep concern” 怨不在大，可畏惟人；载舟覆舟，所宜深慎。⁹⁰⁰

Perhaps it was because Emperor Taizong had witnessed how the powerful Sui dynasty aroused the resistance of the civilian people at the bottom due to endless warfare and labor abuse, and then finally perished. Therefore, he listened to Wei Zheng’s opinions and took the warning lesson of *junzhou-minshui* to heart. In Wu Jing’s 吴兢 (670-749) *Zhenguan zhengyao* 贞观政要 (Minutes of Zhenguan), a book that records the views of the emperor and his ministers on politics during the Zhenguan period, the metaphor of *junzhou-minshui* appears five times. Three instances were attributed to Wei Zheng,⁹⁰¹ one was articulated by another official Cen Wenben 岑文本 (595-645),⁹⁰² and the remaining one was proclaimed by Emperor Taizong himself.⁹⁰³ It can be seen that this view was the consensus at that time. Moreover, when Emperor Taizong introduced this concept, he aimed to impart this cautionary message to his son through his daily teachings. As documented in *Zhenguan zhengyao*, in the 18th year of the Zhenguan period (644), Emperor Taizong shared his instructional guidance with his courtiers regarding the prince. One of them was expressed as follows: Upon witnessing the prince embarking on a boat, he inquired of the prince: “Do you understand boats?” The prince replied that he did not understand.⁹⁰⁴ Emperor Taizong proceeded to enlighten him by stating: “The boat symbolizes the emperor, while the water represents the populace. Just as water can either support or capsize a boat, as a ruler over your subjects, it is imperative that you maintain a sense of vigilance and awareness” 舟所以比人君，水所以比黎庶。水能载舟，亦能覆舟，尔方为人主，可不畏惧。⁹⁰⁵ This dialogue once again demonstrated Emperor Taizong’s profound appreciation for this concept.

As an esteemed and sagacious emperor in Chinese history, Emperor Taizong garnered

⁸⁹⁹ Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu*, vol. 71, 7b: 其后又频上四疏，以陈得失. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 10a.

⁹⁰¹ See Wu Jing, *Zhenguan zhengyao*, vol. 1, 10a; vol. 1, 22b; vol. 3, 9b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁰² See *ibid.*, vol. 10, 14b.

⁹⁰³ See *ibid.*, vol. 4, 16b.

⁹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*

⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

high praise from politicians and even subsequent emperors.⁹⁰⁶ Consequently, the ideology of *junzhou-minshui*, which was highly valued by Emperor Taizong, became a mandatory course for later dynasty emperors.

During the transition from a tribal alliance to a kingdom, the ancient societies gradually developed a rudimentary understanding of the new concept – “kingship.” Those in positions of authority consistently influenced and shaped this cognitive perception. Upon the ruler passing down his acquired power within his family, he established a clear distinction between the “king/emperor” and the “civilians,” elevating the former as a supreme authority. Thus, scholars believe that despite the metaphor *junzhou-minshui* expressed some essence very close to democratic awareness, it should still be understood rather as a manifestation of the centralized feudal power structure.⁹⁰⁷ Although the comparison of the emperor to a boat that can be capsized by water (referring to the ruled civilians) may seem humble, his metaphor unequivocally distinguished the emperor from his people. Despite sharing the same human nature with his subjects, the emperor was still recognized as a supreme existence. In this conception, a “boat” above “water” is just as divine as “the son of heaven” or “the true dragon.”

The *junzhou-minshui* metaphor arose from a clear understanding of the fundamentally antithetical and conflicting disparities between the governing authorities and their subjects. The emperor should utilize the power bestowed upon him by the people rather than disregarding them, as it is through the people’s support and resistance that the establishment and abolition of the dynasty’s regime have been accompanied. This form of logical reasoning had to undergo repeated real-life testing and gained widespread popularity due to its easily comprehensible metaphors. Whenever the ancient Chinese politicians and ideologists contemplated the rise and fall of the regimes, they would first think of the force of the people’s torrent that can “carry the boat and overturn the boat.” Thus, they tried to teach the emperors political wisdom such as *minweibangben* 民为邦本 (the civilian people are the foundation of the state) and *duburushu* 堵不如疏 (blocking is not as good as draining) to reinforce the stability of the state.

Although the centralization of monarchy had reached a high level during China’s feudal

⁹⁰⁶ For instance, Emperor Qianlong of the Qing dynasty, to be discussed later, held deep admiration for Emperor Taizong and regarded him as an exemplary figure.

⁹⁰⁷ See Lu Xiangguo 卢向国, *Wenqing zhengzhi de wutuobang: Zhongguo gudai minben sixiang de jili yanjiu* 温情政治的乌托邦：中国古代民本思想的机理研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2008); Zheng Jingao 郑敬高, “Minzhuzhi, zongfazhi yu xianqin guizu” 民主制、宗法制与先秦贵族, in *Zhongguo qianjindai lilun guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中国前近代史理论国际学术研讨会论文集, Wuhan ed. daxue zhongguo san zhi jiu shiji yanjiusuo 武汉大学中国三至九世纪研究所 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1997); Liu Xinke 刘新科, ed., *Zhongguo chuantong wenhua yu jiaoyu* 中国传统文化与教育 (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 2016), 24-26; Feng Tianyu 冯天瑜, Yang Hua 杨华 and Ren Fang 任放, eds., *Zhongguo wenhua shi* 中国文化史 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 130-133; Zhanghong 张宏, ed., *Zhongguo chuantong wenhua gainian* 中国传统文化概论 (Beijing: Beijing ligong daxue chubanshe, 2019), 79-81.

dynasties, for emperors who were concerned about regime stability, the metaphor of *zaizhou-fuzhou* had always served as a warning alarm in their hearts. Emperor Qianlong of the Qing dynasty, discussed later in this chapter, was an outstanding one of them.

Admittedly, this warning, like all the warnings or moral standards, might have been disregarded by emperors in pursuit of their ambitious goals or personal desires; however, it remained deeply ingrained in their subconscious. The following discussion will show Emperor Qianlong's comprehension of this metaphor and how he manifested and addressed this warning through the boat-architectures he commissioned.

3.1.2 Emperor Qianlong's Boat-Architectures

On August 23, the 13th year of Yongzheng reign (1735.10.08), Emperor Yongzheng died, and his son, Aixin-jueluo Hongli took the throne and became the Emperor Qianlong.

Qianlong's way to the throne was comparatively smoother than the intricate circumstances surrounding his father Yongzheng's ascent. Emperor Qianlong had shown his intelligence since childhood. When he was ten years old, he was favored by his grandfather, Emperor Kangxi, who brought Hongli into the palace to raise him personally. It is rumored that Kangxi's preference for his grandson Hongli directly affected his choice of Emperor Yongzheng to inherit the throne. Although this rumor has never been confirmed, after Kangxi died, the 13-year-old Hongli was established as the crown prince by the newly enthroned Emperor Yongzheng and was educated as the future emperor. Five years later, the 18-year-old Hongli married the daughter of the chief executive of Chahar, Fucha Lirongbao 富察·李荣保 (1674-1723), from a famous Manchurian family. At the same time, the only prince older than him, Aixin-jueluo Hongshi 爱新觉罗·弘时 (1704-1727), was stripped of his clan membership due to self-indulgence. Since then, Hongli had no rivals in the battle for the throne.

It can be said that Hongli was raised by his grandfather and father as a future emperor since childhood. Therefore, his education was the most complete and comprehensive among the emperors of all dynasties. From age 6 to 24, Hongli spent 19 years exploring the wisdom of governing and designing the country's future. As he matured into his destined position, so too did the country under his rule progress. Because of the governance of Emperor Kangxi and Yongzheng, the social order of the Qing dynasty was stable for a long time, the population continued to increase, and the economy developed rapidly. The young prince Hongli understood that he – the chosen one – would take over a thriving Qing dynasty from his father.

However, in a prosperous world, an overthrow can occur unexpectedly and abruptly, as exemplified by the Qin dynasty's unification of six kingdoms followed by its downfall within two generations and Emperor Yang of Sui's acquisition of a powerful empire only to bring about its demise with his own hands. Such examples in Chinese history were just countless. Although the downfall of a country or dynasty may be attributed to various factors and cannot be solely attributed to a particular ruler, ancient Chinese educators of crown prince often employed empirical thinking by drawing causal relationships between an emperor's indulgence in pleasure and the collapse of their nation through historical analysis. Then they admonished the crown princes or emperors accordingly. Considering that the country Hongli was about to

inherit was in a state of great prosperity, devoid of internal uprisings and famines, as well as external wars and threats, it is evident that, compared to other dangers deserving vigilance, particular attention was given to educating the emperor against the peril of indulging in pleasure.

In order to derive insights from the successes and failures of others, Hongli conducted a systematic study on renowned emperors in Chinese history. Amongst all the emperors, Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty and his Government during the Zhenguan period served as his role model and aspiration. He once expressed, “Having read the book [*Zhenguan zhengyao*], I could not help but sigh three times as I contemplated its era: such was the flourishing reign of Zhenguan” 余尝读其书，想其时，未尝不三复而叹曰：贞观之治盛矣！⁹⁰⁸ The book *Zhenguan zhengyao*, which chronicles Emperor Taizong’s governance experience, was a desk reference for Qianlong. Upon his accession to the throne, he composed poetry to record his impressions after reading this book,⁹⁰⁹ demonstrating its profound influence on him.

In addition, we know from above that the metaphor of *junzhou-minshui* and *zaizhou-fuzhou* appeared many times in this book. Therefore, through a thorough study of this book, Emperor Qianlong could gain a comprehensive understanding of Wei Zheng’s admonition to Emperor Taizong as well as Emperor Taizong’s embracement of this concept. In the seventh year of Qianlong reign (1742), his question for the Final Imperial Examination also proved his comprehension and acknowledgement of this concept. Part of his question was: “The emperor, in relation to his people, is akin to a boat in relation to water. Just as a boat cannot achieve its merits without being connected to water, so too can a ruler not accomplish effective governance without being connected to the people” 盖君之于民，其犹舟之于水耶。舟不能离水而成其功，人主亦不能离民而成其治。⁹¹⁰

It is readily comprehensible that Emperor Qianlong’s subconscious inevitably associated the concept of *junzhou-minshui* whenever he encountered a boat. Not to mention that the stories of those abhorrent or laudable emperors related to “boat” in the past would evoke a contradictory metaphor of *zaizhou-fuzhou* in his mind. This aligns with the discourse presented in Chapter 1, wherein literati often associate the image of a “boat” with symbolizing one’s attitude of “entering/escaping the world.” Yet this particular connotation regarding “carrying/capsizing the boat” is exclusive to the emperor.

We can discern such associations in Emperor Qianlong’s numerous poems, as

⁹⁰⁸ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “*Zhenguan zhengyao xu*” 《贞观政要》序, in *Yuzhi Leshan Tang quanji dingben* 御制乐善堂全集定本, vol. 7, 1b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁰⁹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “*Du Zhenguan zhengyao*” 读贞观政要, in *Yuzhi shi chuji* 御制诗初集, vol. 1, 1a. See *SKQSHY*: 懿德嘉言在简编，忧勤想见廿三年；烛情已自同悬镜，从谏端知滕转环。房杜有客能让直，魏王无事不绳愆；高山景仰心何恨，字字香生翰墨筵。 See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “*Qianlong qinian sanyue tingshi gongshi cewen*” 乾隆七年 (1742)三月廷试贡士策问, in *Yuzhi wen chuji* 御制文初集, vol. 14, 6b. See *SKQSHY*.

exemplified by his work “Yuyuan qingfan” 御园晴泛 (A Sunny Day Boating in the Imperial Garden):

Today is a sunny day that is not cold or hot. It is suitable for boating in the Imperial Garden. Governing must be diligent and coordinate everything. A tour can be used to soothe the mind when having free time.

The hanging willow branches are packed with leaves, and the peach blossoms gradually flourish. The boat is carried by the freshly thawed water, which is so clear that one can see the bottom. It reminds me of Wei Zheng’s words in the *Shisi shu*.

朗晴弗冷亦非暄，耐可兰舟泛御园。敕政勤惟协物理，值闲游以慰心源。
柳边丝意垂馀润，桃处花光逐渐繁。新水载舟澄见底，十思疏里忆徵言。⁹¹¹

The *Shisi shu* here refers to the “Remonstrance for Taizong: Ten Reflections” by Wei Zheng to Emperor Taizong. As mentioned above, Wei Zheng reminded Taizong of the warning about *zaizhou-fuzhou* in this memorandum. The title and initial two sentences of this poem serve as an indication that Emperor Qianlong composed it while leisurely boating on a sunny day within the Imperial Garden. This demonstrates that just as Emperor Taizong recalled Wei Zheng’s warning upon witnessing the prince embark on a boat and imparting teachings to him, Emperor Qianlong similarly made such association during his own boating experience. We know about Qianlong’s profound admiration for Emperor Taizong. Therefore, his association with *zaizhou-fuzhou* during boating must be seen as affirmation and recognition of Taizong’s accomplishments. The reference to *Shisi shu* in the poem indicated this conviction.

Qianlong frequently employed this writing pattern in his works on boat-architectures. The term *Shisi shu* and the theme of *zaizhou-fuzhou* were consistently utilized. For example, “Only the warning of ‘carrying the boat’ provides me deep exhortation. From the *Shisi shu*, I find my teacher” 祇有载舟规义切，十思疏里得吾师 (Huafang Zhai, the Pleasure Boat Studio),⁹¹² or as another example, “Yet I take the metaphor of the *Shisi shu* because I am more afraid of losing the support of civilian people” 而我取喻十思疏，更因切切畏民暑 (Ruofan Zhi Ge 若帆之阁, the Sail-like Pavilion),⁹¹³ etc. There was also the writing method that hides the name of *Shisi shu* but still uses its allusion: “The old metaphor of ‘carrying the boat’ in the past is a reminder for deep prudence, and the design intention of the Stone Boat is the wish of permanent stability” 载舟昔喻存深慎，磐石因思永奠安 (Shi Fang 石舫, the Stone Boat).⁹¹⁴

⁹¹¹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Yuyuan qingfan,” in *Yuzhi shi siji* 御制诗四集, vol. 4, 16a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹² Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Ti Huafang Zhai” 题画舫斋, in *Yuzhi shi erji* 御制诗二集, vol. 87, 11b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹³ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Ruofan Zhi Ge” 若帆之阁, in *Yuzhi shi sanji* 御制诗三集, vol. 40, 30b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹⁴ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Shi Fang” 石舫, in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 60, 20b. See *SKQSHY*.

And also in this case a second example: “But I recall the famous saying that the civilians are like water, half because of the clear mind and half because of the diligent thinking” 却忆名言民犹水，半因澄念半廛思 (Fang Shi 舫室, the Boat-like Room),⁹¹⁵ and so on.

If we analyze these poems thoroughly, we can see that they often start with describing a scenery. But after expressing the author’s appreciation of the beautiful scenery, he puts forward the thinking about *zaizhou-fuzhou* in a sharp turning way. For example, in the poem on the Huafang Zhai, Qianlong wrote:

After fasting, I return to the palace, and the summer solstice sacrificial ceremony is coming. Half the way, I rest in the water hall, and the scenery after the rain is especially charming. **Yet the beautiful view is not what makes me linger; it is the warning metaphor that needs me to ponder.** Such as the one in that ‘water carries a boat,’ the former sages revealed its purport. Facing the current season, I await the folk tune of the South Wind. Reading the *Book of Changes*, I feel awed by the shackles of gold.

宿斋复还宫，北至将临祀。路便憩水堂，雨前景尤美。景美匪所耽，戒深允宜揣。譬如水载舟，前贤揭其旨。对时企薰弦，观易凛金柅。⁹¹⁶

Through the transition of the sentence “Yet the beautiful view is not what makes me linger, it is the warning metaphor that needs me to ponder,” Emperor Qianlong divided this poem into two parts. The first half briefly recounted his resting in Huafang Zhai on the way back to the palace after fasting and expressed his admiration for the picturesque scenery. The second half shifts to the metaphor of *zaizhou-fuzhou* as a self-warning that he should learn from the former sages’ thoughts on *junzhou-minshui*. The *xunxian* 薰弦 in the penultimate sentence refers to the folk tune of the “South Wind.” Here it was Qianlong’s tribute to his grandfather Emperor Kangxi’s poem for another boat-architecture, Yunfan Yuefang 云帆月舫 (Cloud Sail Moon Boat): “The song of *xun* advocates [that the emperor] should prioritize [the concerns of his people] before he derives pleasure [from their satisfaction]. The tune contains the nature of things summarized by Fu Xi’s trigrams” 后乐先忧薰，弦意蕴羲爻。⁹¹⁷ Put in ancient Emperor Shun’s mouth, this folk song articulates the notion of promoting the welfare of the people, alleviating their sorrow, and enhancing their prosperity. Moreover, *lin jinni* 凛金柅 employs the hexagram *gou* 姤 from the *Book of Changes* to caution himself that indulging in material gratification is akin to donning an imperceptible restraint.

In another poem, “Huo Huafang” 活画舫 (the Lifelike Pleasure Boat), Emperor

⁹¹⁵ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Fang Shi kouhao” 舫室口号, in *Yuzhi shi wuji* 御制诗五集, vol. 72, 31b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹⁶ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Huafang Zhai,” in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 5, 1b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹⁷ Aixin-jueluo Xuanye, “Rehe sanshiliu jing shi, qi ershiliu: Yunfan Yuefang” 热河三十六景诗，其二十六：云帆月舫, in *Sehngzu Ren Huangdi yuzhi wen disan ji* 圣祖仁皇帝御制文第三集, vol. 50, 11a. See *SKQSHY*.

Qianlong compressed the transition between the introductory and final lines still further:

[It was built] with the *fang* style on the stone-made [platform] near the stream. As it makes an image [of a boat] so vivid, it was called the “Lifelike Pleasure Boat.” Although [it] could not sail around the hill or turn along the river bank, [it] still could [provide a boating scene of] paddling and knocking on the hull.

[I] often “sail” this [“boat”] with the autumn moon or spring breeze [while] looking at the red flowers and green willows freely. **[However,] if any sentences appropriate for me were aroused [by it], that should be the prudent thinking of “[water] can carry the boat [and can capsize the boat].”**

砌石临溪肖舫式，于焉活画以名之。峰随岸转虽无藉，鼓枻鸣榔属有为。
秋月春风常泛此，花红柳绿任看其。如云切己是何句，能载舟言应慎思。⁹¹⁸

While the first three-quarters of the text extol the beauty of boat-architecture and surrounding scenery, the final sentence delivers a blunt warning about *zaizhou-fuzhou*. In a kind of alert subconscious, the poet demands himself to renounce not only the captivating scenery ahead but also his relaxation and indulgence in it. For him (as emperor), neither the scenic beauty itself nor the entertainments are (or should not be) intriguing.

This morally assessed rejection of the environment’s beauty found another expression in Emperor Qianlong’s poems on the Ruofan Zhi Ge. In one of them, he wrote:

The refreshing breeze and bright moon are endless pleasures. The boat sailing on the shore probably can have them both. **However, I take the metaphor of the *Shisi shu* because I am more afraid of losing the support of civilian people.** If one does whatever one wants without caution and puts the sail on to drive, then the danger [of being capsized] might come.

清风明月食无尽，舟行岸转疑有兼。而我取喻十思疏，更因切切畏民暑。设其肆志弗顾虑，挂席过驶危或陆。⁹¹⁹

Despite the alluring charm of the “refreshing breeze and bright moon” nor the various pleasures of “boating along the shore” were, the poet claims to remain unaffected of the boat’s offerings. What an emperor should appreciate is the profound respect for the civilian’s common aspiration that is projected on this building through the metaphor of *Shisi shu*. Because governing a country is like navigating a boat, and reckless actions can lead to imminent danger.

In another poem on Ruofan Zhi Ge, he demonstrates his abstention more deliberately:

There is a reason for the pavilion’s name of Ruofan: it looks as if [a boat] sailing to the

⁹¹⁸ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Huo Huafang,” in *Yuzhi shi wuji*, vol. 28, 30b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹¹⁹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Ruofan Zhi Ge,” in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 40, 30b. See *SKQSHY*.

three [immortal] islands of Penglai (left unmentioned Fangzhang, and Yingzhou). **[However, visiting celestial beings like] Anqi and Xianmen is not what [I] want.** [Instead,] it is the old sayings in the *Shisi shu* that [I] am aware when I see it and [feel] deeply warned by the heart.

若帆之名此有由，仿佛蓬莱三岛游，安期羡门非所求。十思疏中举古语，触目喻言惕心所。⁹²⁰

In the poem, Emperor Qianlong first likened the Ruofan Zhi Ge to a boat sailing to the Three Immortal Islands in search of immortality, thereby attributing its name. Yet, immediately following, he made clear that visiting immortals (and thus obtaining an elixir of immortality) was not his pursuit. Instead, only the warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou* was the cultural symbolism he saw conveyed through this boat-architecture. In other words, Emperor Qianlong intentionally crafted an image of a “boat seeking an elixir” as a negative exemplar to deter himself from such behavior, while also affording him the opportunity to emphasize the significance he places on the warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou*.

These poems reveal that Emperor Qianlong’s comprehension of *zaizhou-fuzhou* is deep rooted, very active and conscious. However, these verses, singing so euphoniously his conviction of constant awareness to behave correctly, may come across as mere slogans to some. As Guo Yuanlin 郭院林 puts forward, “Due to the constraints of ideas, Emperor Qianlong could not be a poet who purely accomplished literary creation. He consistently attempted to cloak his desires with ethical values and employed moralistic articles in order to cultivate an image of a ‘sage king,’ which resulted in fragmented poetic content” 但由于观念束缚，乾隆难以单纯地做一个诗人，纯粹地进行文学创作，他总是试图以伦理价值掩饰欲望，以道德文章塑造“圣君”形象，从而导致诗歌内容的分裂。⁹²¹ Especially when Emperor Qianlong deliberately “denied” the beauty and made the enjoyment of it a target that contrasted with his emperor’s morality, people inevitably harboured some doubts. When Emperor Qianlong ordered to build a large number of recreational boat-architectures such as *fang*, was it indeed just to set up one warning sign after another to discipline himself? Does all rejection of recreational activity, as expressed in his poems, not just reveal his genuine love for this activity?

While the first question is challenging to answer precisely so far,⁹²² the answer to the second question is quite clear.

The *Qing-Gaozong yuzhi shiji* 清高宗御制诗集 (Collection of Poems Made by Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty) shows that from the first year of Qianlong’s ascension to the throne until three years following his abdication, Qianlong composed poems on boating

⁹²⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Ruofan Zhi Ge,” in *Yuzhi shi shi*, vol. 13, 11a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹²¹ Guo Yuanlin, “‘Sovereign’ Expression and the Cover-up of Desires: the Inner Tension of Qianlong’s South Tour Poetry and Its Causes,” *Journal of Soochow University (Philosophy & Social Science Edition)* 38, no. 2 (2017): 133.

⁹²² This question will be analysed further in the following sections.

and sightseeing annually, if not monthly. A preliminary search of Emperor Qianlong's poetry titles using the keyword *fanzhou* (boating) yields 498 results, while a search using the keyword *zhou* 舟 (boat) produces 912 results!⁹²³ Not to mention that numerous poems about his boating activities did not incorporate this keyword in their titles. The vast quantity of such poems persuades us that the leisure pursuit of boating was a lifelong passion for this emperor.

Furthermore, based on literary records, there are at least 17 boat-architectures that were constructed in the gardens under the direct orders of Emperor Qianlong: Fang Shi 舫室 (the 1st year of Qianlong reign),⁹²⁴ Lüyun Fang 绿云舫 (10th-11th year),⁹²⁵ Tianban Fang 天半舫 (12th year),⁹²⁶ Shi Fang 石舫 (16th year),⁹²⁷ Shuhua Fang 书画舫 (15th-18th year),⁹²⁸ Dui'ou Fang 对鸥舫 (15th-19th year),⁹²⁹ Huafang Zhai 画舫斋 (22nd year),⁹³⁰ Shifan Shi 石帆室 (25th year), Huohua Fang 活画舫 (27th year), Lüwei Fang 绿帷舫 (27th-28th year), Ruofan Zhi Ge 若帆之阁 (29th year), Lanjing Fang 岚镜舫 (29th year), Jie Zhou 芥舟 (31st year), two Hua Fang 画舫 (one in the 37th year, another in the 43rd year),⁹³¹ Xia'ou Fang 狎

⁹²³ The search is conducted on the website on April 7th, 2022. "Sou-yun: shici jiansuo" 搜韵: 诗词检索, <https://sou-yun.cn/QueryPoem.aspx>.

⁹²⁴ See *Bishu shanzhuang yanjiu bianweihui* 《避暑山庄研究》编委会, ed., *Bishu shanzhuang yanjiu 2009* 避暑山庄研究 2009 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2010), 47.

⁹²⁵ According to the construction date of the Jingyi Garden, see Yuan Changping 袁长平, *Jinghua tonglan: Xiang Shan Jingyi Yuan* 京华通览: 香山静宜园 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2018), 69.

⁹²⁶ According to the date of the first poem Emperor Qianlong wrote on this building, see Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Longfu Si xinggong liujing, qisi: Tianban Fang" 隆福寺行宫六景, 其四: 天半舫, in *Yuzhi shi chujì*, vol. 38, 13b-14a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹²⁷ According to the date of the "Wanshou tu" 万寿图 for the Empress Dowager Chongqing's 崇庆 (1693-1777) 60th birthday (1751), which depicted the Shi Fang.

⁹²⁸ According to the construction date of the Jingming Garden, see Zhang Baozhang 张宝章, *Jinghua tonglan: Yuquan Shan Jingming Yuan* 京华通览: 玉泉山静明园 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2018), 23.

⁹²⁹ According to the construction date of the Qingyi Garden, see Zhou Weiquan 周维权, "Qingyi Yuan shilue" 清漪园史略, in *Yuanming Yuan xuekan* 圆明园学刊, vol. 3, ed. Chinese Yuan Ming Yuan Institute (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gonye chubanshe, 1984): 135.

⁹³⁰ See in 3.2.1.

⁹³¹ From Shifan Shi to Hua Fang built in the 37th year, see Jia Jun, "Yuanming Yuan zhong de fangzhou jianzhu," 31; Hua Fang built in the 43rd year, see *Bishu shanzhuang yanjiu bianweihui*, ed., *Bishu shanzhuang yanjiu 2015-2016* 避暑山庄研究 2015-2016 (Shenyang: Liaoning mingzu chubanshe, 2016), 91.

鸥舫 (37th-42nd year),⁹³² Baolian Hang 宝莲航 (49th year).⁹³³ They were built in various imperial gardens and palaces (see Table 3.1.2-1). We will be astounded by the sheer quantity of Emperor Qianlong's poems on boat-architecture. Upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that the content regarding self-discipline (*zaizhou-fuzhou*) is relatively minor. In other poems concerning boat-architectures, where the metaphor of *zaizhou-fuzhou* is not employed, "pleasure" undoubtedly takes center stage.

Table 3.1.2-1 Emperor Qianlong's poems concerning boat-architectures

Construction Date	Name	Gardens/Palaces	Poems: Self-discipline / pleasure
1736	Fang Shi	Ziquan Palace 紫泉行宫	1/18
1746	Lüyun Fang	Jingyi Garden 静宜园	1/11
1747	Tianban Fang	Longfu Temple Palace 隆福寺行宫	0/9
1751	Shi Fang	Qingyi Garden 清漪园	2/95
1750-1753	Shuhua Fang	Jingming Garden 静明园	0/12
1750-1754	Dui'ou Fang	Qingyi Garden 清漪园	0/12
1757	Huafang Zhai	Beihai 北海	4/37
1760	Shi Fanshi	Zibishanfang 紫碧山房, Yuanming Garden 圆明园	0/7
1762	Huohua Fang	Bieyoudongtian 别有洞天, Yuanming Garden 圆明园	1/8
1762-1763	Lüwei Fang	Anlan Garden 安澜园, Yuanming Garden 圆明园	0/5
1764	Ruofan Zhi Ge	Yuanming Garden 圆明园	2/7
1764	Lanjing Fang	Xifengxiuse 西峰秀色, Yuanming Garden 圆明园	0/2
1766	Jie Zhou	Yulinlong Guan 玉玲珑馆, Yuanming Garden 圆明园	0/8
1772; 1778	Huafang	Lion Grove 狮子林, Changchun Garden 长春园, Yuanming Garden 圆明园; Lion Grove 狮子林, Summer Mountain Resort in Chengde 承德避暑山庄	0/16
1772-1777	Xia'ou Fang	Tuanhe Palace 团河行宫	0/3
1784	Baolian Hang	Lianxilechu 濂溪乐处, Yuanming Garden 圆明园	0/0

Meanwhile, the emperors of the Qing dynasty, both before and after Qianlong's reign, did not exhibit any discernible preference for this style of architecture. Therefore, Qianlong's fondness for boat-shaped buildings is even more prominent. According to Jia Jun's research, there is no record of *fang* construction in the imperial gardens during the reigns of Emperor

⁹³² According to the construction date of the Tuanhe Palace, see Chen Congzhou, ed., *Zhongguo yuanlin jianshang cidian*, 263-264.

⁹³³ See Jia Jun, "Yuanming Yuan zhong de fangzhou jianzhu," 31.

Qianlong's predecessors, including Emperors Kangxi and Yongzheng.⁹³⁴ Among the emperors of the Qing dynasty, only Empress Dowager Cixi ordered the reconstruction of the Shi Fang of the Summer Palace built by Qianlong during the Guangxu period. (This will be mentioned as a particular case in the discussion of Shi Fang in Section 3.3). Therefore, the construction of boat-architectures is intricately linked to Emperor Qianlong's personal preferences, thus providing us with a perfect exemplification for exploring the cultural symbolism inherent in his unique boat-architecture.

It is important to note that the discussion on the "emperor's boat-architecture" in this chapter does not imply the universal applicability of this architectural style to all emperors; rather, it emphasizes its exclusively symbolic significance specifically attributed to emperors (particularly Qianlong). While this meaning is mostly expressed through Qianlong's construction behavior, it can be inferred through previous discussion that its symbolic significance for the emperor inherently lies in the supreme ruling position of feudal China.

The metaphor of *junzhou-minshui* and *zaizhou-fuzhou* closely intertwines the images of boats and emperors. Emperor Qianlong of the Qing dynasty demonstrated a conscious and active awareness of this connection through his boat-architecture constructions. Although his fanaticism for boating often rendered his self-warning an empty slogan, he nonetheless endeavored to exert control over his desires when he built or used boat-architectures. This statement, which initially appears contradictory, will be further elucidated. It represented an inevitable internal struggle for him as the emperor of a highly centralized power structure who endeavored to be a benevolent ruler.

Based on a substantial body of existing research,⁹³⁵ with specific focus on Emperor Qianlong's projection of *zaizhou-fuzhou*, the following two sections will choose two typical examples of his boat-architectures as the objects of discussion: the Huafang Zhai and the Shi Fang.

The connection between the former and the prototype of the boat-architecture, Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai, will draw attention to the relationship between Emperor Qianlong and the Jiangnan literati. It will reflect the complex entanglement of the non-Han (Manchu) rule and the Han culture in Qianlong's psyche, showcasing how he strategically employed "Huafang Zhai" as a cultural symbol to attain psychological ascendancy over the Han literati while simultaneously assuaging his guilt over indulging in recreational boating.

The latter also shows Emperor Qianlong's internal struggle between his desires and self-discipline. In this case, the desire for Qing dynasty's perpetual rule and the emperor's ego served as motivators for him to exercise restraint. What sets this case apart is that it provides

⁹³⁴ See *ibid.*, 32. It is worth noting that the Chengde Summer Resort, constructed by Emperor Kangxi, formerly housed the Yunfan Yuefang. But this was the only *fang* architecture in record before Emperor Qianlong.

⁹³⁵ There exists an abundance of research on Emperor Qianlong's gardening concepts and his gardens, which this thesis does not aim to comprehensively review. Consequently, only the pertinent studies are provided in footnotes accordingly.

an opportunity to observe the evolution of a particular boat-architecture's form and design ideas from mid- to late-Qing dynasty, which reflects changes in the ruler's attitude towards pleasure.

3.2 Boating Tour: Pleasure, Conceit, and Self-discipline

In the 22nd year of Qianlong reign (1757), Emperor Qianlong began a tour to the south of the Yangtze River on the 11th of the first lunar month (1757.02.28). It was the second of his six Southern Tours, and he returned to the Yuanming Garden (the Old Summer Palace) about three months later (1757.06.12). Perhaps out of appreciation of the Jiangnan literati gardens he had visited, Emperor Qianlong decided to build similar courtyards within the imperial gardens in Beijing. One such example is the Huafang Zhai courtyard, located on the east bank of Beihai 北海.

3.2.1 The Huafang Zhai Courtyard in Beihai

On the 27th of the fifth lunar month (1757.07.12), one month after his return, the design of the Huafang Zhai courtyard was finalized. The Neiwu Fu 内务府 (Ministry of Internal Affairs) reported:

[They are] newly built in the south of the Xiancan Tan 先蚕坛: the three-bay palace gate, the five-bay front hall with a three-bay *baosha* 抱厦 (the auxiliary part attached to the main building, like the portico), the five-bay back hall with two three-bay *baosha* in the front and behind, two three-bay side halls, the 36-bay corridor surrounding the corners. A granite stone pool in front of the [back] hall, the three-bay river house in the east, with an eight-bay corridor. In the west, [there is] a square pavilion, a two-bay building facing the east, and a 12-bay zigzag corridor. The length of the *suishan*-style 随山 (rises and falls with topography) courtyard wall is 56 *zhang* and 2 *chi*. Along with the wall, [there is] one gate, one stone bridge, two memorial gates, and a water outlet built with stone.

先蚕坛南边新建宫门三间，前殿五间，抱厦三间，后殿五间，前后抱厦六间，配殿二座计六间，周围转角游廊三十六间。殿前豆渣石水池一座，东边临河房三间，游廊八间。西边方亭一座，向东房二间，湾转游廊十二间。随山式院墙凑长五十六丈二尺，随墙门楼一座，石桥一座，牌楼二座，山石出水河口一道。

⁹³⁶

⁹³⁶ The *Neiwu Fu zou'an* 内务府奏案 and the *Neiwu Fu zouxiaodang* 内务府奏销档 on the 27th of the fifth lunar month in the 22nd year of Qianlong reign (1757.07.12) (The First Historical Archives of China), no. 05-0154-066, and 237-005-1. For all citations of the *Neiwu Fu zou'an* and the *Neiwu Fu zouxiaodang*, see Xiao Fangfang 肖芳芳, "The Study on the Construction of Beihai Garden in Qianlong Period of Qing Dynasty" (Master diss., Tianjin University, 2016), 60-66.

Thus, the Huafang Zhai courtyard is arranged with the palace gate, front hall, and back hall on the north and south axis. Among them, the palace gate is a three-bay building. The front hall, “Chunyu Lintang” 春雨林塘 (spring rain forest pond), is a five-bay building with a three-bay *baosha* in its backside. The back hall, “Huafang Zhai,” is also a five-bay building, but with two three-bay *baosha* in its front and back. A square stone pool is built between the front and back hall, and a ring of corridors surrounds the pool. There are two three-bay side halls on the eastern and western sides of the pool, respectively named “Jingxiang” 镜香 (perceiving the fragrance) and “Guanmiao” 观妙 (meditating the secrets). The exterior of this group of buildings is enclosed by a courtyard wall that rises and falls with topography, in the length of 56 *zhang* and 2 *chi*.

The plan drawings in the court record “Xiyuan Taiye Pond dipan tu” 西苑太液池地盘图 (The Plan of the Taiye Pond in the West Garden) provide us with more detailed information (Fig. 3.2.1-1). It can be seen from the picture that this group of courtyards is divided into three groups large courtyards on the central axis and two small courtyards, respectively, on the east and west sides. The open space between the palace gate and the front hall used natural slopes to form the front yard. The square pool is the middle courtyard, surrounded by the front hall, side halls, back hall, and corridor. The space between the back hall and the southern wall, again, uses natural slopes and forms the backyard.

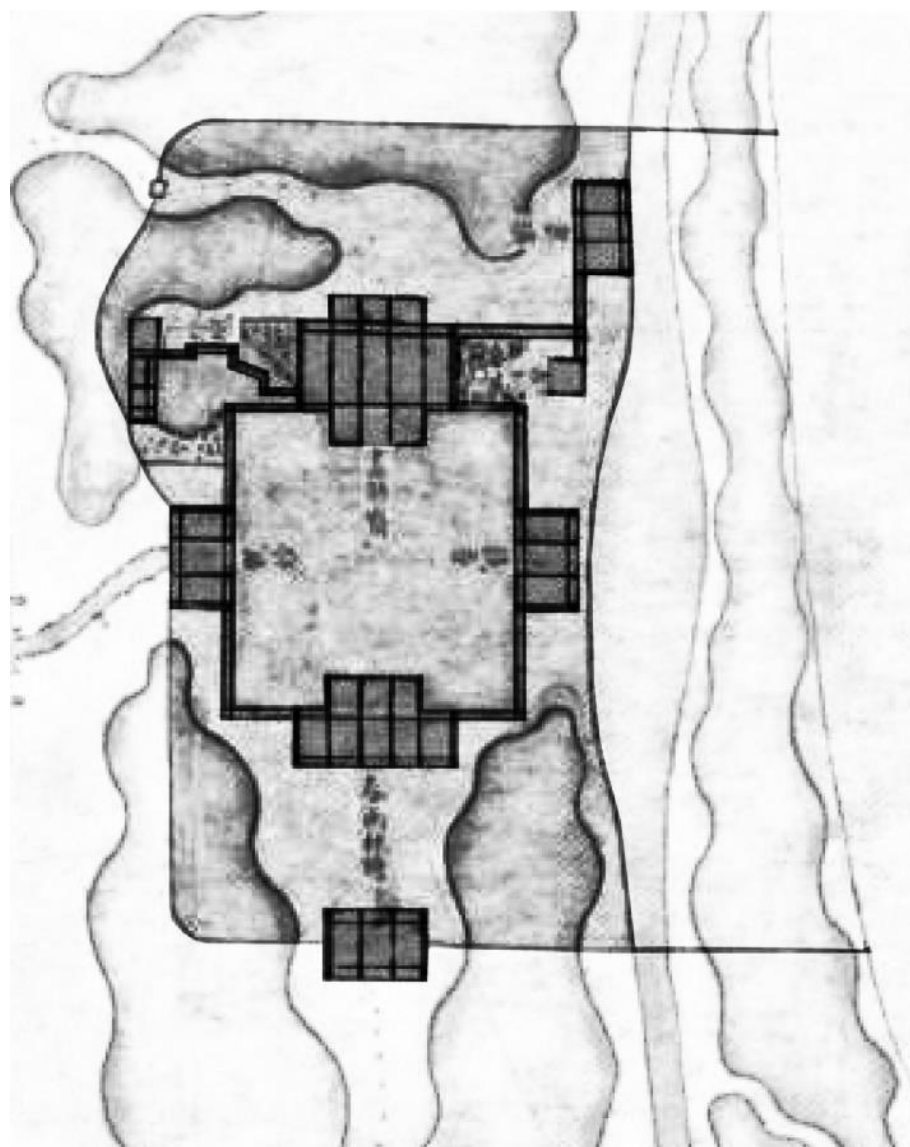


Fig. 3.2.1-1 The Huafang Zhai courtyard in the “Xiyuan Taiye Pond dipan tu.”

The east and west courtyards are rather small, located on two sides of the back hall. The west courtyard is a small water courtyard connected to the central pool. Different from the square shape of the pool, the water surface boundary here has a more natural shape. A 12-bay zigzag corridor on the water surface connects the front corridor of the back hall. On the east side of the water surface is a square pavilion and two buildings facing east, later named “Xiao Linglong” 小玲珑 (the [Courtyard] of Small and Exquisite). The east courtyard has a Chinese scholartree 槐 (*Styphnolobium japonicum* (L.) Schott) planted in the Tang dynasty, so this tiny courtyard is called “Guke Ting” 古柯庭 (the Courtyard of Ancient Tree). The plan drawing showed a square pavilion here, added later in 1759.⁹³⁷ According to the records of *Guochao gongshi* 国朝宫史 (The Palace History of Current Dynasty), the pavilion was named “Guke” 古柯 as the theme of this courtyard.⁹³⁸

On the north side of the Guke Ting, there is an eight-bay L-shaped corridor that turns north. The two ends of this corridor are connected to the back corridor of the back hall and a three-bay river house. The river house is called “Aokuang Shi” 奥旷室 (the Room of Deep and Broad) and is built next to Yucan 浴蚕 (Bathing Silkworms) River, which flows from the east side of the Xiancan Tan in the north to the south, passing the east side of the Huafang Zhai building complex. It also supplies the water of the central pool through the water outlet below the east side hall, Jingxiang. Another water outlet under the west side hall, Guanmiao, leads the water into the Taiye Pool along a specially dug stone canal to ensure that the water in the pool can circulate better. On this stone canal, there is a stone bridge and two memorial gates at each end of the bridge.

The Neiwu Fu’s report on the 19th of the sixth lunar month in the 24th year of Qianlong reign (1759.07.13) recorded the expenses of this project, which indicated the official completion of this project.⁹³⁹ However, at the latest, this courtyard was roughly finished in the second lunar month of that year. This conclusion is based on the date of Emperor Qianlong’s four poems on Huafang Zhai, Xiaolinglong, Ao’kuang Shi, and Guke Ting. In Emperor Qianlong’s poem collection, the poem before these four is called “Zhongchun Jingqing Zhai

⁹³⁷ See the *Neiwu Fu zou’an* on the 19th of the sixth lunar month in the 24th year of Qianlong reign (1759.07.13) (The First Historical Archives of China), no. 05-0172-047: ……又估外后殿东边添建方亭一座…….

⁹³⁸ Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉, comp., *Guochao gongshi* 国朝宫史, cited in Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*, vol. 27, 20a: 画舫斋左水石间, 有古槐一柯, 构亭其间, 颜曰“古柯”. See *SKQS*.

⁹³⁹ See the *Neiwu Fu zou’an* on the 19th of the sixth lunar month in the 24th year of Qianlong reign (1759.07.13) (The First Historical Archives of China), no. 05-0172-047: 奴才三和、吉庆、四格谨奏, 为奏闻销算用过银两数目事。奴才等遵旨修建春雨林塘等处工程……通共销算银九万九千五十二两三钱四分二厘, 内除用过旧料抵用银一万五千五百七十五两一钱八分四厘, 净实用银八万三千四百七十七两一钱五分九厘……又估外后殿东边添建方亭一座……通共销算银一万七千三百四十六两五钱七分九厘……除与例相符外, 内有尺寸不符之处, 按例核减银二百四两三钱六分九厘, 净应销算银十万六百十九两三钱六分九厘, 等因呈报前来。

deju” 仲春镜清斋得句 (Composed in the Jingqing Zhai during the Mid-spring), and the poem after that is “Yuyuan xuefan” 御园雪泛 (Boating in the Snow in the Imperial Garden).⁹⁴⁰ The sequential arrangement of these poems, in accordance with their chronological order, provides evidence that Emperor Qianlong’s visit to the Huafang Zhai courtyard was just in mid-spring when the weather had not yet warmed up.

Four years later, in the 11th lunar month (December) of the 28th year of Qianlong reign (1763), the Huafang Zhai complex underwent small-scale reconstruction, mainly for the walls, doors, and corridors.⁹⁴¹

In the 32nd year of Qianlong reign (1767), the east courtyard of Huafang Zhai was rebuilt (Fig. 3.2.1-2).⁹⁴² In this project, two new three-bay buildings facing north-south were added to the north side of the original courtyard, and they were named after the previous “Guke Ting” and “Aokuang Shi.” In order to make room for the two new buildings, the original “Aokuang Shi” river house was relocated to the southeast while maintaining its east-west orientation. It changed from a river house facing the water to a building across the river, and was renamed as “Dexing Xuan” 得性轩 (The Pavilion of Grasping the Law of Nature). The west side of the new “Guke Ting” (the one on the south side) was connected to the back corridor of Huafang Zhai by a three-bay corridor on the west side, and the new “Ao’kuang Shi” (the one on the north side) was connected to the “Dexing Xuan” by a four-bay corridor on the east side. The square pavilion, “Guke,” was also moved east. It connected with the “Dexing Xuan” on the north and the northeast corner corridor of Huafang Zhai through a curved corridor on the south. The reconstruction expanded the eastern courtyard and gave it a richer landscape.

⁹⁴⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Yuyuan xuefan,” in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 84, 13b-15a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁴¹ See the *Neiwu Fu zou’an* on the 8th of the 11th lunar month in the 28th year of Qianlong reign (1763.12.12) (The First Historical Archives of China), no. 05-0212-020: 春雨林塘东墙开安门口一座，改盖叠落游廊三间，补盖围房一间，粘修转角房十三间，筒子河添安板桥一座，挪安栅栏一座，粘修出水闸一座，成砌墙垣凑长十九丈九尺五寸，以及油饰彩画，起刨土山，找堆云步山石，出运渣土，平垫地面等项工程，俱经修理完竣……今除准销工料银五百四十三两一钱五厘，房价银七百十两外，尚存剩银一百十四两七钱四分，相应交回广储司银库。

⁹⁴² See the *Neiwu Fu zou’an* on the 25th of the fifth lunar month in the 32nd year of Qianlong reign (1767.06.21) (The First Historical Archives of China), no. 05-0243-061: 今详细估计得画舫斋东边添建正房二座计六间，方亭一座，前正房西山游廊三间，后正房东山游廊四间，东厢房南山游廊一间，方亭南山游廊十间，挪盖东厢房三间。以上添建并挪盖房间、游廊共八座，计二十八间；拆卸方亭一座，游廊九间；拆砌泊岸凑长二十四丈七尺，院墙长七丈，添砌院墙长二丈，铺墁石子海墁，成堆山石点景，办造内里装修，油饰彩画糊裱等项工程。

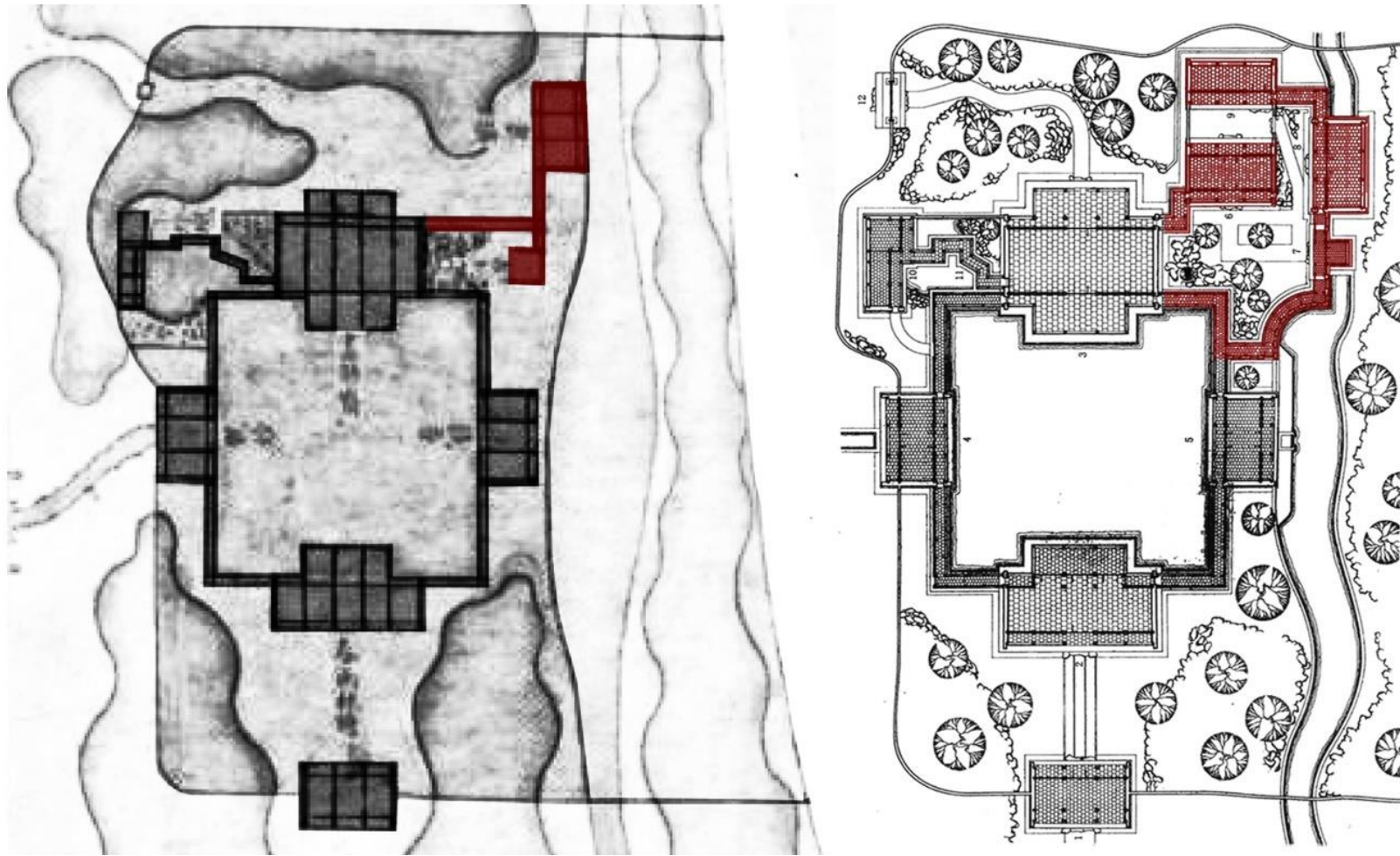


Fig. 3.2.1-2 Comparison of the east courtyard before and after reconstruction in the 32nd year of Qianlong reign.

Emperor Qianlong wrote a large number of poems about this group of courtyards. These poems recorded in his *Gaozong yuzhi shiji* show that he was delighted with this project and often visited this courtyard (Table 3.2.1-1). From these poems and the time of their creation, we can infer Qianlong's patterns of usage for these buildings. For example, the front hall, Chunyu Lintang, was not frequently used, and it was more set up as a front building in the entire courtyard space sequence and the opposite scenery of the back hall, Huafang Zhai. Emperor Qianlong preferred the east one between the small courtyards on the east and west sides. This preference was not only the reason for the extension project of the east courtyard but also became more evident after the extension project. Before the reconstruction of the east courtyard, Emperor Qianlong wrote four poems on Xiao Linglong (west courtyard) and eight poems about Guke Ting (east courtyard). However, he wrote only two poems on the former but 22 on the latter in the decades after the reconstruction project. Moreover, only one poem was written on the original Aokuang Shi (the river house) before the reconstruction, but seven poems on the new river house, Dexing Xuan. The new Aokuang Shi, on the other hand, had 15 poems after the reconstruction. Considering the vast number and area of the imperial gardens built during Emperor Qianlong's reign, Huafang Zhai courtyard was a mere tiny fraction. Nevertheless, the fact that Emperor Qianlong still wrote so many poems for it is enough to prove that he used the Huafang Zhai courtyard, especially its east courtyard, quite frequently.

Table 3.2.1-1 Emperor Qianlong's poems on the buildings in the Huafang Zhai courtyard⁹⁴³

Time	Chunyu Lintang 1+0	Huafang Zhai 15+22	Xiao Linglong 5+1	Aokuang Shi 1+15	Guke Ting 8+22	Dexing Xuan 0+7
1759	/	YZS-2, vol. 84	YZS-2, vol. 84	YZS-2, vol. 84	YZS-2, vol. 84	/
	/	YZS-2, vol. 85	/	/	/	/
	/	YZS-2, vol. 87	/	/	/	/
1760	/	YZS-3, vol. 1	/	/	/	/
	/	/	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 2	/
	YZS-3, vol. 4	YZS-3, vol. 4	/	/	/	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 5	/	/	/	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 6	/	/	/	/
1762	/	YZS-3, vol. 17	YZS-3, vol. 17	/	YZS-3, vol. 17	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 25	/	/	/	/
1763	/	YZS-3, vol. 28	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 28	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 30	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 30	/
1764	/	YZS-3, vol. 35	YZS-3, vol. 35	/	/	/
1765	/	YZS-3, vol. 43	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 43	/
1766	/	YZS-3, vol. 54	YZS-3, vol. 54	/	YZS-3, vol. 54	/
1767	/	YZS-3, vol. 62	YZS-3, vol. 62	/	YZS-3, vol. 62	/
East courtyard renovation, 25th of the fifth lunar month (1767.06.21)						
1767	/	YZS-3, vol. 66	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 66	/
1768	/	YZS-3, vol. 69	/	YZS-3, vol. 69	YZS-3, vol. 69	YZS-3, vol. 69
	/	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 71	/	YZS-3, vol. 71
1769	/	YZS-3, vol. 77	/	YZS-3, vol. 77	YZS-3, vol. 77	YZS-3, vol. 77
	/	YZS-3, vol. 79	/	YZS-3, vol. 79	YZS-3, vol. 79	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 82	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 82	/
1770	/	YZS-3, vol. 85	/	YZS-3, vol. 85	YZS-3, vol. 85	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 87	/	/	/	/
	/	YZS-3, vol. 91	/	YZS-3, vol. 91	YZS-3, vol. 91	YZS-3, vol. 91
1771	/	YZS-3, vol. 93	/	/	YZS-3, vol. 93	YZS-3, vol. 93
	/	YZS-3, vol. 99	/	YZS-3, vol. 99	YZS-3, vol. 99	YZS-3, vol. 99
1772	/	YZS-4, vol. 1	/	YZS-4, vol. 1	YZS-4, vol. 1	YZS-4, vol. 1
1773	/	YZS-4, vol. 9	/	YZS-4, vol. 9	YZS-4, vol. 9	/
1774	/	YZS-4, vol. 17	/	YZS-4, vol. 17	YZS-4, vol. 17	/
1780	/	YZS-4, vol. 65	/	YZS-4, vol. 65	YZS-4, vol. 65	/
1781	/	YZS-4, vol. 77	/	/	YZS-4, vol. 77	/
	/	YZS-4, vol. 81	/	/	YZS-4, vol. 81	/
1782	/	YZS-4, vol. 85	/	/	YZS-4, vol. 85	/
1783	/	/	/	/	YZS-4, vol. 95	/
1784	/	YZS-5, vol. 1	/	YZS-5, vol. 1	YZS-5, vol. 1	/
1785	/	YZS-5, vol. 13	/	/	YZS-5, vol. 13	/
1786	/	YZS-5, vol. 19	/	YZS-5, vol. 19	YZS-5, vol. 19	/
1788	/	YZS-5, vol. 35	/	YZS-5, vol. 35	YZS-5, vol. 35	/
1790	/	/	YZS-5, vol. 51	/	/	/
1791	/	YZS-5, vol. 62	/	YZS-5, vol. 62	/	/
1797	/	/	/	/	YZS-P, vol. 10	/

⁹⁴³ In this table, the *Qing-Gaozong yuzhi shiji* is referred to as YZS.

In the 37 poems on the Huafang Zhai, Emperor Qianlong mentioned abundant cultural symbols of the “boat” and interpreted this boat-architecture quite polysemously. Wang Qiheng 王其亨, a professor at Tianjin University, once conducted extensive and in-depth research on the polysemous interpretation of garden architecture’s cultural symbols in Qianlong’s poems. He suggests that in traditional Chinese gardens, “after the author completed the naming (of a building), he had already become a tourist, and he will also interpret the allusions from different angles according to his immediate emotions” 作者完成题名之后, 就已然成为游赏者, 他也会根据自己即时的情绪, 从不同的角度对典故进行多义的解读.⁹⁴⁴ Therefore, the quotation of various allusions in Qianlong’s poems was not an arty behavior but directly related to the artistic conception of his garden creation, which is a kind of “creation in the true sense.”⁹⁴⁵ Wang Qiheng proposes that the Confucian ideological and political educational aim of *neisheng-waiwang* 内圣外王 (sagacity inside and kingliness outside) in *Liji* 礼记 (The Book of Rites) is the fundamental thought of Qianlong’s construction of the imperial gardens.⁹⁴⁶

Wang Qiheng’s students, Zhuang Yue 庄岳, Shi Zhen 史箴, and Wu Cong 吴葱, followed his opinion in an article that studied the design intention of Qianlong’s construction of Huafang Zhai courtyard. This article mentioned that this group of buildings is “one of Qianlong’s most proud works,” and “it can mirror and focus on expressing Confucianism’s supreme ideal of ‘*neisheng-waiwang*,’ reflecting Qianlong’s political ambitions and life pursuits” 可以观照并着力表现儒学“内圣外王”的至高理想, 反映乾隆的政治抱负与人生追求.⁹⁴⁷ The architectural expression of *neisheng-waiwang* is interpreted based on the analysis of the architectural plan. It is believed that the central courtyard of Huafang Zhai, as the exterior, shows a space of “king”: the palace gate, the front hall, and the main hall (the back hall, Huafang Zhai) form a north-south sequence; the central courtyard is symmetrical, surrounded by corridors to form a closed space; the main hall and the side halls form a clear primary-subordinate relationship; the square pool in the courtyard implies the meaning of

⁹⁴⁴ Wang Qiheng, Zhuang Yue 庄岳 and Wu Cong 吴葱, “Chuchu shutang xuan ziming, wufei daogu shu jinqing: Qingdai huangjia yuanlin jingming yongdian de shenmei yiyi” 处处书堂选字名, 无非道古淑今情——清代皇家园林景名用典的审美意义, in *Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui lunwen ji* 中国紫禁城学会论文集, vol. 3, ed. Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui 中国紫禁城学会 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2000), 296.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., 294.

⁹⁴⁶ Wang Qiheng, Wu Dongfan 鄂东璠 and Wu Cong, “Shixiu songrui qingshang wai, xinti jiuyong jingping zhong: Qianlong yuzhi shi zhong de yuanlin yixiang” 石秀松蕤清赏外, 新题旧咏静评中——乾隆御制诗中的园林意象, in *Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui lunwen ji*, vol. 3, ed. Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2000), 195-198.

⁹⁴⁷ Zhuang Yue, Shen Zhen 史箴 and Wu Cong, “Wen ze bi jia yi, yi si wo yi zhi: Beihai Huafang Zhai de jieshi xue chuanguo yixiang zaitan” 文则彼佳矣, 义斯我绎之——北海画舫斋的解释学创作意象再探, in *Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui lunwen ji*, vol. 3, ed. Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2000), 205.

zaizhou-fuzhou.⁹⁴⁸ The east and west courtyards in the back are regarded as the expression of “sagacity inside” because they are “[...] deep and serene with many twists and turns, and its style of the literati garden can make people meditate and cultivate their nature [...]”深谧曲折，一派士人园林风范，能使人静心修性.....⁹⁴⁹ On this basis, the article further interprets the titles of different buildings in this complex on their cultural connotations and concludes that the concept of “sage king” is precisely the design intention of the entire Huafang Zhai courtyard.⁹⁵⁰

The most objective proof of Wang Qiheng and his students’ opinion is the poem “Aokuang Shi” (composed in 1791) by Emperor Qianlong himself. The concept of *neisheng-waiwang* is directly presented in the poem: “Sagacity inside and kingliness outside, [I] put aside my selfish desires and followed the [sage king’s] way” 内圣与外王，廓然顺应为。⁹⁵¹ However, according to Wang Qiheng, this is the reinterpretation by the creator, Emperor Qianlong, as a “tourist” 32 years after its construction. The time span should not be overlooked.



Fig. 3.2.1-3 The plaque of the “Shiquan Jie” in “Gaozong bashi wanshou qingdian tu.”

Emperor Qianlong had been in power for 56 years when he wrote this poem. Having just passed his 80th birthday the previous year, he no longer pursued new achievements but began pursuing his life’s affirmation and recognition. In “Gaozong bashi wanshou qingdian tu” 高宗八十万寿庆典图 (The Painting of Celebrating Long Live Emperor Gaozong’s 80th Birthday), there is a plaque “Shiquan Jie” 十全街 (The Street of Ten Perfections) written on the street at the beginning of the picture (Fig. 3.2.1-3). In the 57th year of Qianlong reign, he

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., 207.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., 208.

⁹⁵⁰ In 1998, Zhao Chunlan 赵春兰, one of Wang Qiheng’s earliest graduate students, posited in her dissertation that the principle of *neisheng-waiwang* was a fundamental tenet of Emperor Qianlong’s garden construction philosophy. See Zhao Chunlan, “Zhoubi yinghai cheng guang zai, Kunlun fanghu suo di lai: Qianlong zaoyuan sixiang yanjiu” 周裨瀛海诚旷哉，昆仑方壶缩地来——乾隆造园思想研究 (Master diss., Tianjin University, 1998), 4-6.

⁹⁵¹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Aokuang Shi,” in *Yuzhi shi wuji*, vol. 62, 6a. See *SKQSHY*.

wrote the “Shiquan ji” 十全记 (The Record of Ten Perfections) himself, calling himself *shiquan laoren* 十全老人 (the old man of ten perfections), and boosted his *shiquan wugong* 十全武功 (ten great military achievements). It can be referred that the poems and essays he created during this period served as a retrospective of his reign. He endeavored to solidify his accomplishments while still in power. Therefore, it is not so much that the *neisheng-waiwang* here showcases his pursuit of the highest ideal, but rather emphasizes his endeavor to present a highly favorable assessment of himself (and hopes for concurrence from others). Although this bumptious reinterpretation of this poem (Sagacity inside and kingliness outside, [I] put aside my selfish desires and followed the sage king’s way) came from the creator himself and represented his true intention at a certain period, it would be unfair and not reflect Qianlong’s complex thoughts if assessing from his expression in a selected period of his life exclusively.

To deeply analyze the cultural symbol Emperor Qianlong projected on the boat-architecture of Huafang Zhai, we should not ignore that apart from the metaphors of *junzhou-minshui* and *zaizhou-fuzhou*, which are exclusive for emperors, the connotations also include almost every aspect mentioned in the first chapter: the two prototypes of boat-architectures – Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai and Mi Fu’s “Mijia Shuhua Chuan;” the *xuzhou* (empty boat) in *Zhuangzi* and the *jichuan* (benefiting the world) in *Book of Changes*; the stories of historical people who own boat-architectures, such as Zhang Chou’s “Qinghe Shuhua Fang,” Zhang Rong’s boat house, and Gu Ying’s Shuhua Fang; etc.⁹⁵² All these cultural symbols discussed in the first chapter represent the self-projections of literati, especially those living in the water-rich Jiangnan region south of the Yangtze River. Emperor Qianlong’s use of these cultural symbols suggests that the Huafang Zhai was used intentionally as a spiritual conduit between himself, a Manchu emperor, and Han literati in southern China. By adopting the literati’s cultural symbols of boat-architecture, Emperor Qianlong positioned himself as both master and successor to Han culture.

Meanwhile, we must also consider his complex attitude towards the “boat” symbol for emperors – the desire for boating tours and the introspection of *zaizhou-fuzhou*. Despite his efforts to establish himself as a wise ruler, he never refrained from indulging in leisurely activities such as boating, gardening, and touring the southern regions. Instead of wholeheartedly embracing the vigilant metaphor of *junzhou-minshui*, he distorted it with an emperor’s conceit to resist his inclination towards hedonism. Moreover, he alleviated any guilt associated with these daily indulgences by constructing boat-like structures primarily intended for recreation but ostensibly meant for self-restraint.

The conclusion will be further explained and demonstrated in the rest of this section.

⁹⁵² The details about these symbols can be seen in the first chapter, and will be discussed again in 3.2.3.

3.2.2 The Predilection and Possessiveness Towards the Jiangnan Region

As mentioned, only one month after Emperor Qianlong's return from the Southern Tour, the Huafang Zhai courtyard's design had been determined. Although the courtyard's design was not complicated, one month was barely enough considering the site selection and project scale in the early design stage. Therefore, it is likely that this construction plan had already been conceived during the Southern Tour.

In fact, on his Southern Tour, Emperor Qianlong often ordered people to copy the scenery of famous gardens on the way, ready to return to Beijing to imitate the construction.⁹⁵³ For example, the Ru Garden 如园 in Changchun Garden was built as an imitation of the Zhan Garden 瞻园 in Nanjing, the Lion Grove was built as an imitation of the Huang Family's She Garden 涉园 in Suzhou, the Xiaoyutian 小有天 was built as an imitation of the Wang Family's Garden in Hangzhou. Although unlike the Lion Grove or the Qianchi Xue 千尺雪, which had a precise imitation of a particular garden,⁹⁵⁴ the landscape shaping of the east and west gardens in the Huafang Zhai courtyard still had an evident touch of Jiangnan literati gardens. As Zhuang Yue pointed out in his article, the design intention of the west garden, Xiao Linglong, is related to the imitation of the Canglang Ting 沧浪亭 in Suzhou.⁹⁵⁵ In addition, the design intention of the back hall, Huafang Zhai, was also related to the Jiangnan region. In his poem, Qianlong had pointed out that its idea came from the image of a Jiangnan boat: "The [Huafang] Zhai looks like a Jiangnan painted boat" 斋似江南彩画舟.⁹⁵⁶

We know that Emperor Qianlong was keen on boating and used boats as the primary transportation in the Jiangnan region. The southern natural scenery was conveniently accessible by boat, exemplified by the captivating West Lake in Hangzhou that enthralled Emperor Qianlong. In addition, the gardens in the Jiangnan region were also famous for their water

⁹⁵³ There have been numerous studies conducted on Emperor Qianlong's emulation of Jiangnan gardens. Here, three examples are respectively listed based on the research perspective from macro to micro. See Wu Jian 吴建 and Wang Weiping 王卫平, "Xuanze yu xiefang: Kang Qian nanxun yu jiangnan jingguan de hudong" 选择与写仿: 康乾南巡与江南景观的互动, *Jianghai Academic Journal*, no. 6 (2018): 162-171; Guo Yiyao 郭奕瑶, "Qing Qianlong shiqi Yuanming Yuan xiefang jiangnan sijia yuanlin chuangzuo shoufa yanjiu" 清乾隆时期圆明园写仿江南私家园林创作手法研究 (Master diss., Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, 2020); Liu Shanshan 刘珊珊 and Huang Xiao 黄晓, "Qianlong Huishan Yuan xiefang Wuxi Jichang Yuan xintan" 乾隆惠山园写仿无锡寄畅园新探, *Architectural Journal*, no. 6 (2019): 99-103.

⁹⁵⁴ For more details on the Lion Grove and the Qianchi Xue, see, Gu Liyuan, "Trends in Chinese Garden-making: The Qianlong Emperor (1711-99) and Gardens of Jiangnan," *Garden History* 46, no. 2 (2018): 186-190.

⁹⁵⁵ See, Zhuang Yue, "Beihai Huafang Zhai," 210-212.

⁹⁵⁶ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Ti Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 77, 30b. See *SKQSHY*.

scenery. Especially at that time, the salt industry was in full swing in the area around Yangzhou city, and the wealthy Yangzhou salt merchants competed to build gardens on both sides of the Baozhang 保障 River (later known as the Slender West Lake 瘦西湖) in order to gain Emperor Qianlong's favor. From the North Gate to Pingshan Hall 平山堂, on both sides of the Baozhang River, there were gardens such as Yihong Garden 倚虹园, Jingxiang Garden 净香园, Qu Garden 趣园, Xiao Garden 筱园, and Shuizhu Ju 水竹居. Dozens of miles of gardens were connected, forming a viewing route by boat.⁹⁵⁷ It can be said that boating tours and boats became the most familiar scenes for Emperor Qianlong when he recalled the pleasure of his Southern Tour. That is why the design intent of Huafang Zhai, a boat-architecture designed during the Southern Tour to imitate a "Jiangnan painted boat," must also be considered in the context of Qianlong's Southern Tour.

Moreover, the "boat" symbol had long been endowed with profound and complex cultural symbols for both literati and emperors (see Chapters 1 and 3.1). Therefore, "boats" could be interpreted as the communication medium between the north and the south, as well as between the Manchu emperors and the Jiangnan literati. In such a context, Huafang Zhai's design intention was inseparable from Emperor Qianlong's attitude to Jiangnan (literati/culture).

Scholars studying the history of the Qing dynasty are familiar with Emperor Qianlong's (and his grandfather Kangxi's) Southern Tour. Although the number of relevant academic achievements does not match the significance of this historical event, and most of them are non-thematic studies, they still yield relatively abundant research results. Different scholars' studies on Emperor Kangxi and Qianlong's Southern Tours often focus on various aspects, including but not limited to politics, literature, landscape, architecture, opera, etc. The following discussion does not aim to provide a comprehensive summary of the study results. Its objective is to utilize existing research conclusions in order to examine Emperor Qianlong's perspective towards Jiangnan and, consequently, towards the Huafang Zhai courtyard – a boat-architecture garden designed to imitate Jiangnan literati gardens during his Southern Tour. Therefore, the conclusions presented subsequently are not exhaustive of the Southern Tour study, but rather represent those aspects that can be utilized to some extent in relation to Huafang Zhai and its construction, thereby reflecting Qianlong's attitude towards it.

First of all, it needs to be explained that the "Southern Tour" belongs to the category of the emperor's *xunshou* 巡狩 (the tour for the "Son of Heaven" to inspect the vassal

⁹⁵⁷ Regarding the gardens in Yangzhou at that time, see He Feng 何峰, "Nanxun, yanshang yu Qingdai Yangzhou chengshi jingguan de bianqian" 南巡、盐商与清代扬州市景观的变迁, *Journal of Nanjing Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, no. 04 (2014): 69-75; Li Yinong 李伊依, "Jiyu Qianlong nanxun yingxiang xia de Yangzhou beijiayuanlin jiqun jingguan yanjiu" 基于乾隆南巡影响下的扬州北郊园林集群景观研究 (Master diss., Tianjin University, 2020); Zhou Jingchong 周景崇, "Zhouxing shijiao: Yangzhou huafanglu zhong de zaoyuan sheji yu xingyou gui" 舟行视角: 《扬州画舫录》中的造园设计与行游轨迹, *Art & Design Research*, no. 06 (2021): 48-54.

territories guarded by the feudal princes). The assessment of this action as advantageous or disadvantageous varied depending on the perception of the affected individual in history.⁹⁵⁸ According to the ancient etiquette system in the Confucian discourse system, *xunshou sifang* 巡狩四方 (the tour of inspection in four directions) was one of the responsibilities of the emperor. Mencius once quoted Yan Ying's 晏婴 (d. 500 BCE) answer to Jing-gong of the Qi Kingdom 齐景公 (Jiang Chujiu 姜杵臼, d. 490 BCE) to explain *xunshou*: that is, the king should annually embark on a nationwide tour during the spring plowing and autumn harvest seasons to conduct comprehensive assessments of the populace's circumstances, identify any challenges they face, and promptly address them.⁹⁵⁹ Beginning with Qin Shihuang, emperors utilized *xunshou* to expand their imperial power and exercise supervision over local governance.

However, the emperor's tours often exceeded a reasonable budget because of their opulent specifications. They often devolved into displays of power and hedonism, leading to the emperor's inflated sense of self-importance and indulgence. In addition, in history, emperors frequently suffered misfortunes as a result of inadequate protection during their *xunshou*.⁹⁶⁰ The excessive expenditure and hazardous nature of *xunshou* often elicited opposition from scholar-bureaucrats, who viewed it as "the antithesis of frugality, administrative diligence, and ultimately dynastic stability."⁹⁶¹

The existing studies have also seen the contradictions in Emperor Qianlong's Southern Tour.

On the one hand, scholars believe that the 12 Southern Tours of Emperor Kangxi and Emperor Qianlong were significant events in the history of the Qing dynasty, which played a vital role in stabilizing the south of the Yangtze River and consolidating the unity of the Qing's

⁹⁵⁸ Detailed research on the imperial touring can be seen in, Michael G. Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 34-71.

⁹⁵⁹ See Zhao Qi 赵岐, *Mengzi zhushu* 孟子注疏, vol. 2a, 15a: 天子适诸侯曰巡狩。巡狩者，巡所守也。……春省耕而补不足，秋省敛而助不给。 See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁶⁰ For instance, both Qin Shihuang and Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty met their demise during the *xunshou*. Regarding this point, some scholars have also interpreted it from the perspective of power struggles between emperors and feudal princes, positing that it was due to the latter's reluctance to accept the supervision of the former. Consequently, they employed various legends (such as Shun, Yu, King Zhao of the Zhou 周昭王, etc.) to further reinforce the notion that emperors would encounter misfortune during *xunshou*. See Wang Xuetai 王学泰, "Chunfeng juguo cai gongjin, Ban zuo zhangni ban zuo fan: Cong gudai diwang xunshou shuodao Qianlong nanxun 'shengdian' zhi dian" 春风举国裁宫锦，半作障泥半作帆：从古代帝王巡狩说到乾隆南巡“盛典”之玷, *Forbidden City* 143, no. Z2 (2006): 18.

⁹⁶¹ See, Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 46.

reign.⁹⁶² Michael G. Chang suggests that in the Qing dynasty, there was a constant negotiation of power, which expressed itself as a “‘line of strain’ between a dominant monarchy (centered on the ruler’s household and personal network of dependents) and a relatively independent civil apparatus (staffed by economically and culturally hegemonic elites based in local society and legitimated through civil service examinations).”⁹⁶³ Since most of the latter came from the Jiangnan area, with a developed economy and thriving culture, the control of Jiangnan by the power center was particularly important.

Moreover, the Jiangnan region has historically served as a crucial stronghold against the Qing dynasty. In the literati’s renderings through poetry, fiction, and drama, even the prostitutes and beggars were proud of martyrdom (see 2.1.4). The literati of Jiangnan, deeply immersed in this distinctive historical memory and cultural sentiment, harbored a sense of detachment from the Manchu rule for an extended period of time.

In “Nanxun ji” 南巡记 (The Record of the Southern Tour), Emperor Qianlong once wrote: “I have been in rule for 50 years, and there are two major events, one is called the *xishi* 西师 (the “Western Campaigns” quelling the Junggar rebellion), and the other is called the *nanxun* 南巡 (the “Southern Tour” inspecting the Jiangnan region)” 予临御五十年，凡举二大事，一曰西师，二曰南巡。⁹⁶⁴ The reason why Emperor Qianlong described the *nanxun* as equally important as the military activities, *xishi*, was related to its vital political and cultural significance. In his research, Michael G. Chang pointed out that “the Qianlong court seized on imperial touring because it was a politically potent and multivalent symbolic practice capable of simultaneously generating meanings within a variety of different social formations, each with its own specific history and interests, and thus facilitating their internal ideological coherence and reproduction.”⁹⁶⁵ Therefore, the Southern Tour should be considered as an ideological-driven activity that, in turn, reinforces the very ideology it is rooted in. By repeating Kangxi’s Southern Tour, he “propagate an ideology of ethno-dynastic exceptionalism and dominance” to the Jiangnan area, and “the court’s accommodation of Han literati ideals and interests,” which was equally important.⁹⁶⁶

Emperor Qianlong endeavored to establish his presence in the Jiangnan region, which was geographically distant from the political hub of Beijing. Apart from attending to political matters, Qianlong’s extensive sightseeing tours in Jiangnan carried significant political implications as well. Through these Southern Tours, he aimed to consolidate control over Jiangnan and exert ideological influence on its local customs. Taking the Lujin Temple (The Temple of the Lady with Exposed Tendons) mentioned in Chapter 2.3.1 as an illustrative

⁹⁶² Wang Weiping and Wu Jian, “Kang Qian nanxun yanjiu de huigu yu sikao” 康乾南巡研究的回顾与思考, *A Collection of Essays on the Ming and Qing* 17, no. 1 (2017): 133.

⁹⁶³ Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 14.

⁹⁶⁴ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Nanxun ji,” in *Yuzhi wen erji* 御制文二集, vol. 14, 9a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁶⁵ Chang, *A Court on Horseback*, 27.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

example, it is worth noting that Qianlong incorporated this Jiangnan local legend into four poems, three of which were (partly) titled “Lujin Temple.” While two of them express skepticism regarding the cause of death attributed to mosquito bites, all four emphasize the commendation of the poor lady’s unwavering commitment to chastity.⁹⁶⁷ Qianlong’s interest in this local temple initially stemmed from the works left by his predecessors, including his own grandfather Emperor Kangxi, who had inscribed a plaque for the Lujin Temple. Furthermore, he expressed his endorsement of the familial values of “keeping the chastity and preserving virtue” within Jiangnan clan society through his own literary works. Ultimately, his efforts served to reinforce the moral order of the state by advocating for ethical conduct within families.

Through leaving his traces, he further gained possession of this land, people, and culture. Apart from wandering around the scenic area and leaving numerous poems and inscriptions, his appetite to “own” the famous Jiangnan gardens (through imitation them in the capital) seems apparently expressed his desire to possess and control the Han culture represented by Jiangnan literati.

On the other hand, despite the official political objectives, there is always a deeply ingrained self-indulgent aspect to his character that shines through.

When scholars compared Emperor Qianlong’s Southern Tour with Emperor Kangxi’s, most concluded with a more advantageous assessment of the latter. Emperor Qianlong’s Southern Tour was nominally an abidance of the *zuzhi* 祖制 (the regime or system passed down from the ancestors) established by his grandfather Emperor Kangxi, who once clearly expressed the purpose and significance of the Southern Tour: treating the Yellow River and solving local flood issues; inspecting officials and investigating civilians’ condition; winning over the Han people and eliminating ethnic barriers. However, although Emperor Qianlong propagated that his Southern Tour followed the same goal as his grandfather’s, it was clear that he did not manage to suppress self-serving interests in contrast to the more focused and pragmatic Emperor Kangxi.⁹⁶⁸

The first evidence is his visit of the beautiful scenery of Jiangnan. On his Southern Tour, Emperor Qianlong undertook scenic tours and wrote poems of almost every place he visited.

⁹⁶⁷ See Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Jiangbei zayong bashou” 江北杂咏八首, in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 23, 26b; “Lujin Ci” 露筋祠, in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 68, 7a; “Ti Lujin Ci” 题露筋祠, in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 19, 22b; “Lujin Ci kouhao” 露筋祠口号, in *Yuzhi shi wuji*, vol. 4, 10a. See *SKQSHY*. The second and fourth poems exhibit a sense of doubt regarding the attributed cause of death from mosquito bites.

⁹⁶⁸ For relevant comparative studies, see Wu Jian 吴建, “Research on cultural activities during southern inspection of Emperor Kangxi and Emperor Qianlong – centered on the landscape culture of the Jiangnan area,” (Doctor diss., Soochow University, 2017); Chen Sihan 陈思晗, “Kangxi, Qianlong nanxun shi bijiao yanjiu” 康熙、乾隆南巡诗比较研究 (Master diss., Yangzhou University, 2019); Jiang Haiping 江海萍, “Kang Qian nanxun zhengzhi xingwei duibi yanjiu” 康乾南巡政治行为对比研究, *Journal of Heihe University*, no. 04 (2012): 120-125; Huo Yumin 霍玉敏, “Kangxi, Qianlong nanxun yitong kao” 康熙、乾隆南巡异同考, *Journal of Henan University of Science & Technology (Social Science Edition)* 27, no. 05 (2009), 26-30.

Nanxun shengdian 南巡盛典 (Southern Tour Pageantry) included the introduction and imperial inscription of nearly 100 places of interest in Jiangsu and Zhejiang.⁹⁶⁹ As Qianlong adopted boats as the primary transportation means in the Jiangnan region, his Southern Tour thus had the meaning of “boating tour” to some extent. More than a thousand boats in Emperor Qianlong’s fleet met end to end, with banners fluttered. On these boats, the accompanying ministers, servants, and guards formed a floating court on the water. The imperial boats *Anfu Lu* 安福舳, *Xiangfeng Ting* 翔凤艇, used 3,600 barge haulers, divided into six classes.⁹⁷⁰ Such extravagance reminds people of Emperor Yang’s boating tour in the Sui dynasty (see 3.1.1).

The second evidence is the boast of his governance and himself. Local officials and the wealthy merchants had long been aware of Emperor Qianlong’s nature of craving greatness and his readily indulgence in pleasure. Despite his ostensible instructions to limit the extravagance of local receptions during his Southern Tours, the welcome scenes continued to grow in scale and resulted in significant resource waste. Before starting the Southern Tour, the *yudao* 御道 (imperial road) had to be built in advance. According to the rules of etiquette, the local civil and military officials living within 30 *li* should wear court clothes to meet the emperor. The welcome ceremonies were rehearsed under the supervision of court officials.⁹⁷¹ The scenes were depicted vividly in “Qianlong nanxun tu” 乾隆南巡图 (Qianlong’s Southern Tour): landscapes were built along the river; civilians and officials all kneeled in open spaces and hailed their emperor; colorful cloths and temporary theatres decorated the city streets (Fig. 3.2.2-1). The emperor was contented to see the welcome scene, and, one of many times, he wrote: “Old people and children on both sides of the river cheered and looked in awe as the fleet moved along. Whenever [I] entered the cabin, the people looked disappointed. [I] pitied their sincerity and did not leave [the prow] even in the cold weather” 夹岸老幼趋随欢呼瞻仰，每入舫室，民若失望，怜其诚，冒凉有所弗避也。⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁹ For further information on Qianlong’s appreciation of scenic spots during his southern tour, see Liu Huanping 刘欢萍, “A Study of Emperor Qianlong’s Southern Inspection Tours from the Perspective of Poetry: Based on the Poems Written by Emperor Qianlong During His Southern Inspection Tours,” *Journal of Jiangsu Second Normal University* 34, no. 3 (2018): 51-52.

⁹⁷⁰ For detailed description, see Zuo Buqing 左步青, “Qianlong nanxun” 乾隆南巡, *Palace Museum Journal* no. 2 (1981): 22-26.

⁹⁷¹ See *ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁷² Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Xiao liang” 晓凉, in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 50, 18a. See *SKQSHY*.



Fig. 3.2.2-1 The welcome scenes in “Qianlong nanxun tu.”

The complexity and ultimately contradictory nature of Emperor Qianlong's Southern Tour were significantly brought to light in his pitiful attempts to conceal his self-serving motives, as revealingly evidenced by the poems he composed during the Southern Tours. In his research on Emperor Qianlong's Southern Tour poems, Guo Yuanlin pointed out:

On the one hand, he was keen on writing poems and was always full of desire for the Jiangnan; on the other hand, he was bound by morality and could not give himself up to poetry, which resulted in the inherent tension in his poetic expression: personal desire and love for landscape were always controlled by morality and ethics in his poems. Due to the requirement of shaping the image of 'sage king,' writing poems with a simple purpose was difficult.

一方面他热衷于写诗，始终充满对江南的欲望；另一方面受道德束缚，又不能纵情于诗，这就造成了乾隆诗歌表述中的内在紧张：个人对山水的渴望与喜爱在诗中总被道德伦理所节制，由于承载塑造“圣君”形象的要求，诗歌难以做到目的单纯地书写。⁹⁷³

Due to pursuing the ideal of a "sage king," Emperor Qianlong's Southern Tour poems did not aim to purely describe the landscape with unrestrained freedom but replaced it with moral teaching. "On the one hand, this was a cover-up of true psychology; on the other hand, it was also the need for temperance and self-cultivation. Emperor Qianlong was eager to show that he cared more about people's livelihood than he appreciated the beautiful scenery" 一方面是真实心理的掩饰，另一方面也是节制与修身的需要。乾隆急于表明自己对民生的关注远胜于对美景的欣赏。⁹⁷⁴ The unique identity and the desire to become a "sage king" gave Emperor Qianlong's Southern Tour poems an intense ethical and political color. He never forgot to suppress his emotions, to flaunt his merits in a self-deceptive way, to cover up his desires, and to restrain his pleasure. Scenery and politics, Emperor Qianlong, knew all too well which was more critical. However, because of this, he always seemed to be arguing with the world. He sought to convey his concern for the welfare of both country and citizenry alike; thus, his Southern Tour was undertaken not for pleasure but rather to address issues related to river management.⁹⁷⁵

A similar confrontation between indulgent desires and ethical constraints appeared in Emperor Qianlong's imitation of Jiangnan literati gardens. Liu Huanping 刘欢萍 indicated in her article:

Through perusing the text, it is easy to find Qianlong's admiration for the sceneries of Jiangnan and their beautiful names. However, it is thought-provoking that Qianlong

⁹⁷³ Guo Yuanlin, "'Sovereign' Expression," 131-132.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., 133.

⁹⁷⁵ See, *ibid.*

often wanted to hide his predilection when he imitated Jiangnan's scenic spots in the northern gardens. Was the purpose of the imitation to 'transplant the far away scenery of lakes and mountains into view,' or was it to 'take into sincere consideration local officials' governance and the people's livelihood'? This question became the key point of Qianlong's repeated 'interpretation' when imitating scenic spots.

虽然细读文本，我们不难发现充斥其间的，是乾隆对江南风光及佳名的爱慕钦羡。但颇有意味的是，在北方园林仿建江南名胜时，乾隆对自己喜爱之情常欲遮掩。仿建目的究竟是为“湖光山色，接接目前”？还是为睹景思人，“吏治民依，来往胸中”？这成了乾隆仿建名胜时反复“阐释”的重点。⁹⁷⁶

In the article, Liu Huanping pointed to a critical issue by looking into two garden notes written by Emperor Qianlong: "The author tries to find a reasonable interpretation between the image of the imitator who indulges in construction projects and pleasure, and the image of the emperor who loves his people and governs his country diligently, so as to give this paradox a sense of balance." 在大兴土木、耽于享乐的仿建者形象，与勤政爱民、宵旰图治的君王形象之间，作者力图寻求一种合理的诠释，以赋予这一悖论冠冕堂皇的平衡感。⁹⁷⁷ At the same time, she also emphasized that Qianlong's "imitation itself also contains a certain psychology of showing off and competition" 仿建本身也包含着一定的夸示、争胜心理。⁹⁷⁸

When we look at the design and construction of the Huafang Zhai courtyard with the above understanding, we will find that it cannot be simply regarded as Emperor Qianlong's architectural attempt to transplant a typical Jiangnan literati garden to Beijing. It must be understood ideologically. However, the ideology inside is not the *neisheng waiwang* that Emperor Qianlong propagated himself. It was, as his attitude toward the Southern Tour, full of internal tension: he neither wanted to give up his enjoyment of building gardens and sightseeing nor tarnish the image of a "sage king" he pursued; he not only tried to express his alliance with Han culture but also tried to express the condescending authority as a ruler.

In discussing Emperor Qianlong's poems on Huafang Zhai, chapter 3.2.3 will reveal how he cleverly used the different cultural symbols of the emperor and literati on boat-architecture to construct a balanced structure for the two tensions mentioned above and, thus, produced a self-excuse for his pursuit of pleasure.

⁹⁷⁶ Liu Huanping, "Lun Qianlong nanxun dui jiangnan xingxiang chuanbo zhi yingxiang: Yi nanxun xiangguan huihua yu fangjian wei zhongxin" 论乾隆南巡对江南形象传播之影响——以南巡相关绘画与仿建为中心, *Journal of Zhejiang Gongshang University*, no. 5 (2014): 7.

⁹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

3.2.3 Balanced Structure: A New Cultural Symbolism of Huafang Zhai

The back hall, Huafang Zhai, which is the central building of this courtyard, is not very similar to a “boat” in terms of overall appearance. Firstly, the building lacks a platform miming a boat’s hull. Secondly, the entire depth, including the two auxiliary building at the front and rear, almost equals the overall width of the five bays of the main building (see Fig. 3.2.3-1).

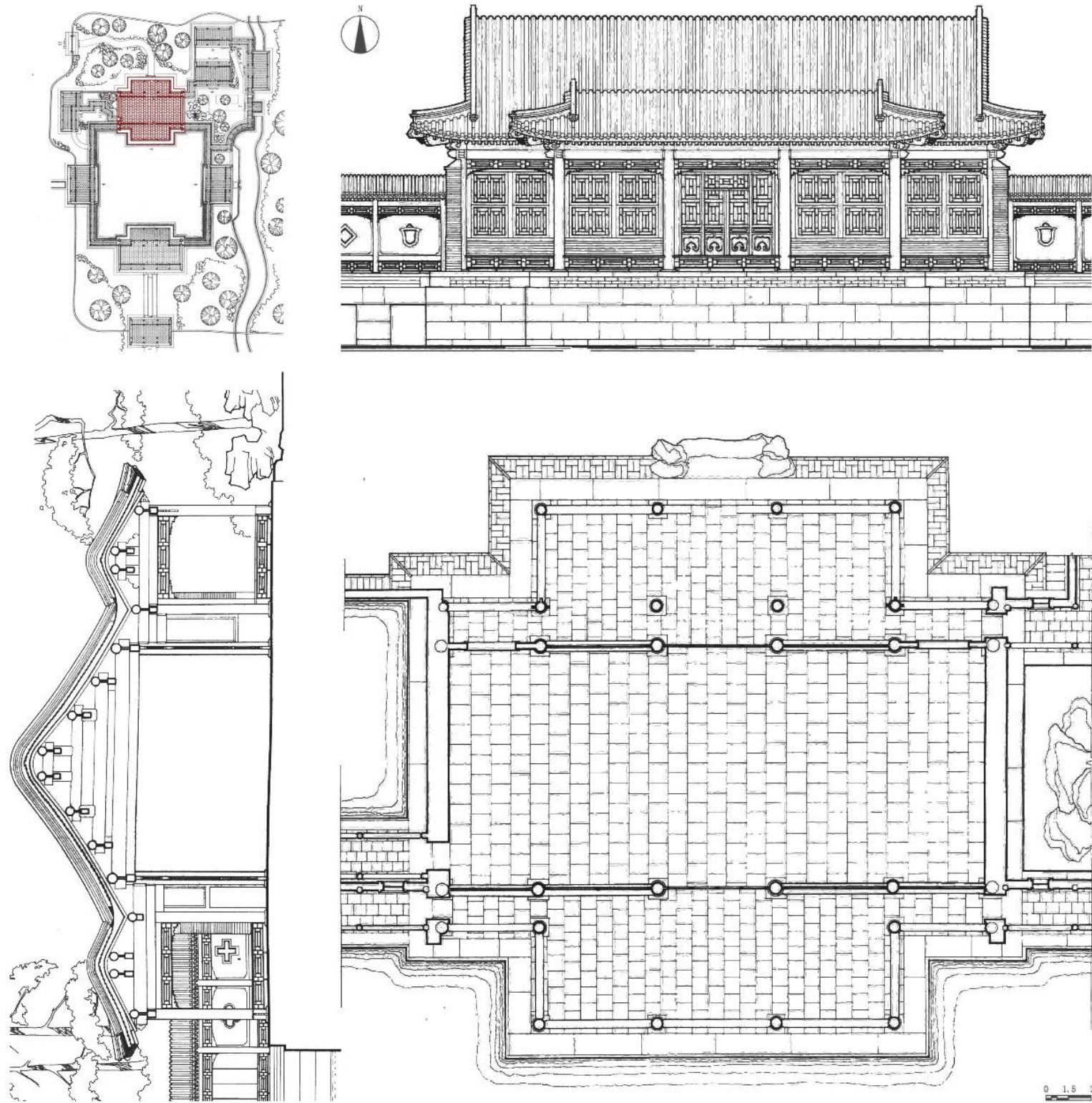


Fig. 3.2.3-1 The elevation, plan, and section drawings of Huafang Zhai.

Nevertheless, the introduction in the first chapter shows that “whether the shape is similar to a boat” is no longer a fundamental design question after the *fang* architecture has matured in literati gardens. If a garden building can arouse the user’s conscious association with boats through its spatial configuration, certain components, surrounding environment, or even inscriptions on plaques, it may be deemed as *fang* architecture.

In addition to the name written by Emperor Qianlong himself on its plaque, Huafang Zhai’s associations with boats are also reflected in the other three aspects. Firstly, it has a water-

facing environment. Secondly, the ceiling of the *baosha* in the south adopted the practice of *chuanpeng xuan* 船篷轩 (the ceiling looks like the mat roofing of a boat). Finally, there are low railings where people can sit and rest between the columns facing the water. According to Emperor Qianlong's poem, "Sitting here on the railings [I] feel the light reflection on the mirror-like water flows" 坐来轩槛镜光流,⁹⁷⁹ the water waves reflecting the light create a spatial feeling of being on a boat.

Compared with the *fang* buildings in the Jiangnan literati gardens in the first chapter, Emperor Qianlong's Huafang Zhai still appears less delicate, but this did not prevent him from announcing in his poems that his design idea came from the image of Jiangnan boats.⁹⁸⁰ Therefore, the analysis of this building must be based on Emperor Qianlong's perspective as much as possible rather than simply making an objective comparison with other *fang* buildings.

Fortunately, Qianlong wrote 37 poems for Huafang Zhai. These poems become our best sources for studying the symbolism he projected on the building. When analyzing these poems, it is necessary to consider the author's psychology and implication instead of simply focusing on the superficial meaning of the poems. In this respect, those studies on Emperor Qianlong's attitude towards the Southern Tour through his Southern Tour poems play a role of reference for this study (see 3.2.2).

An analysis of the Huafang Zhai poems shows that Emperor Qianlong's initial design intention for this building echoed the two archetypes of boat-architecture, which have been studied in detail in the first chapter. This building has an identical name to Ouyang Xiu's "Huafang Zhai." Its original function was to store masterpieces of calligraphy and painting, just like Mi Fu's Mijia Shuhua Chuan. It is not very meaningful to distinguish whether Emperor Qianlong's original design intention came from Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai or Mi Fu's boat of calligraphy and painting. As discussed in the first chapter, these two prototypes had been integrated considerably by the end of the Yuan dynasty at the latest, not to mention the promotion of this integration by the extensive practice of gardening literati in the Ming dynasty. However, for convenience, the two prototypes mentioned in Emperor Qianlong's poems will be analyzed separately in the following.

On the one hand, it can be inferred from Qianlong's naming of this *fang* building that the emperor, who was well-versed in literature, had knowledge of Ouyang Xiu's prose, "Huafang Zhai ji." In fact, as early as the tenth year of Qianlong reign (1745), when he wrote a poem for the Lüyun Fang, one of the 28 sceneries of Jingyi Garden, he wrote in the preface:

Because after Ouyang's Huafang [Zhai], many people followed him [in building this kind of architecture]. The best way of using a boat is to [let people] live on the water but with no difference from living on the land. Meanwhile, those who live on the land think the most comfortable [design] is to make the interior of the house like the [space] inside a boat.

⁹⁷⁹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Ti Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 77, 30b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

盖自欧阳氏画舫而后，人多慕效之者。夫舟之用，以水居无异陆处为利，而陆处者又以入室如在舟中为适然。⁹⁸¹

Emperor Qianlong was familiar with Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai. His writing not only regarded Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai as the prototype of boat-architecture, but also showed a deep understanding of the particular architectural type. He believed that the essence of boat-architecture lay in the reciprocal integration of boats and architectures rather than simply imitating boats in garden architectures (see Emperor Qianlong's poem in I.2).

In his poems on Huafang Zhai, he clearly stated that this building was his inheritance and imitation of Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai: "[This architecture type] is not created by me. It was Yongshu [Ouyang Xiu, *zi* Yongshu] who once advocated it first" 亦非创自予，永叔曾先倡，⁹⁸² "[I] am delighted to imitate Ouyang [Xiu]'s taste of building" 爱仿欧阳室趣。⁹⁸³ In addition, he also mentioned the boat-architecture case before Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai. He wrote, for example: "Do not laugh [at me] that [I] live on a 'boat,' which is not on the water. What does it matter if [I] follow [the example of] Zhang Rong occasionally" 舟居莫漫笑无水，偶肖张融亦岂妨？⁹⁸⁴ The story of Zhang Rong (see I.3.1) mentioned in this poem shows that he also understands the early development before boat-architecture was established as a cultural phenomenon by Ouyang Xiu. We can conclude, when Emperor Qianlong built his Huafang Zhai, he did not simply imitate a particular building built by Ouyang Xiu. He expressed his understanding and participation in this cultural phenomenon created by the literati of the Song dynasty (which is discussed in detail in Chapter 1) by explicitly using an identical name.

On the other hand, Emperor Qianlong also mentioned another prototype of boat-architecture in his poem for Huafang Zhai – Mi Fu's boat of calligraphy and paintings. His first poem on Huafang Zhai has four sentences describing the appearance, environment, function, and design intention of this building, respectively. The first sentence, "The magnificent building sits above the jade-like pool, like a moored Qingque Hang" 松栋俯琳塘，如维青雀航， shows the location of the building – facing the pool, and its imitation of a boat – Qingque Hang 青雀航. The second sentence, "The lotus's shadows reflect peacefully [on the water surface] in the breeze, and the sunlight filtered like a mist through the branches" 风荷呈静影，烟树入晴光， describes the surrounding vegetation landscape. The third sentence, "[Here, I] comprehend the vividness of paintings, and take in the wisdom of the ancients in books and poetries" 图画参生动，诗书阅古芳， indicates that this courtyard is a place for Emperor Qianlong to store and appreciate his collections of calligraphy [books] and paintings. The fourth sentence, "Leaning on the windows, [I] take a rest, and think of [the boat of calligraphy and paintings of] Mi Fu" 凭窗成小憩，兴寄米襄阳， links the space feeling of simulating a

⁹⁸¹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Lüyun Fang," in *Yuzhi shi chuji*, vol. 30, 18a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸² Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 99, 4b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸³ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *ibid.*, vol. 69, 28b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸⁴ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *ibid.*, vol. 87, 25b. See *SKQSHY*.

boat and the function of collecting calligraphy and painting with Mi Fu's "Shuhua Chuan," thus pointing out the design intention of this boat-architecture.⁹⁸⁵

In later poems, Emperor Qianlong mentioned Mi Fu more often. Here are some illustrative instances: "[I] built [it] to compare with Mi Fu's [boat of calligraphy and paintings], the beauty of nature is endless and here [I] explore the essence" 设以米家相比拟，化工无尽此探精;⁹⁸⁶ "The misty rain of the Mi Fu's [painting] is not what [I] appreciated, and [I] just understand the sunny day is the most pleasant" 米家烟雨非所赏，惬意端知在快晴;⁹⁸⁷ "It is clear [a boat] on the Taiye Pool [of the immortals], and was only borrowed to Mi Fu for a tour" 分明太液上，借与米家游。⁹⁸⁸ Further, he also mentioned the follow-up development derived from the symbol of Mi Fu's "Shuhua Chuan." For example, "[If this building is] compared to Zhang Chou's Qinghe Shuhua Fang, [then it] still lacks collections of books" 比似清河张丑，相资犹欠书林;⁹⁸⁹ and "The lotus seems coming from Xu Xi's [painting] but has a real fragrance, and the studio building looks like Zhang Chou's [Qinghe Shuhua Fang] without a doubt" 荷是徐熙饶有馥，斋如张丑竟无疑。⁹⁹⁰ These poems mentioned Zhang Chou because of his "Qinghe Shuhua Fang" (see 1.2.3). Qianlong knew very clearly that Zhang Chou's "Qinghe Shuhua Fang" was the development of Mi Fu's "Mijia Shuhua Chuan," so he also juxtaposed the two in his poem: "No need to mention the examples of Zhang [Chou and] Mi [Fu], [this building] is more lively and interesting than its predecessors" 莫须举张米，活趣较胜前。⁹⁹¹

Similarly, he also juxtaposed Ouyang Xiu and Mi Fu in his poem, implying that he regarded their Huafang Zhai and Shuhua Chuan as the two archetypes of boat-architecture: "Mi [Fu] and Ou [-yang Xiu] had already passed away, the ice and water stand aloof from the world" 米欧一已往，冰水两无营。⁹⁹² In addition, he also mentioned the Yushan Shuhua Chuan of Gu Ying in the Yuan dynasty (see 1.2.2 and 1.3.2), which is a case of the fusion of the two archetypes. After the sentence "[I] do not follow suit of Zhou Di's drunken chanting" 不学周砥醉吟, he specifically emphasized that the reason for creating this sentence was Zhou Di's composition of the phrase "[The owner] invited me to sleep drunk [in the] boat of calligraphy

⁹⁸⁵ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 84, 14a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸⁶ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Qi Huafang Zhai yin tiju" 憩画舫斋因题句, in *Yuzhi shi siji*, vol. 81, 23b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸⁷ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai kouhao" 画舫斋口号, in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 25, 14a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸⁸ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 6, 4b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁸⁹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *ibid.*, vol. 69, 29a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁹⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *ibid.*, vol. 82, 26b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁹¹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Ti Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi wuji*, vol. 19, 18a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁹² Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Ti Huafang Zhai," in *ibid.*, vol. 62, 5b-6a. See *SKQSHY*.

and painting” 邀我醉眠书画舫。⁹⁹³ The poem by Zhou Di depicts Gu Ying’s Shuhua Fang, which was situated in his garden Yushan Caotang.

In general, Emperor Qianlong’s citations of boat-architecture prototypes and historical boat-architecture cases showed his active absorption and response to Han culture. He included himself in the cultural phenomenon of boat-architecture created by Han literati, thus immersing himself in part of the historical and cultural process of the Han nationality. On one hand, the education he received during his childhood shaped his aesthetic appreciation for Han culture, while on the other hand, it was also imperative for Manchu emperors to govern over the Han people. This is not to suggest that Qianlong disregarded his Manchu heritage. Throughout the Qing dynasty as a whole, the Manchu populace enjoyed a privileged social status. Furthermore, evidence of the Qing emperors’ emphasis on Manchu traditions can be seen in their promotion of nomadic customs such as riding and hunting. Rather than rejecting Han culture outright, they assimilated it from a conqueror’s perspective and skillfully employed strategies to strengthen centralized rule of the monarchy, thereby facilitating governance over the vast Han territory.⁹⁹⁴

Fairbank mentioned in *China: Tradition and Transformation* that: “The real test for the Manchu emperors was whether they could become such patrons of Chinese scholarship that the state and culture would remain unified, under the sole headship of the Son of Heaven. To rule the Middle Kingdom called for cultural as well as political and military leadership.”⁹⁹⁵ By including himself in the category of literati in his daily life and aesthetic activities, Emperor Qianlong attempted to gain an alliance with the literati and prove to them that he could be the patron of the whole Chinese culture.

Besides echoing the two archetypes of boat-architecture in his poems on Huafang Zhai, Qianlong expressed his leadership with an emphasis on the metaphor of the *zaizhou-fuzhou*, which is exclusive to the emperor. An example is Emperor Qianlong’s poem for Huafang Zhai in the summer when the courtyard was built. This poem is the third poem written by him for Huafang Zhai. It reads:

Several bays of a plain building sit near a jade-like pool. [I] carefully chose a proper name, “Huafang,” for it. The [beautiful sceneries of] breeze and moonlight are endless, and [this boat-architecture] does not need barge poles or oars [to enjoy the boating

⁹⁹³ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Huafang Zhai,” in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 69, 28b-29a. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁹⁴ For further reading, see Lu Minghui 卢明辉, “Qingdai beifang ge minzu yu zhongyuan Hanzu de wenhua jiaoliu ji qi gongxian” 清代北方各民族与中原汉族的文化交流及其贡献, in *Qingshi yanjiu ji* 清史研究集, vol. 6, ed. Zhongguo renmin daxue Qingshi yanjiusuo 中国人民大学清史研究所 (Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1988), 122-140; Lu Yong 陆勇, *Qingdai “Zhongguo” guannian yanjiu* 清代“中国”观念研究 (Xi’an: Shanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015), 49-75.

⁹⁹⁵ John King Fairbank and Edwin Oldfather Reischauer, *China: Tradition and Transformation* (Sydney; Boston: G. Allen & Unwin, 1979), 228.

feeling].

Let the *canglang qingzhuo* 沧浪清浊 in the “Ruzi” song and the *yanyu xiaoxiang* 烟雨潇湘 of Mi Fu and his son [all be forgotten]. Only the warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou* is a practical remonstrance [that can be drawn from the boat-architecture], and [I] find my teacher in the *Shisi shu*.

朴斋几架俯琳池，等度名称画舫宜。明月清风自无尽，筠篙桂棹底须施。
沧浪清浊付童子，烟雨潇湘讶虎儿。祇有载舟规义切，十思疏里得吾师。⁹⁹⁶

The last four lines of this poem clearly express a kind of emperor’s self-discipline. Among them, *canglang qingzhuo* 沧浪清浊 (the clarity and turbidity of the Canglang River)⁹⁹⁷ in the first line represents the cultural symbol of “escaping/benefiting the world” headed by Ouyang Xiu’s Huafang Zhai. *Yanyu xiaoxiang* 烟雨潇湘 (the misty rain in the area of Xiao and Xiang River)⁹⁹⁸ in the second line represents the cultural symbol of the “boat of calligraphy and painting” headed by Mi Fu and his son. However, as an emperor, Qianlong wrote that only the cultural symbol representing *zaizhou-fuzhou* was the most tangible warning to him from boat-architecture.

As an emperor, he gave Beihai’s Huafang Zhai courtyard a brand-new symbolic meaning different from that of literati through his emphasis on *zaizhou-fuzhou*.

On the one hand, he reflected an introspective mentality in the symbol of Mi Fu’s boat of calligraphy and painting. It was mentioned in the first chapter that before Mi Fu’s boat, “Baojin Zhai,” there was another famous boat, “Zou Ge,” of Huan Xuan in the Eastern Jin dynasty (see 1.2.1). It was also known for its collection of calligraphy and paintings. Huan Xuan and Mi Fu were both historical figures who were comprehensive art collectors and fond of collecting calligraphy and painting. They shared the same rogue behavior of forcibly obtaining other people’s collections. The main reason why later generations regard Huan Xuan as greedy but Mi Fu as naive is that the two have entirely different identities. Mi Fu was an aloof artist with superb skills but a bumpy official career. His roguish temperament imbued his characteristics with a relatable charm. Huan Xuan was an extravagant emperor who started his

⁹⁹⁶ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Ti Huafang Zhai,” in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 87, 11a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

⁹⁹⁷ It came from the lyrics of a folk song in the pre-Qin period “Ruzi ge” 孺子歌: “The water in the Canglang River is crystal clear, capable of cleansing my hatbands. The water in the Canglang River is turbid, suitable for washing my feet.” 沧浪之水清兮，可以濯我纓。沧浪之水浊兮，可以濯我足。 It means if the emperor’s reign is characterized by peace and prosperity, one should utilize their talents to benefit society. However, if the emperor’s rule is marked by turbulence and chaos, it is advisable to withdraw from society and live in seclusion.

⁹⁹⁸ It refers to the renowned painting technique of Mi Fu, which excellently captures the ethereal ambiance of misty rain in the Jiangnan region. This artistic approach was further advanced by Mi Youren, son of Mi Fu.

career as the son of a powerful minister. The power in his hands coupled with greed inevitably effected disaster for the people. As an emperor, Qianlong, unfortunately, fell into the category of Huan Xuan. He was very aware of it. Therefore, the warnings of *zaizhou-fuzhou* often came to his mind, reminding him to control himself when he enjoyed his calligraphy and painting collection.

Judging from the sheer number of famous calligraphy and paintings that now bear Qianlong's seals of appreciation and inscriptions, it is difficult to say what effect this self-control really had. Nevertheless, this psychology was clearly expressed in his poems: "[I] named it as 'Huafang,' but [am I] following the example of Mi Fu? [No, what I want to express is that] just like the vast earth, [me, the emperor] is carried by [civilians like] water" 颜之曰画舫，诂学襄阳再。譬如亘大地，咸知水以载，⁹⁹⁹ "[I] did not boast of the paintings and calligraphy collection in the [Huafang Zhai] but was even ashamed to build a courtyard for this purpose. [I] should be reminded of Wei Zheng's *shisi shu* and be deeply cautious of the warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou*." 那诂个中弄书画，尚惭此外缀楼台。魏徵十思疏堪忆，载覆其间深慎该。¹⁰⁰⁰ These poems and Qianlong's third poem for Huafang Zhai mentioned above all show his intention of self-control.

However, if the third poem is analyzed in comparison to the first poem he composed for the Huafang Zhai, the choice of the first word in each case jumps into the eye. It reveals that Emperor Qianlong showed a very different tendency and purpose. In the first poem, written at the occasion of the first time he visited this courtyard, he used *songdong* 松栋 (literally translated as "pine beam") referring to Huafang Zhai. This term usually means the magnificent residence. In the third poem, however, he changed his word choice from *songdong* to *puzhai* 朴斋 (house built of wood without fine finishing). By doing so, he indicated a plain building without ornament. Having in mind the spacious and tall appearance of the Huafang Zhai building, the term *puzhai* is obviously inappropriate. Emperor Qianlong's wording reflected the distortion and deformation of reality in his mind when he created this third poem. He was reluctant to associate this building with an opulent and extravagant style of living. This kind of distorted perception can only be explained psychologically with the emperor's ambivalence towards pleasure: he was emotionally inclined to pleasure but rationally alert to the possible consequences of indulging in pleasure. Therefore, in the first poem, he gloated over the grandeur and beauty of the building, but in the third poem, he glossed over his costly construction of the courtyard in understated terms that were at odds with reality.

On the other hand, it is well-known that literati frequently employed Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai symbol to represent their "entering/escaping the world" mentality when facing the ups and downs of officialdom. Therefore, Emperor Qianlong, as the supreme authority overseeing literati careers, exerted some degree of control over how literati expressed themselves through boat-architecture. This option of control gave rise to Emperor Qianlong's narcissistic shaped sense of superiority. Even though these literati could surpass him in poetry

⁹⁹⁹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 4, 5a-b. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Ti Huafang Zhai," in *Yuzhi shi wuji*, vol. 13, 3b. See *SKQSHY*.

and literature, their career lay in his hands.

This narcissism is likewise reflected in his poem: “Replacing Ouyang Xiu’s intention by [mine], [I] proudly feel that [my] creative idea excels his” 以斯义置欧阳氏，创见还矜略胜他。¹⁰⁰¹ These words, expressing his feeling of superiority over Ouyang Xiu, the representative of the Han literati, reveal Emperor Qianlong’s aspiration to assert dominance over Han culture as a conqueror. A similar expression can be seen in another poem on a different building, Zhijing Ge 治镜阁 (The Pavilion of Governing with Retrospection): “The article is indeed better written by them, but the design intent is to be interpreted by me” 文则彼佳矣，义斯我绎之。¹⁰⁰² It appears that Emperor Qianlong gained psychological satisfaction of playing a role as a cultural leader that allied him with the literati whenever enjoying his leisure time in the Huafang Zhai courtyard. However, his ultimate satisfaction stemmed from his conviction to surpass the Han literati, not necessarily in literary accomplishments but rather in an emperor’s vision.

It should be emphasized that just as boat-architecture refers to both, a boat and an architecture, Emperor Qianlong’s introspection and narcissism mutually reinforce and transform each other. The implication here is that Emperor Qianlong’s introspection is influenced by his arrogance as an emperor. Or rather, he derives the impetus of self-discipline to fight against hedonism out of his conceit: achieving to become the “sage-king.” And his grandiose self-image as a mighty emperor, in turn, garners validation through his introspection. That is, he felt confident that he could become a sage king by taking care of his vigilance in *zaizhou-fuzhou* and observing his self-control efforts. His self-confidence derived from studied historical facts, as represented by the failure of Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty and the success of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty. These facts had been instilled in him during his education, before he acceded to the throne.

Huafang Zhai and the *fang* buildings built later in other imperial gardens allowed him to enjoy the scenery of the distant Jiangnan in Beijing while letting him feel control over the Jiangnan literati and culture. A reason for his building boat-architectures can be seen in their function to ostentatiously warn him of *zaizhou-fuzhou*. This was possibly seen by himself in exactly this way. These materialized warnings encouraged his confidence to in successfully navigating the conflict between imperial duty and his own vulnerabilities. Insofar constructing

¹⁰⁰¹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Zuo bingchuang zhi Huafang Zhai tiju” 坐冰床至画舫斋题句, in *Yuzhi shi siji*, vol. 9, 7b. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁰⁰² Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Zhijing Ge bayun” 治镜阁八韵, in *Yuzhi shi sanji*, vol. 12, 24b. See *SKQSHY*. Moreover, this pavilion’s name is also associated with Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty, who once emphasized the significance of reflecting on a ruler’s conduct: “By using copper as a mirror, one can rectify their attire and crown; By employing history as a mirror, one can comprehend the rise and fall of nations; By utilizing individuals (in this case referring to Wei Zheng, who presented the *Shisi shu*) as a mirror, one can uncover gains and losses” 夫以铜为镜，可以正衣冠；以史为镜，可以知兴替；以人为镜，可以明得失. See Wu Jing, *Zhengguan zhengyao*, vol. 2, 10b-11a. See *SKQSHY*.

these *fang* held significant psychological importance for him, as they instilled a sense of vigilance while also allowing him to savor their presence. The boat-architectures provided Emperor Qianlong with an excuse to indulge in them, as he relied on them for a sense of reassurance in his mental struggle.

However, such self-excuse does not represent total indulgence and should be distinguished from outright self-deception, as the other case, Shi Fang, will further illustrate in the next section.

3.3 Uncapsizable Reign: From Wakefulness to Reluctance to Wake Up

The Wangshou Hill 万寿山 (Longevity Hill) in the northwestern suburbs of Beijing was formerly known as Weng Hill 瓮山 (Urn Hill).

The south of Weng Hill was low-lying, and the springs from nearby Yu Quan 玉泉 (Jade Spring) and Long Quan 龙泉 (Dragon Spring) were gathered here, forming a water surface called “Wengshan Po 瓮山泊 (Wengshan Lake, The Lake of the Urn Hill). Hills and rivers surrounded this area, and the scenery was breathtaking. Therefore, it attracted many nobles and gradually became a place for the feudal ruling class to play and enjoy.

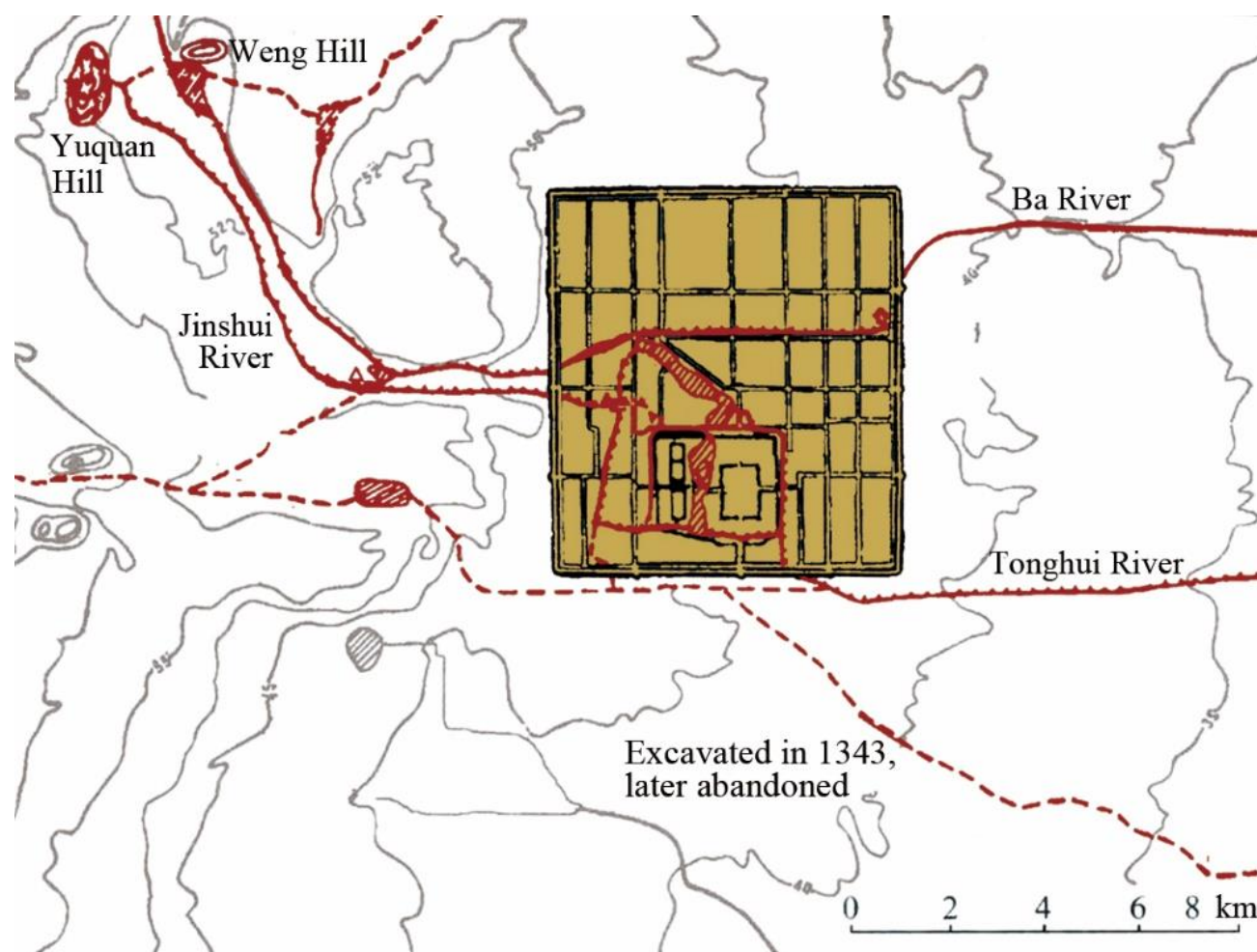


Fig. 3.3-1 The water system of the Yuan Dadu, designed by Guo Shoujing.

As early as the second year of Kaitai 开泰 in the Liao dynasty (1013), Emperor Shengzong of the Liao dynasty 辽圣宗 (Yelu Longxu 耶律隆绪, 972-1031, r. 983-1031) built a palace in Yuquan Hill. Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty 金章宗 (Wanyan Jing 完颜璟, 1168-1208, r. 1190-1208) built eight water gardens here, including the Yuquan Hill Palace. When Kublai Khan 忽必烈汗 (1215-1294, r. 1260-1294), the founder of the Yuan dynasty, built Dadu 大都 (the Great Capital of the Yuan dynasty), Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 (1231-1306) was instructed to transform the capital's water system (Fig. 3.3-1). He diverted the spring water

from Yuquan Hill to supply water for the palace through the Jinshui River 金水河. Guo Shoujing also diverted the Baifu Spring 白浮泉 into the Wengshan Po. Then he opened up a waterway in its southern section and made the water flow into Tonghui River 通惠河 to assist the Grand Canal in meeting the capital's water transportation. The surrounding areas of Yuquan Hill and Wengshan Lake were gradually developed through the water control project and became an important transfer station in the Yuan Dadu water supply project.

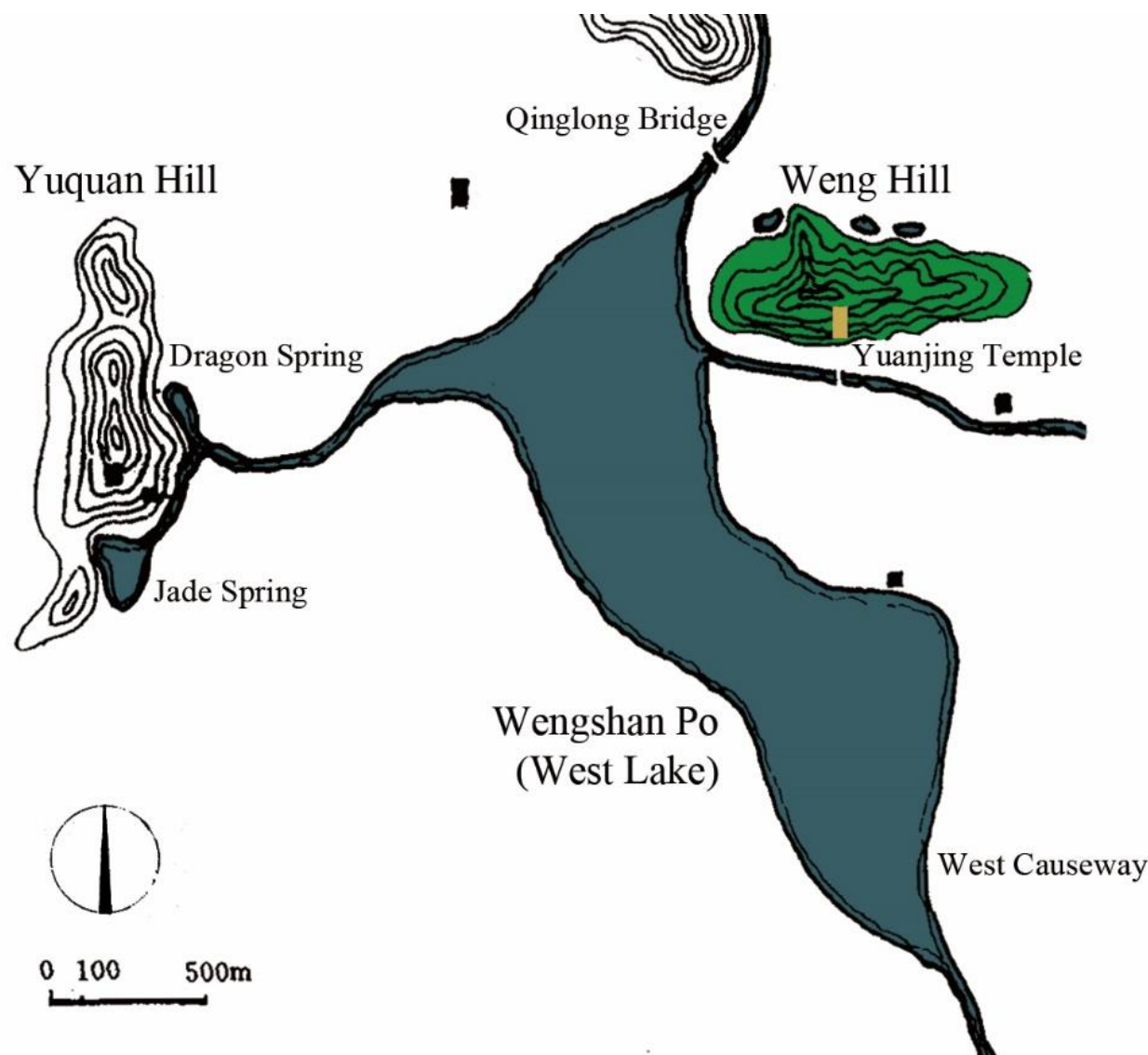


Fig. 3.3-2 The natural surroundings of the Weng Hill and the West Lake in the Ming dynasty.

In the early Ming dynasty, along with Emperor Taizu moving the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, immigrants from the Jiangnan area began to open paddy fields at the base of Weng Hill. They planted rice and grew aquatic cash crops such as water chestnuts, prickly water lilies, lotus, and wild rice in the lake. The idyllic scenery of this place bears some resemblance to the distant water towns of Jiangnan. Due to this comparability, literati in the capital referred to it as “Jiangnan of the North” (Fig. 3.3-2). Similarly, as Wengshan Lake was just west of Beijing, people borrowed the name from Hangzhou West Lake and called Wengshan Lake “West Lake.” At that time, people built the lake's embankment and planted weeping willows along the banks. Through the willows, one can behold the distant mountain temples gleaming and the clouds reflected in the water, augmenting the lake's splendor. Poems from that time prove that the West Lake in the Ming dynasty was already a famous scenic spot in the west of Beijing. There were also several private gardens of bureaucrats and nobles gathered here, among which the more famous were Li Wei's 李伟 (1510-1583) Qinghua Garden 清华园 and Mi Wanzhong's (the descendant of Mi Fu mentioned in Chapter 1 and 3.2.3) Shao Garden.

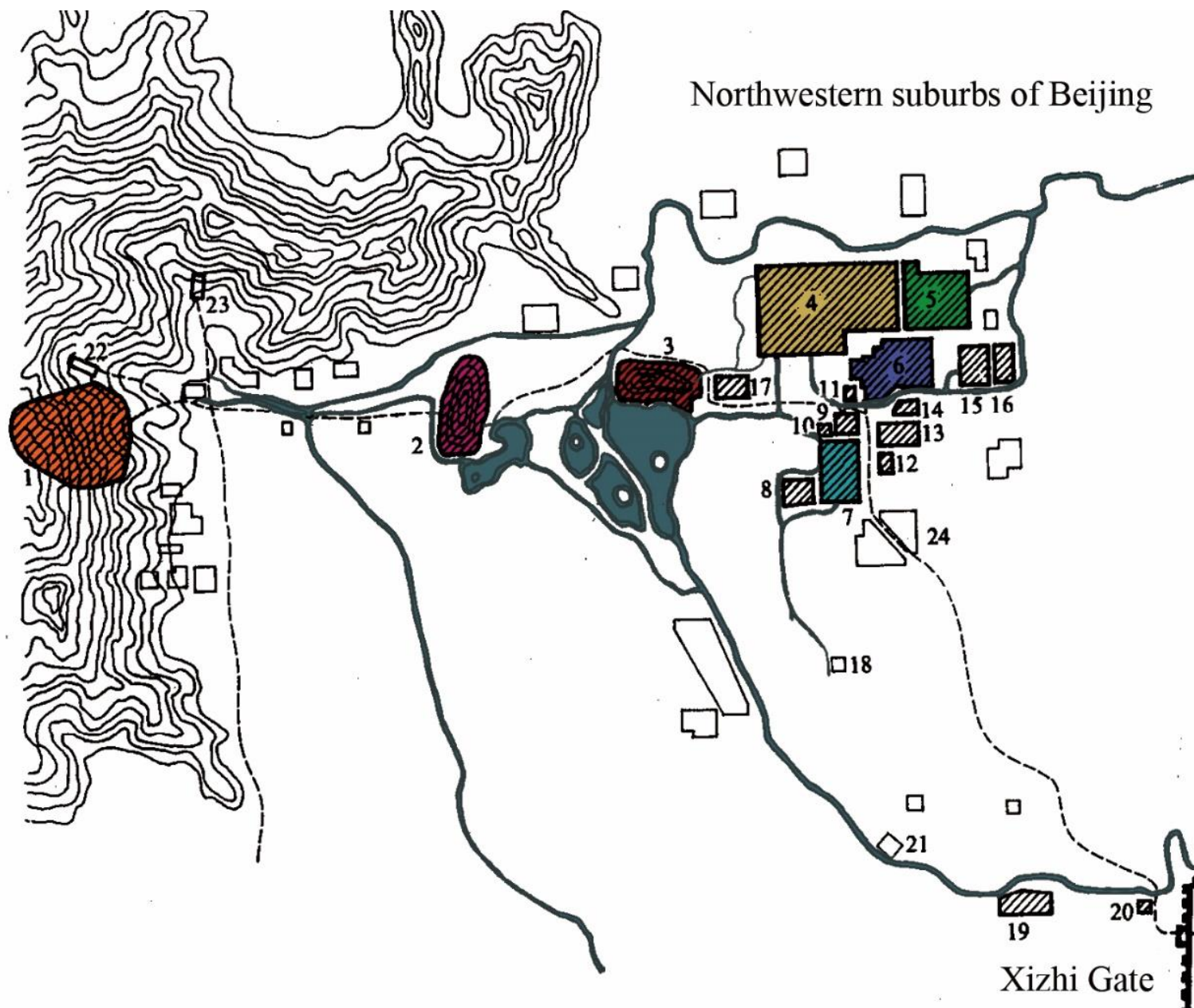


Fig. 3.3-3 The Qing dynasty imperial gardens in the western suburbs of Beijing.

(1. Jingyi Garden 静宜园; 2. Jingming Garden 静明园; 3. Qingyi Garden 清漪园; 4. Yuanming Garden 圆明园; 5. Changchun Garden 长春园; 6. Yichuan Garden 倚春园; 7. Changchun Garden 畅春园)

In the Qing dynasty, the imperial garden constructions in the northwest suburbs began to develop systematically (Fig. 3.3-3). In the 23rd year of Kangxi reign (1684), Emperor Kangxi, who had just made his first Southern Tour, greatly appreciated the beauty of the scenery and gardens in the south of the Yangtze River. After returning to Beijing, he ordered the construction of Changchun Garden 畅春园, the first large-scale royal garden in the Qing dynasty. It was built at the former site of Li Wei's Qinghua Garden in the Ming dynasty and introduced gardening techniques from Jiangnan. Three years later, Changchun Garden was completed, and it became a center for Kangxi's political endeavors, strategically designed to facilitate his undisturbed focus on government affairs (*bixuan tingzheng* 避喧听政, avoid disturbance and focus on government affairs). In order to get closer to this political center, the royal family and bureaucrats later on successively built villas and gardens near Changchun Garden, using the former site of the private gardens in the Ming dynasty. The Yuanming Garden 圆明园 (the Old Summer Palace) was one of the most significant gardens. It was granted to the fourth son of Emperor Kangxi, Aixin-jueluo Yinzhen, who was the later Emperor Yongzheng in the 48th year of Kangxi reign (1709). After Yinzhen ascended the throne, he expanded Yuanming Garden in the third year of Yongzheng reign (1725) as his long-term residence outside the Forbidden City. Changchun Garden was used as the residence of the

empress dowager.

Compared with Emperor Kangxi and Yongzheng, Emperor Qianlong was more enthusiastic with constructing imperial gardens. From the third year of Qianlong (1738) to the 39th year (1774), he ordered the construction of gardens almost without prolonged interruption and built/expanded gardens totaling several thousands of hectares.¹⁰⁰³ At first, Emperor Qianlong used Yuanming Garden as his palace and expanded it again. Later, in the eastern part of Yuanming Garden, Changchun Garden 长春园 was built, while Yichun Garden 倚春园 was built in the southeastern area. These two were merged into Yuanming Garden, making the area an astonishing 350 hectares. When the construction of the Yuanming Garden was completed (the ninth year of Qianlong reign, 1744), Emperor Qianlong, who was very satisfied, wrote the article “Yuanming Yuan houji” 圆明园后记 (the Postscript to the Yuanming Garden) to describe the magnificence and grandeur of the garden and preached to his future generations not to abandon this garden and abuse the labor to build a new one.¹⁰⁰⁴



Fig. 3.3-4 The layout of the Qingyi Garden, containing the outside terrain.

¹⁰⁰³ See Zhang Jian 张健, ed., *Zhongwai zaoyuan shi* 中外造园史, 2nd ed. (Wuhan: Huazhong keji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 182.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Yuanming Yuan houji,” in *Yuzhi wen chuji*, vol. 4, 4a: 后世子孙, 必不舍此而重费民力以创建苑囿. See *SKQSHY*.

However, after a short time, Qianlong reneged on his own demand and decided to build a new garden, the Qingyi Garden 清漪园 (Fig. 3.3-4). In the 16th year of Qianlong reign (1751), with the birthday celebration of the Empress Dowager Chongqing 崇庆 (1693-1777), the garden's name, "Qingyi," and its official construction plan were made public. In the 29th year of Qianlong reign (1764), the Qingyi Garden was finished, costing 4,482,851.953 taels of silver.¹⁰⁰⁵

3.3.1 The Qingyi Garden: Water Treatment, Filial Piety, and Selfish Desire

Many scholars have attempted to unravel the reasons behind Emperor Qianlong's subsequent dissatisfaction with the existing imperial gardens, including the splendid Yuanming Garden, a mere five or six years after its completion; several analyses have been conducted by these scholars. According to their analyses, the primary factors encompass Qianlong's enthusiasm for large-scale projects, his love of the scenery of mountains and rivers, and his cravings for greatness and success.¹⁰⁰⁶ Following existing research done under the perspective of the garden landscape, it has been suggested that an objective reason behind this was the absence of other gardens possessing a terrain environment as exceptional as that found at the base of Weng Hill. Yuanming Garden and Changchun Garden were both artificially stacked earth hummocks on flat ground, which lacked natural hills, and the water surface was not very wide either; Jingming Garden 静明园 and Jingyi Garden 静宜园 were pure mountain gardens without water features.¹⁰⁰⁷

The Qingyi Garden's location belongs to the terrain of a hill in the north and a lake in the south: it did not only back the Weng Hill but also embraced the West Lake – the largest natural lake in the northwestern suburbs. Shen Deqian 沈德潜 (1673-1769), an official from Suzhou city, Jiangsu province, was awarded a *jinshi* in the fourth year of Qianlong reign (1739) and then went to Beijing, where he was nominated the *hanlin-yuan bianxiu* 翰林院编修 (editor of the Hanlin Academy). This old Jiangnan scholar, whom Emperor Qianlong favored for his literary talent, once wrote a poem, "Xihudi sanbu, tong Lei Cuiting dayintai zuo" 西湖堤散步，同雷翠庭大银台作 (Walking on the West Lake Embankment, Writing Together with the *Hanlinyuan* Scholar Lei Cuiting), in which he compared this West Lake in Beijing with the so-called "heaven on earth," West Lake in Hangzhou, by saying: "Wandering around [the West

¹⁰⁰⁵ The report of the Internal Affairs Office, cited in Zhou Weiwan, "Qingyi Yuan shilue," 140: 用过银四百八十九万七千三百七十二两三钱四分六厘，内除各项木植旧料抵银四十九万四千五百二十两三钱九分三厘，实净销银四百四十扒万二千八百五十一两九钱五分三厘。

¹⁰⁰⁶ For example, see Qinghua daxue jianzhu xueyuan 清华大学建筑学院, ed., *Yihe Yuan* 颐和园 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu chubanshe, 2000); Zhai Xiaoju 翟小菊, *Jinghua tonglan: Yihe Yuan* 京华通览: 颐和园 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2018); and Zhou Weiwan, "Qingyiyuan shilue."

¹⁰⁰⁷ See Qinghua daxue jianzhu xueyuan, ed., *Yihe Yuan*, 31.

Lake embankment] is like [wandering around] the Su causeway [in the West Lake of Hangzhou City]. [It makes me] want to ask for a wineshop by the bridge” 闲游宛似苏堤畔，欲向桥边问酒垆。¹⁰⁰⁸

In the seventh year of Qianlong reign (1742), when Emperor Qianlong passed through Qinglong Bridge 青龙桥 (see Fig. 3.3-2), he praised the West Lake:

Ping Hill is full of green trees and the lake with clear water, and the lapel of clothes is refreshing with the cool air. The green of the willow gradually fades from the bank, and the polygonum blossoms red in the evening waves.

The stream strikes a song when the wind passes through the valley, and the sky turns azure after the rain washes the river. The rice paddies of ten miles are ripe early in autumn, and it is a vivid scene of the south of the Yangtze River in a painting.

屏山积翠水澄潭，飒沓衣襟爽气含。夹岸垂杨看绿褪，映波晚蓼正红酣。
风来谷口溪鸣瑟，雨过河源天蔚蓝。十里稻畦秋早熟，分明画里小江南。¹⁰⁰⁹

It can be seen that Emperor Qianlong, who traveled to and from the four nearby imperial gardens of Jingming, Jingyi, Changchun, and Yuanming, had long been familiar with and even focused on this water area. Such scenery, coupled with the name “West Lake” borrowed from Hangzhou, must always make Emperor Qianlong associate this place with the Jiangnan scenery he had always longed for – would not it be great if the beauty of Hangzhou West Lake could be transplanted here! This desire was also clearly manifested in Qianlong’s later poems chanting Qingyi Garden: “[Here is] the terrain of facing the water and backing the hill, and the Kunming Lake (was designed to) imitate the West Lake of Zhejiang” 面水背山地，明湖仿浙西。¹⁰¹⁰ This poem, “Wanshou Shan jishi” 万寿山即事 (A record of Longevity Mountain), clearly pointed out the design intention of imitating the West Lake with Qingyi Garden.

Since the intention was to imitate the West Lake, the construction of Qingyi Garden became intricately intertwined with the pursuit of indulging in boat tours prevalent in the Jiangnan region, thereby subtly yet explicitly evoking allusions to *zaizhou-fuzhou* within the mind of its designer, who also happened to be an emperor. One might consider a feudal emperor’s power to indulge whims; however, Qianlong’s project was so vast that he had to devise plausible pretexts to cloak his actions. Perhaps doubts were coupled with the shame of a self-destructive oath to “no longer build other gardens.” As a “wise king,” he was determined not to meet the same moral downfall as those tyrant emperors of the past. Conversely,

¹⁰⁰⁸ Shen Deqian, “Xihudi sanbu, tong Lei Cuiting dayintai zuo,” in *Guiyu shichao* 归愚诗钞 (1751) vol.18, 5a-5b.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Qinglong Qiao xiaoxing” 青龙桥晓行, in *Yuzhi shi chujì*, vol. 10, 16a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁰¹⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Wanshou Shan jishi, qi’er” 万寿山即事，其二, in *Yuzhi shi erji*, vol. 38, 19b. See *SKQSHY*.

Qianlong's significant ego necessitated a strong moral foundation to enhance his reputation. By adhering to strict discipline in this regard, he refused to acknowledge that his behavior was driven by selfish desires. Otherwise, he would have inevitably experienced horror from the historical lesson that "the civilian people would eventually overthrow the regime of the emperor who wallowed in luxury pleasure." For two reasons therefore, Emperor Qianlong had to hide his hedonic desire behind some more significant benefit or interest: he had to care about opposition from the court and work on the the civilian people's perception of his morality.

Whatever might have been Emperor Qianlong's inner fight realizing his weakness and considerations how to hide or compensate them historical documents present mainly two excuses thought to explain his behavior: treating the water system and celebrating his mother's birthday. The former was in line with pragmatic political interests, and the latter was in line with feudal ethics. In anticipation of the political benefits of these two aspects, Emperor Qianlong attempted to balance the negative impact of the large-scale gardening project on his image as a "wise emperor" and the possible weakening of his regime. In order to obfuscate his intentions and avoid being easily discerned, he laid the groundwork long in advance.

In the 13th year of Qianlong reign (1748), Qianlong sent people to investigate the water system around the West Lake, trying to use the nearby unused springs to increase the amount of water flowing into the West Lake.¹⁰¹¹ The hope was to relieve the increasing pressure on water supply caused by constructing a series of gardens, such as the Yuanming Garden. In the Beijing water supply system initially designed by Guo Shoujing, Yuquan Hill and Wengshan Lake were important transfer stations. They not only supplied water to the inner palace but also provided water to the canal, that was intended to benefit water transport from local areas to the capital. However, since these gardens intercepted too many upstream water sources, the water supplying the palace and the water transport were concurrently affected.¹⁰¹² In addition to this problem, the embankment of the West Lake often collapsed, thus causing harm to the surrounding farmland and gardens. Therefore, in the winter of 1749, Qianlong demanded unoccupied farmers to dig the bottom of the lake and carry out a dredging project of the water system.¹⁰¹³ This project was nominally intended to expand the water-bearing capacity of West Lake and strengthen the supporting water control facilities such as dams, sluices, and culverts, thereby reinforcing its role as a reservoir and water transfer station. As a result, a water supply system of "Yuquan Hill - Yu River 玉河 – West Lake (Kunming Lake) – Chang River 长河" that could be controlled and adjusted was formed (Fig. 3.3.1-1). This water supply system solved the problem of the water supply from the Grand Canal and provided water for farmland irrigation and gardens. While obtaining practical convenience, it alluded to the ancient meaning

¹⁰¹¹ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Maizhuang Qiao ji" 麦庄桥记, in *Yuzhi wen chujì*, vol. 4, 13a-b: 人但知其源出玉泉山，如志所云巨穴歎沸随地皆泉而已。而不知其会西山之伏流，蓄极溢涌，至是始见，故其源不竭而流愈长……。盖西山、碧云、香山诸寺皆有名泉，其源甚壮，以数十计。然唯曲注于招提精兰之内，一出山则伏流不见矣。 See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁰¹² See Qinghua daxue, ed., *Yihe Yuan*, 31.

¹⁰¹³ See *ibid.*, 31-32.

of the Great Yu's "water treatment" (see 3.1).



Fig. 3.3.1-1 The water system of "Yuquan Hill - Yu River - Kunming Lake - Chang River."

Qianlong carried out much extra work on the landscape around the West Lake "by the way" during the project. In order to throw sand into people's eyes and deceive the masses into believing that this water project was executed solely for their benefit, he exploited the aura of Yu. Qianlong concealed his ulterior motives under the cover of the ancient king, who had initiated the long-standing social and political structure known as the "state" so long ago. Initially, the West Lake was basically in the west of Weng Hill, in the shape of a long and narrow strip running north-south; and Weng Hill mainly was rock and lacked soil, looking "as bare as a grave mound."¹⁰¹⁴ By executing this water project, Emperor Qianlong anticipated the topographic and landscape renovation in advance for the construction of the Qingyi Garden. The east bank of the West Lake was expanded further to the east. A small island was shaped in the south. A new "West Causeway" was built in the lake running through the north and south. This embankment deliberately imitated the famous "Su Causeway" of Hangzhou West Lake: it

¹⁰¹⁴ Liu Tong 刘侗, "Dijing jingwu lue" 帝京景物略, cited in Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*, vol. 84, 29a: 土赤濱, 童童无草木. See *SKQS*.

was longer than the original lake embankment and had many stone bridges and pavilions (Fig. 3.3.1-2). The lake's soil was used to decorate the cliff at the eastern foot of Weng Hill, making it flatter and more beautiful. Pines and cypresses were planted on the initially barren Weng Hill, enhancing the scenic appeal.

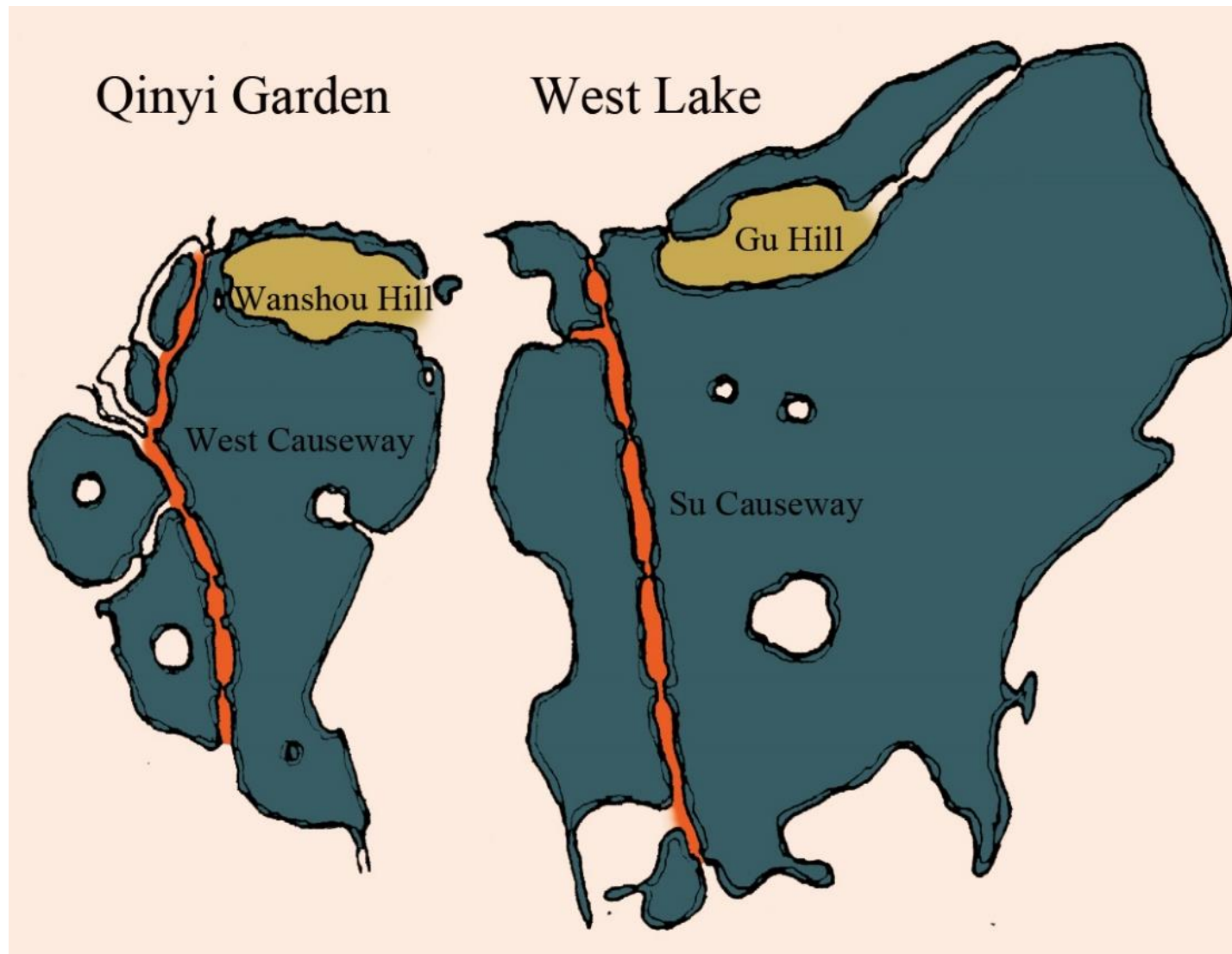


Fig. 3.3.1-2 Comparison of Qingyi Garden and West Lake.

The 15th year of Qianlong reign was the year before the 60th birthday of his mother, Empress Dowager Chongqing. In the second lunar month of this year, Qianlong accompanied the Empress Dowager to Mount Wutai 五台 for incense burning. Next to filial piety, this trip intended primarily to seek the blessings of favorable weather and abundant rainfall from the gods. Also, this occasion did not let forget Qianlong the foreshadowing of the Qingyi Garden project. He first announced the order to build the Da Baoen Yanshou Si 大报恩延寿寺 (Great Repayment of Grace and Extension Longevity Temple) on the southern slope of Weng Hill in the name of his mother, who believed in Buddhism. This temple was located in the former site of Yuanjing Temple 圆静寺 (see Fig. 3.3-2), which was built with donations from *née* Luo 罗氏, the nurse of Emperor Xiaozong of the Ming dynasty 明孝宗 (朱祐樞 Zhu Youcheng, 1470-1505, r. 1487-1505).¹⁰¹⁵ On the 13th of the third lunar month, Qianlong promulgated a decree

¹⁰¹⁵ It was built in the seventh year of the Hongzhi 弘治 period of the Ming dynasty (1494). In fact, this area had been utilized for the construction of temples since the Yuan dynasty. For instance, during the reign of Kublai Khan, the Zhaohua 昭化 Temple was erected in Yuquan Mountain. Additionally, in the second year of the Tianli 天历 period (1329) of the Yuan dynasty, the Da Chengtian Husheng 大承天护圣 Temple was built on the

in which it was well-reasoned to change the name of Weng Hill to “Wanshou Shan” 万寿山 (the Longevity Hill), intending to send blessings of longevity to his mother, and “incidentally” renamed the West Lake to “Kunming Lake 昆明湖.”¹⁰¹⁶ This decree, which had nothing to do with government affairs, was no different from the trumpet for building a new garden in the ears of the ministers.



Fig. 3.3.1-3 Part of Dong Bangda’s “Xihu shijingtu juan” 西湖十景图卷.

In fact, before the western tour of Mount Wutai, Emperor Qianlong had already ordered Dong Bangda 董邦达 (1696-1769) to paint the “Xihu shijingtu juan” 西湖十景图卷 (the Scroll of Ten Scenes of the West Lake) (Fig. 3.3.1-3). After returning to Beijing, Qianlong found that the work had been done, and he joyfully wrote an inscription after viewing it. Although this painting was named “Ten Scenes,” it depicted 54 scenic spots in the West Lake of Hangzhou and ingeniously presented the complete scene around the lake in the form of a long scroll so that the viewer could get an immersive tour imagination. Emperor Qianlong expressed his great yearning and expectation for the scenery in his inscription and postscript, affirming his unwavering determination to personally witness the authentic beauty of the West Lake during his upcoming Southern Tour, which was scheduled for the following spring. It is conceivable that this painting not only played a role in attracting the sightseeing wish but also greatly influenced the landscape shaping of “Kunming Lake.”

In the first lunar month of the 16th year of Qianlong reign (1751), Emperor Qianlong took his mother on his first Southern Tour and returned to Beijing in the fifth lunar month. On the 19th of the ninth lunar month, Emperor Qianlong held a 60th birthday banquet for his mother in the Cining Palace 慈宁宫 of the Forbidden City. Then he accompanied the Empress Dowager to Qingyi Garden for the first time. The first volume of the “Wangshou tu” 万寿图 (The Painting of the Longevity), which depicted the celebration event, recorded the imposing imperial architectures in the Qingyi Garden then (Fig. 3.3.1-4).

northwest bank of Weng Mountain. See Zhang Baozhang and Duan Bingren 段柄仁, eds., *Jinghua tonglan: Xishan Yongding He wenhuadai – Shanshan wuyuan* 京华通览：西山永定河文化带·三山五园 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2018), 111-112.

¹⁰¹⁶ See *Gaozong shilu* 高宗实录, vol. 360, 22a: 谕, 瓮山著称名万寿山, 金海著称名昆明湖。应通行晓谕中外知之。 See *Qing shilu* 清实录 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), photoprint of the Qing edition, 966.



Fig. 3.3.1-4 Part of the “Wangshou tu.”

In traditional ideology of Han nationality, it is not considered extravagant and wasteful for a prince, aristocrat, or wealthy businessman to celebrate his mother’s birthday with a large-scale project. In fact, it is regarded as an exemplary display of filial piety that merits promotion. Since the Western Han dynasty, with the establishment of the exclusive status of the Confucian ideological system, the value of filial piety in maintaining the authority of the emperor and stabilizing the social hierarchy has become prominent, forming the theoretical thought of so-called *yixiaozhiguo* 以孝治国 (governing the country with filial piety). The Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty were acutely aware that embracing “filial piety” was crucial in upholding traditional Confucian values, which served to reinforce the emperors' autocratic rule and patriarchal authority. The adoption of these values facilitated the establishment of a stable governance over the Han population. Regardless of who they were, whether it be Emperors Shunzhi, Kangxi or Qianlong, all placed great emphasis on the virtue of filial piety and

meticulously practiced it in their daily lives. “Celebrating the mother’s birthday,” thus performing “filial piety,” which symbolizes the act of filial piety, provided Emperor Qianlong with a splendid opportunity to construct the Great Repayment of Grace and Extension Longevity Temple and the renovation of the landscape around Longevity Hill.

Hidden behind the pretexts of “water treatment” and “filial piety,” Qingyi Garden was built entirely in the 26th year of Qianlong reign (1761). However, Emperor Qianlong went against the habit of writing prose for the garden immediately after its construction. It was not until three years later (1764) that he wrote “Wanshoushan Qingyi Yuan ji” 万寿山清漪园记 (The Record of Qingyi Garden of the Longevity Hill). The article initially mentioned the reason for the delay in writing this article: “[The project] was finished in the Snake Year of Xin Si (1761), and the reason that I did not write this article until now is the delay of the inscriptions and plaques, and also because it is difficult to organize my words” 成于辛巳，而今始作记者，以建置题额间或缓待而亦有所难于措辞也。¹⁰¹⁷ This article showed another time the Emperor’s attitude of guilt: “[...] as [this project] goes against the word I said, that I cannot help feeling guilty in my heart” ……以与我初言有所背，则不能不愧于心。¹⁰¹⁸ In contradiction to these words, Emperor Qianlong still tried to find an excuse for the construction of Qingyi Garden in this article: “The lake is a result of *zhishui* (treating the water), and the mountain is named (and renovated) because it is facing the lake. Since the scenery of the lake and mountain is already there, could it be left without the ornamentation of pavilions and platforms” 盖湖之成以治水，山之名以临湖，既具湖山之胜，概能无亭台之点缀？¹⁰¹⁹

However, it can be inferred from the above that this garden construction project was obviously not an accessory to the water project or the celebration of the mother’s birthday. On the contrary, behind “water treatment” and “filial piety,” there had always been Qianlong’s ambition and efforts to reproduce the scenery of Jiangnan West Lake in the suburbs of Beijing with a large imperial garden. Perhaps Emperor Qianlong himself was aware of the challenges in defending his position, thus he acknowledged this by expressing self-deprecation.:

Although I have said in the ‘Postscript to the Yuanming Garden’ that I would not discard [Yuanming Garden] and waste heavy labor to build other gardens, is not the Qingyi Garden reconstructed today? Is not that a broken promise? [I] change the hill’s name because it faces a lake; [I] create a garden because [its location] is close to the hill. Who will believe it despite the saying of [being the result of] water treatment?

虽然《圆明园后记》有云不肯舍此重费民力建园囿矣，今之清漪园非重建乎？

¹⁰¹⁷ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Wanshoushan Qingyi Yuan ji,” in *Yuzhi wen erji*, vol. 10, 1a.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid., 1a-b.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid., 1b.

非食言乎？以临湖而易山名，以近山而创园囿，虽云治水，谁其信之？¹⁰²⁰

Although Emperor Qianlong was proud of the successful combination of gardening and the water project, he also felt the shame of breaking his promise and covering up for it. The underlying concern was always the fear of being overturned because of wasting money and labor to satisfy selfish desires. Therefore, he repeatedly used various methods to deal with his psychological issues and tried to compensate for the project's enormous cost.

This found expression in restrictions he set for himself to prevent excessive indulgence in leisure activities. Every time he went to Qingyi Garden, he could only go there in the morning and must return by noon, never stay there overnight: “Although the garden had been completed, I shall go after the twilight, and return before the afternoon, never spent the night there, just as I made my original intention. Maybe I can still be forgiven because of this” 园虽成，过辰而往，逮午而返，未尝度宵，犹初志也。或亦有以谅予矣。¹⁰²¹

Presenting another example, he ordered navy exercises on Kunming Lake just to create a reason for the necessity of the vast water surface, that otherwise only served as scenery for recreation. Since the 16th year of Qianlong reign (1751), he had set up warships imitating the style of the Fujian-Guangdong cruiser on the water, dispatched officers of the Fujian Navy as instructors, and ordered the soldiers from the Xiangshan Jianrui Battalion 香山建锐营 to exercise on Kunming Lake regularly in the mid-summer.¹⁰²² Interestingly, the name “Kunming Lake” itself came from the “Kunming Chi” 昆明池 (Kunming Pool), where the navy was trained in the Han dynasty.¹⁰²³ However, just as the “Kunming Pool” in the Han dynasty (and so as the “Jinming Pool” in the Song dynasty) eventually became a place for boating and playing, Emperor Qianlong's naval drills on Kunming Lake still could not cover up that sightseeing was still the primary function of the vast water surface of Qingyi Garden. According to Zhou Weiquan's 周维权 research, on the water surface of Kunming Lake in Qingyi Garden, the imperial boats just for the emperor and empress were already plenty, such as *Jingzhong You* 镜中游, *Furong Jian* 芙蓉舰, *Wanhe Zhou* 万荷舟, *Jinlang Feifu* 锦浪飞舄, *Chengxu* 澄虚, *Jinglong Zhou* 景龙舟, *Xianglian Zhou* 祥莲舟, *Xilong Zhou* 喜龙舟, etc. Among them, the largest boat reached 13 *zhang* (over 40 m) long, and the decoration and furnishings were highly luxurious. In addition, there were also 28 auxiliary boats like food preparation boats, water storing boats, tea preparation boats, and sampans for

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰²¹ Ibid., 2a.

¹⁰²² See Yu Minzhong, comp., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*, vol. 84, 1b: 乾隆十五年……疏导玉泉诸派汇于西湖，易名昆明湖。设战船仿福建广东巡洋之制，命闽省千把总教演。自后每逢伏日，香山健锐营弁兵于湖内按期水操。 See *SKQS*.

¹⁰²³ As early as the Ming Dynasty, some people have associated this vast water surface with the “Kunming Pool” of the Han dynasty. See Jiang Yikui, *Chang'an kehua*, 50: 今上（明神宗）谒陵回銮，幸西山，经西湖，登龙舟，后妃嫔御皆从。……是时舳舻青雀，首尾相衔，锦缆牙樯，波翻涛沸。即汉之昆明太液，石鲸鳞甲，殆不过是。

transportation.¹⁰²⁴

In addition, in the water project, the Yu River and Chang River connected with Kunming Lake were also planned according to the requirements of water sightseeing channels and officially opened in the autumn of the 16th year of Qianlong reign (1751). After that, the water system of “Chang River-Kunming Lake-Yu River-Yuquan Hill” became a 12-kilometer-long royal water tour line in the northwest suburbs of Beijing, which Emperor Qianlong frequently used to travel between Qingyi Garden and the Forbidden City in Beijing.

Despite all the compensations and the two pretexts (“water treatment” and “filial piety”) that should offer rational explanations for his probably realized selfish desire to build a garden, Emperor Qianlong still failed in achieving conciliation with himself. Even in his later years, Emperor Qianlong felt obliged to explain once again the construction of the Qingyi Garden in the poem “Wanshoushan Qingyi Yuan shiyong” 万寿山清漪园示咏 (Self-expression by Chanting the Qingyi Garden of the Longevity Hill). In this poem, he admitted his fault but still used layers of whitewashing as a means of mitigation:

The hill is called “Longevity” to celebrate [my] mother’s [birthday]. The garden is named “Qingyi” to [pray for] the blessing of water. Between the mountain and water, [I], the emperor, is diligent in governance. [Here I] obtain the wisdom [from water] and benevolence [from the mountain] that are granted by the heaven.

It would be eccentric if [the emperor] pursued his desire without restraint. That is what I want my descendant to be aware of. [I used] this seven-word poem to show my heart that the reverent [of nature and civilian people] should never be forgotten.

山称万寿祝慈号，园号清漪水德宜。山水之间勤帝治，智仁以寓荷天禧。
设循已欲斯乖矣，用示后昆永慎之。七字明心无别语，一言曰敬敢忘兹。¹⁰²⁵

In the annotations of this poem, he summed up the beginning and end of the project and enriched the two reasons – “water treatment” and “filial piety” – for building the garden, which he had pointed out in “The Record of Qingyi Garden of the Longevity Hill.” He first mentioned “Longevity Hill,” formerly known as “Weng Hill,” and mentioned Guo Shoujing’s water system management in the Yuan dynasty. Then he used *suijiu yusai* 岁久淤塞 (being stagnated over time) as the reason for reorganizing the water system around the West Lake. Nevertheless, he omitted the initial landscape treatment of the West Lake he did and went directly to write that it was renamed “Kunming Lake.” This way of writing subtly transformed “Kunming Lake” from a well-designed water landscape to a direct “result” of the water treatment project. In addition, Emperor Qianlong described the sluice gates, dams, and culverts with water control functions on the lake, but left the bridges and pavilion unmentioned. He pointed out that they were built to “prevent the flood tides in summer and

¹⁰²⁴ See Zhou Wei-quan, “Qingyi Yuan shilue,” 139-140.

¹⁰²⁵ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, “Wanshoushan Qingyi Yuan shiyong,” in *Yuzhi shi yuji* 御制诗余集, vol. 5, 15b-16a. See *SKQSHY*.

autumn, meanwhile, raise the water level for transportation and support the irrigation for rice fields” 禦夏秋泛涨，且贮以济运，兼资稻田灌溉。¹⁰²⁶ This representation was intended to weaken the landscape characteristics of Kunming Lake once again. After that, he turned to the second reason for building the garden: celebrating his mother’s 60th birthday in 1751. He tried to describe the process of “Weng Hill” becoming “Longevity Mountain” in the order of “celebrating mother’s birthday,” – “building a temple in the south of the hill,” – “changing the name of the hill.” In this way, he once again avoided mentioning the landscaping treatments such as “piling up the cliff with soil” and “planting trees” on the original Weng Hill, keeping a low profile of the massive amount of money and human resources spent on the “Longevity Hill,” a landscaped hill explicitly created for the garden. When the formation of the two central bodies of Qingyi Garden (“Kunming Lake” and “Longevity Mountain”) were well excused, he lightly summed up the plenty buildings in the garden as “embellishments” between the mountain and water, thus completing his narrative of the construction of Qingyi Garden. Afterwards, he mentioned that he had lived to old age under the blessing of God, and in the 46 years since Qingyi Garden was built, he had disciplined himself to go in the morning and return before noon. Even when sometimes he had meals or worked there, he still had done nothing against the oath he made.

Behaving in this way, he tried to express his respect for nature (heaven). Even though he enjoyed the scenery of mountains and water, he did not use Qingyi Garden as a place to indulge his selfish desires. Finally, he reiterated his preaching to future generations in the “Postscript to the Yuanming Garden,” telling them not to build any more gardens. To the end, he indicated that this poem would act as proof of his fault and will.¹⁰²⁷

Only on the premise of understanding the historical background of the construction of the Qingyi Garden can we further discuss the Shi Fang 石舫 (Stone Boat), the representative item of the emperor’s boat-architecture. The Stone Boat in Qingyi Garden is a metaphor for the emperor following the concept of *junzhou-minshui*. It must be read and perceived as the most explicit and direct visualization of Emperor Qianlong’s struggle with his inner contradictions.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., 15b.

¹⁰²⁷ See the annotation of “Wanshoushan Qingyi Yuan shiyong,” *ibid.*, 15b: 万寿山旧名瓮山，乾隆己巳岁始考通惠河之源，即元史所载“引白浮、瓮山诸泉”云者。时因岁久淤塞，命就山前芟芜、浚隘，汇玉泉西湖之水成一区，命曰昆明湖。又设闸坝涵洞以禦夏秋泛涨，且贮以济运，兼资稻田灌溉。以辛未岁为名之慈宁六旬大庆，预于山之阳建大报恩延寿寺，因曰万寿山，以祝慈釐，并为之记。后于山麓点缀亭榭，统名之曰清漪园，复为文以记其事。仰荷天佑，岁月久长，迄今丙辰已四十六年矣！每当清暇一游，卯往辰还，即于此传餐视事未尝少弛。盖智仁山水，虽具动静乐寿之趣，而其本总在持之以敬。我子孙所当聪听世守，亦不可再增建置。示予过并示予志也。

3.3.2 Shi Fang and the Design Idea

The Shi Fang was at the foot of the west side of Longevity Hill. According to the annex of the list of buildings in the Qingyi Garden in the memorial of the Neiwu Fu of the 19th year of Qianlong reign (1755), it belonged to the *qianshan xiduan* 前山西段 (west section of the front hill) building complex, which was completed before the 19th year of Qianlong (Fig. 3.3.2-1).

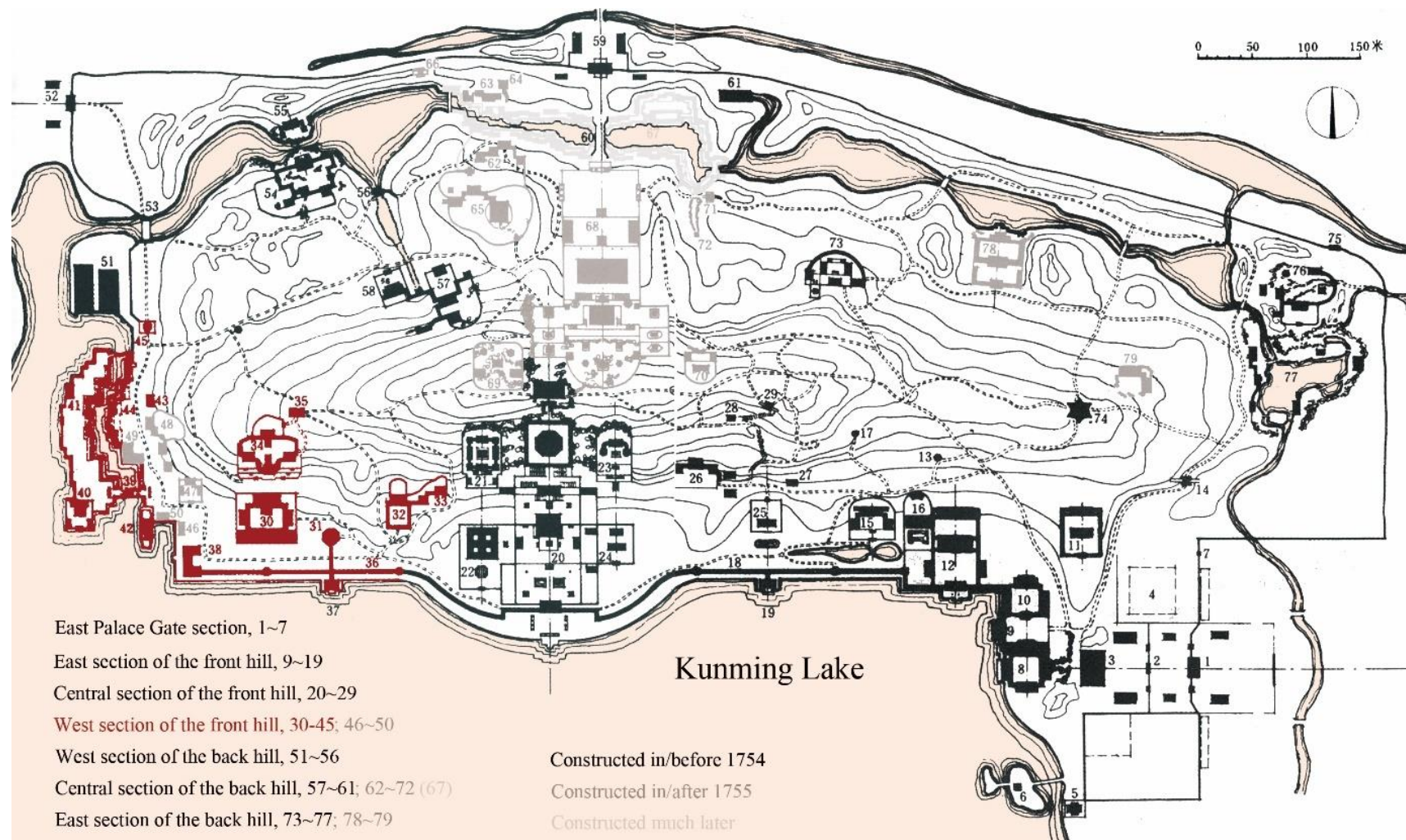


Fig. 3.3.2-1 The plan drawing of the Qingyi Garden.

As mentioned earlier, the Great Repayment of Grace and Extension Longevity Temple built by Emperor Qianlong for his mother used the former site of Yuanjing Temple in the Ming dynasty, while Shi Fang made use of the Fangsheng Tai 放生台 (Release Platform, the platform that Buddhist used to set free captive animals like fishes and turtles) of Yuanjing Temple as its base. Therefore, the location of the Shi Fang was not so much an overall plan in advance as a clever design tailored to local conditions. The integration of Shi Fang with the landscape design on the western side of Longevity Mountain, situated at the base of the frontal hill, was executed seamlessly.

From the information on the current site plan of the Summer Palace (which used to be the Qingyi Garden), such as the construction sequence of different zones and so on, we can analyze the landscape settings of Longevity Hill and its surroundings from a design perspective. The central axis of the Great Repayment of Grace and Extension Longevity Temple, the main building complex, was undoubtedly the first to be considered. This north-south axis was set at the position passing through the peak of the Longevity Hill – the three main buildings of the Zhihui Hai 智慧海 (the Sea of Wisdom), the Foxiang Pavilion 佛香阁 (the Pavilion of the Fragrance of Buddha), and the Paiyun Hall 排云殿 (the Hall of Dispelling the Clouds) were arranged along the hill from the top to the south foot (Fig. 3.3.2-2). The south hill landscape

facing the lake was designed according to this axis. It was a long symmetrical landscape corridor from the east to the west and an arc protruding to the south in the middle (Fig. 3.3.2-3). In the north of the landscape corridor, courtyards were built with the facility of the relatively flat terrain. In this way, the leading landscape setting of the south side of Longevity Hill facing the lake was completed. The hill met the expansive flat land on the east side. The topography of this area facilitated a more organized arrangement of palace buildings in comparison to other sections within the garden. For example, the East Palace Gate and the Qinzheng Hall 勤政殿 (the Hall of Diligent Government), used as the imperial office, were both located in this area (see Fig. 3.3.2-3). However, the west side of Longevity Mountain was initially cut off by the water surface, so the landscape form of the west waterfront had to be carefully designed (see Fig. 3.3.2-3).

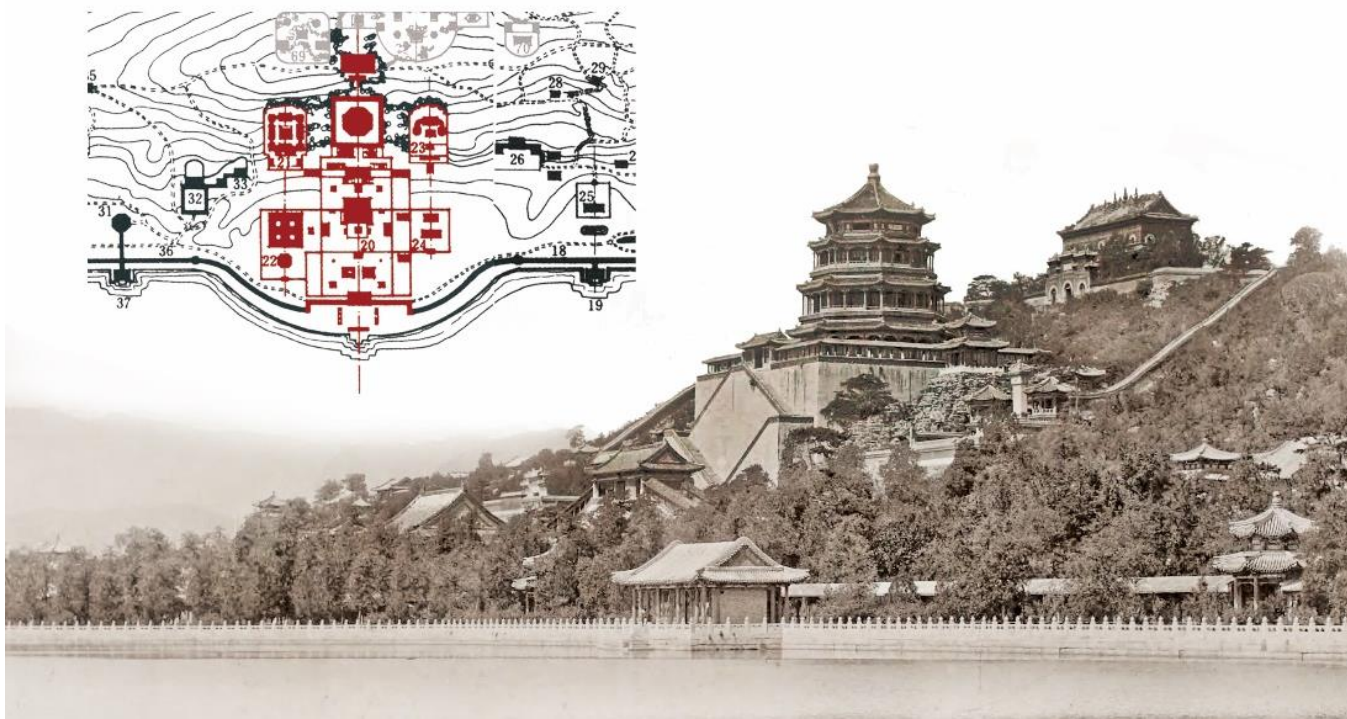


Fig. 3.3.2-2 The north-south building axis passing through the peak of the Longevity Hill.

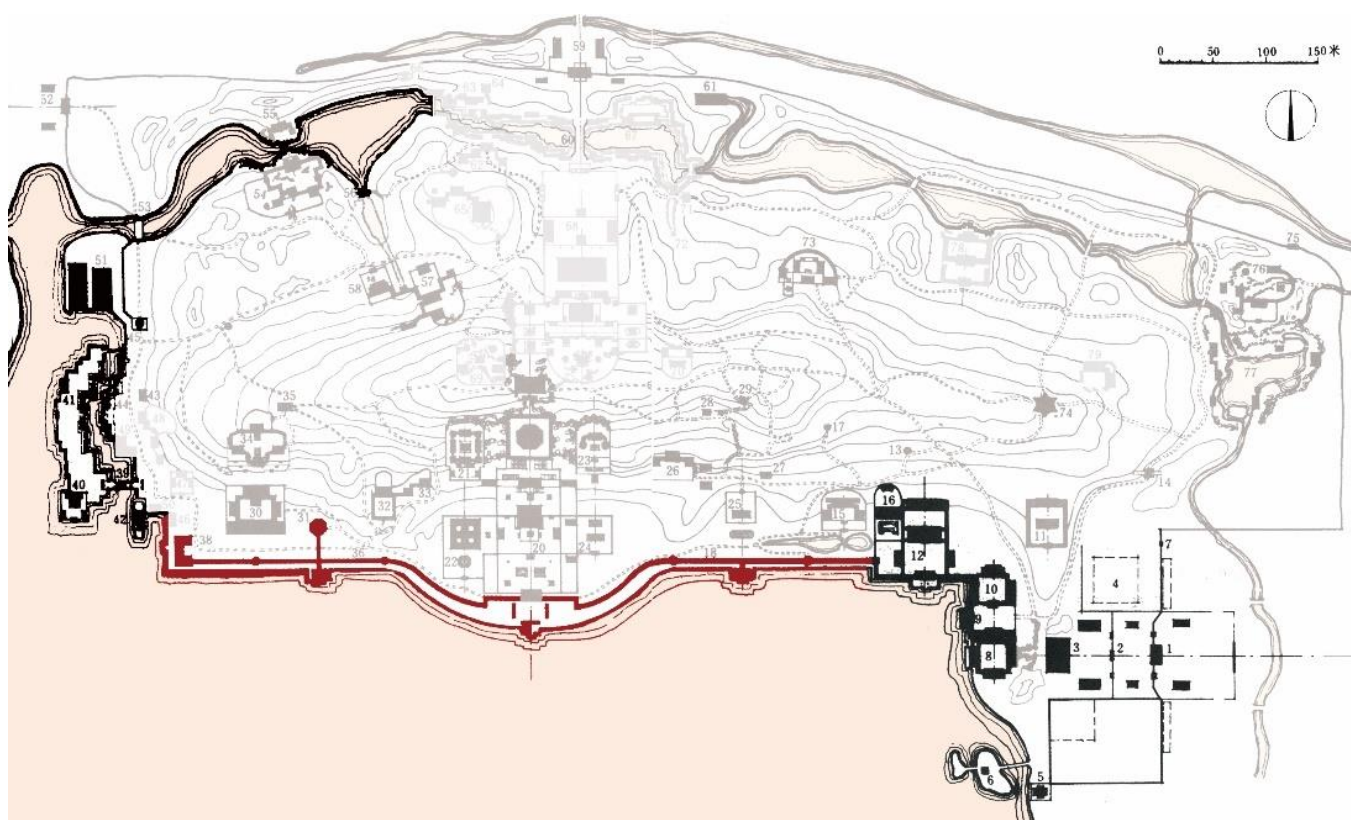


Fig. 3.3.2-3 The south hill landscape facing the lake.

When dealing with this part, the original Release Platform of Yuanjing Temple was taken into consideration by Emperor Qianlong as quite an essential factor. First of all, according to the size of the current base of Shi Fang, the original Release Platform was a sizeable square waterfront stone pavement. It was challenging to achieve a seamless and organic curvature when dealing with the revetment at this corner without completely removing the pavement. The original purpose of this platform, “releasing captive animals,” holds significant symbolic meaning for Buddhists, making complete dismantling an unfavorable choice. However, retaining the platform or constructing a building on it would adversely impact the southern termination of the water corridor, compromising its lightness. Additionally, it would disrupt the figure-ground relationship on Longevity Hill's western side by lacking essential transparency and permeability.

Considering various factors, Emperor Qianlong, who led the project, kept this Release Platform but converted it into a *fang* architecture commonly found in gardens south of the Yangtze River. We must not forget that the famous Shao Garden built by Mi Wanzhong in the Ming dynasty mentioned above was not far from here, and there were boat-architectures in the Shao Garden that imitated their kind in the Jiangnan area. Therefore, this type of *fang* architecture had already been well-known to Beijing's elites since the late Ming dynasty.

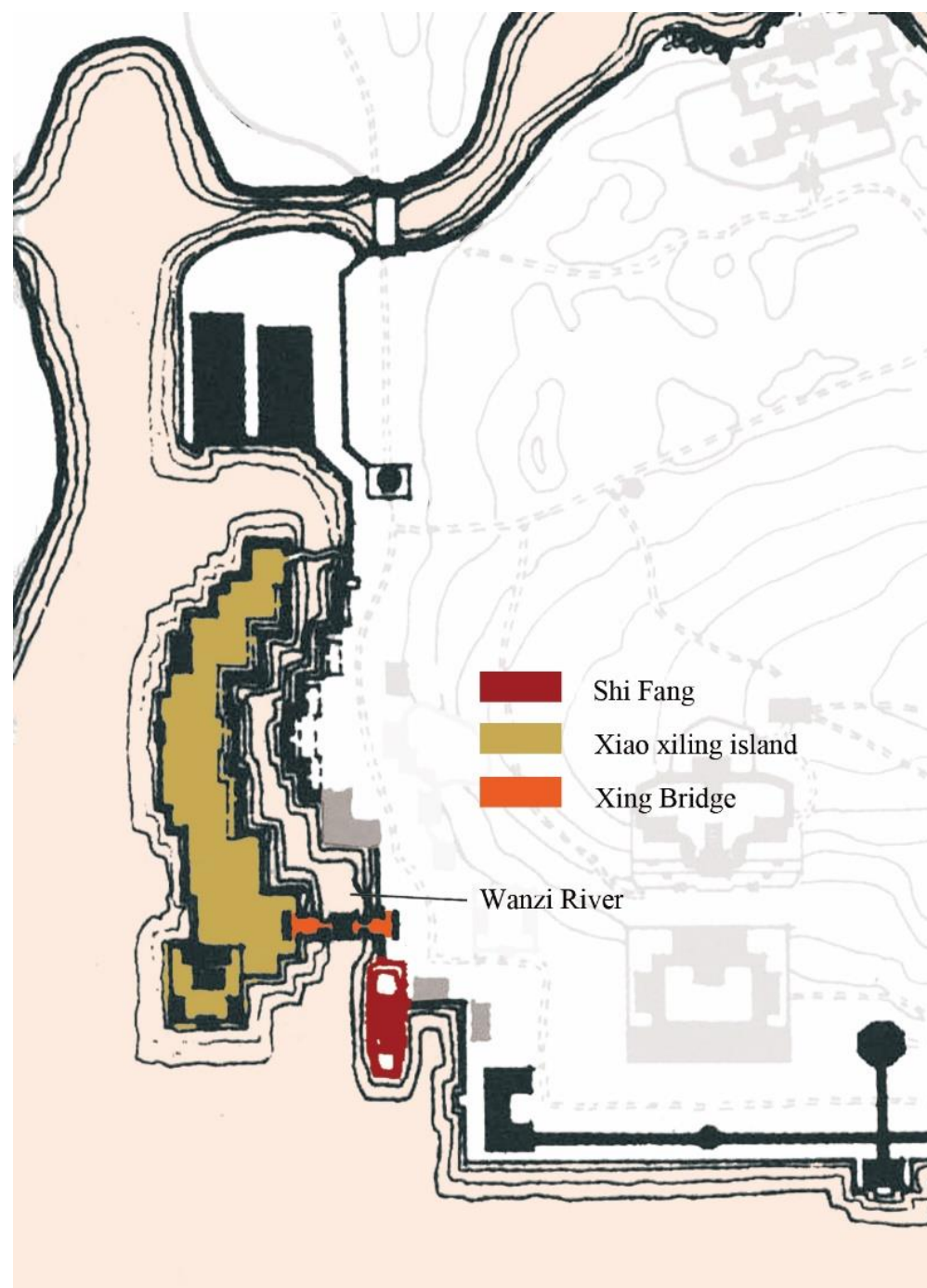


Fig. 3.3.2-4 The waterfront landscape on the western side of Longevity Hill.

Some stone components were added to the original platform, thus shaping it into a pedestal that imitates the hull of a boat, just like the pedestal of *fang* architecture. The design by Shi Fang resulted in the interruption of the land on the east side of the former Release Platform, which was originally connected to Longevity Hill. The Shi Fang thus also became an “independent boat” in the lake. The land facing the water on the west side of Longevity Hill was therewith separated by a narrow water surface (the Wanzi River 万字河), thus forming a long independent island – “Xiao Xiling” 小西泠. The Xiao Xiling island and the inner land was connected by a stone bridge – “Xing Bridge” 荇桥 (Fig. 3.3.2-4). A pavilion with double eaves was built on the bridge to offer people a resting place. Sitting in this bridge pavilion, those royal tourists could enjoy the scenery of Shi Fang and Kunming Lake in a superb position.

Due to the independence of the Xiao Xiling island, its outer waterfront could be shaped into a more natural form without being obtrusive. As for the water shape between its inner side and the Longevity Hill, more consideration could be given to continuing the relationship between the long front corridor and the platform. In the construction project after the 20th year of Qianlong reign (1756), this part of the river bank was designed as a continuous right-angled zigzag line, and the two sides were planned to imitate the Jiangnan water street that was an assembling of stores. It was named “Maimai Jie” 买卖街 (the street for buying and selling).¹⁰²⁸

Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘 (1818-1891), a court official in the late Qing dynasty, visited Qingyi Garden on the 11th of the third lunar month, the 10th year of Xianfeng reign (1860), just a short time before it was destroyed in October of the same year. He described the scene of visiting Maimai Jie:

Walking along the foot of the hill, to the Maimai Jie. It is the right arm of the hill, where the Yuquan spring passes through; therefore, the scenery here is much like the view of Jiangnan. Emperor Qianlong imitated the great sightseeing of Shantang Street in Suzhou City to design it as a palace market. [The stores here] were all hanging plaques [of the stores in Shantang Street]. Today there are only a few plaques left, such as “Yufeng Dang” 裕丰当 and those of several teahouses. At the end of the market are piers and a bridge on which a pavilion was built. Its name was “Xing Qiao.” Next to the bridge is a dragon boat constructed on stones, and from a distance, it looks like a giant boat mooring near the bridge.

沿山麓行，至买卖街，盖山之右臂，玉泉山水所经，颇有江南景致。高宗仿苏

¹⁰²⁸ Today, the Summer Palace features two “Maimai Jie.” Apart from the one mentioned here, there is another one called “Houxi He Maimai Jie” 后溪河买卖街 (Houxi River trading street) in the northern part of Longevity Hill. However, the “Houxi He Maimai Jie” was not mentioned in Emperor Qianlong’s poems, Yu Minzhong’s *Rixia jiuwen kao*, or Guo Songtao’s record of visiting the Qingyi Garden. Therefore, it is likely that it was constructed during the rebuilding of Qingyi Garden into Yihe Garden (the Summer Palace). Consequently, the term “Maimai Jie” originally planned and designed by Emperor Qianlong exclusively refers to this specific street located between the western side of Wanshou Hill and Xiao Xiling island.

州山塘之胜为宫市，皆有悬额；今存者“裕丰当”及茶楼数廛而已。市尽处为墩，有桥，建亭其上，颜曰：“苻桥”。傍桥砌石为龙舟，远望之如一巨舰泊桥下也。¹⁰²⁹



Fig. 3.3.2-5 Shi Fang depicted in the “Wanshou tu.”

The “dragon boat” here clearly referred to the Shi Fang. In this written record, when Guo Songtao referred to the Shi Fang as a “dragon boat,” he was not describing the appearance of this building as if it was decorated with those “dragon” patterns or sculptures. It most probably did not have such those decorations, as can be verified in “Wanshou tu” 万寿图 (The Painting of Longevity) (Fig. 3.3.2-5). The image of the Shi Fang in this painting demonstrates that this boat-like building did not in any way imitate the dragon in exaggerated form like other “dragon boat” images in history (see Fig. P-1&2&3). Guo Songtao called the Shi Fang “Dragon Boat” because it imitated the boat used by the emperor to ride on. As the emperor was regarded as “the real dragon and the son of heaven,” the boat he rode was also called “Dragon Boat.” Therefore, it is not difficult to understand that in Guo Songtao’s perspective, Maimai Jie and Shi Fang constituted an interesting association – the two presented a reproduction of Qianlong’s Southern Tour.

Comparing the sixth volume of the “Qianlong nanxun tu” 乾隆南巡图 (Qianlong’s Southern Tour) painted by Xu Yang 徐扬, a court painter from Suzhou, with “Wanshou tu” painted by Zhang Tingyan 张廷彦 (1735-1794), we can see the exciting similarities (Fig. 3.3.2-6). The former mainly recorded the scene of Emperor Qianlong’s dragon boat landing outside

¹⁰²⁹ Guo Songtao, *Guo Songtao quanji*, 292. Despite Guo Songtao’s conviction that this commercial street was a replica of Suzhou’s Shantang Street, Zhou Weiyan suggests that the topographical design of this island was actually influenced by Yangzhou’s slender West Lake. See Zhou Weiyan, “Qingyi Yuan shilue,” 142: note 18.

Suzhou city, entering through the Xu Gate 胥门, and passing through the city. The right end of this long scroll depicted the scene of people welcoming the dragon boat of Emperor Qianlong on the outskirts of Suzhou, at about half the length of the whole painting. The spatial sequence of entering the city from a suburb began with three consecutive stone bridges over the water. The first (far right) stone bridge also separated the outer natural waterfront from the inner artificial revetment, which was paved with stone and covered with wooden cantilevered platforms. It can be seen that with the pull of the barge haulers on both sides of the strait, Emperor Qianlong's dragon boat was coming into the city outskirts. Although it was not drawn on the map, this should be the place where Qianlong disembarked and landed.



Fig. 3.3.2-6 Comparison of the “bridge - dragon boat” in the “Qianlong Nanxun tu” (up) and “Xing Bridge - Shi Fang” in the “Wanshou tu” (down).

It is not only because the dragon boat would be too large to pass through under the bridges but also because, with the transition to urban space, towpath on both sides of the strait would no longer allow a large number of barge haulers to pull the boat. When the dragon boat was moored outside the first stone bridge, this scene was intriguingly similar to the Shi Fang outside the Xing Bridge in Qingyi Garden, which Guo Songtao described as “a giant boat mooring near the bridge.” The stores and shops on both sides of the river bank inside the bridge depicted in the painting also correspond to the Maimai Jie of the Wanzi River in the garden.

One of the typical Chinese methods of gardening is to reduce every element’s size. Due to this gardening approach, the three elements of the “street,” “bridge,” and “boat” in Qingyi Garden had been certainly reduced a lot in their volume. In addition, the revetment of the Maimai Jie was designed to be as winding as possible. The wooden building above the stone base of the Shi Fang also weakened the boat’s characteristics and was closer to the garden building. In fact, the double-story building on the upper part of the stone pedestal painted in “Wanshou tu” even canceled the roof combination that imitated the “head-middle-tail cabins” of the actual boat. If taking it off the base that imitated a boat and placed it on the ground, it would be a very ordinary open two-story pavilion (Fig. 3.3.2-7). However, for Emperor Qianlong, the spatial relationship between the three elements still awakened his memories of the Southern Tour. Therefore, the original intention of the Shi Fang design harks back to Qianlong’s attitude towards the Southern Tour.

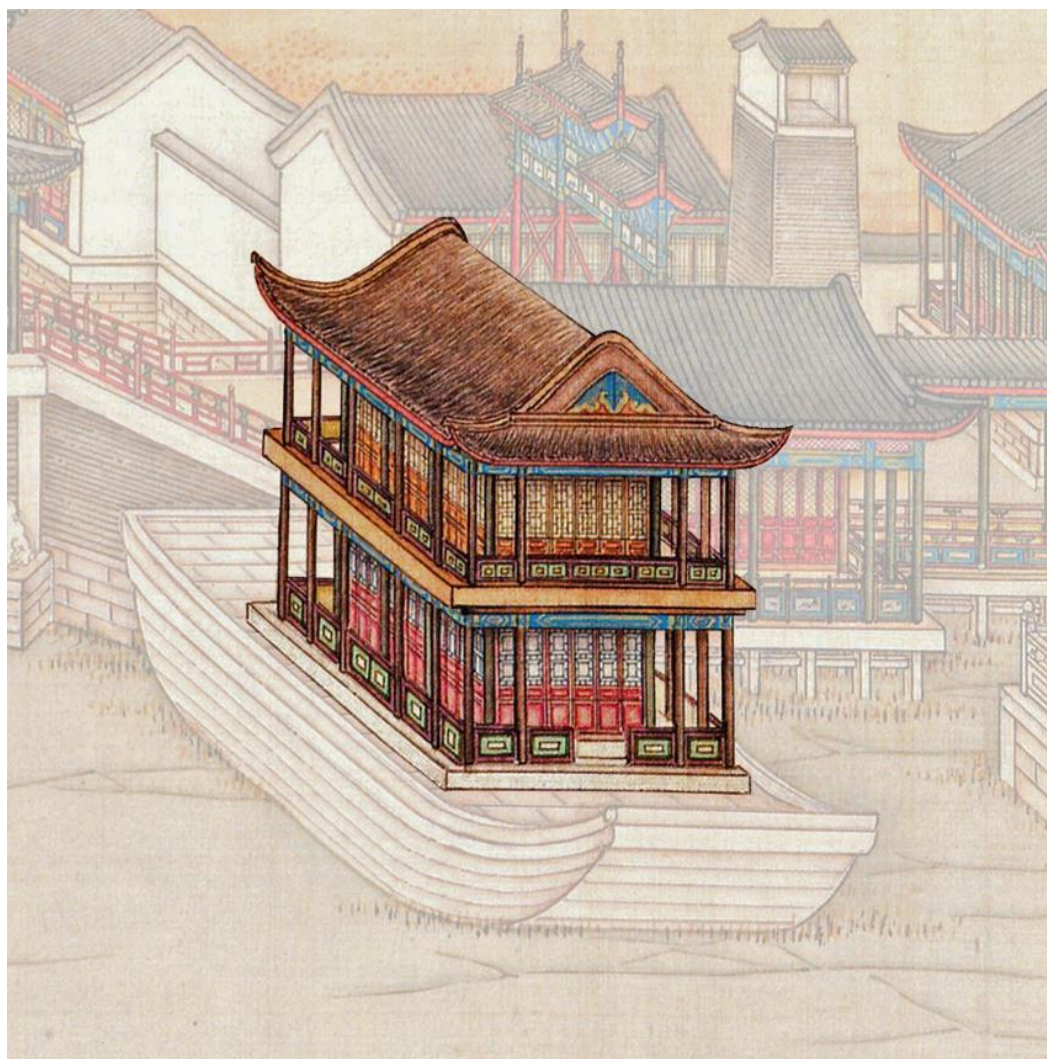


Fig. 3.3.2-7 The superstructure on the Shi Fang.

As an educated emperor, the reenactment of his Jiangnan boating tour not only evoked delightful reminiscences but also conjured up the image of Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty's "dragon boat water pavilion," which was far from pleasant. In particular, his Southern Tour could be called "different tunes rendered with equal skill" as the southern cruise of Emperor Yang of Sui. Did Emperor Qianlong not justify the construction of Qingyi Garden as a form of "water treatment" just as Emperor Yang justified the construction of the Grand Canal? Such a parallel would undoubtedly have been unacceptable to Emperor Qianlong, an ambitious ruler who aspired to become a "sage king."

Therefore, just as "water treatment" and "filial piety" were used to cover up the selfish desire to build the Qingyi Garden, Qianlong also used an article called "Shifang ji" 石舫记 (The Record of Shi Fang) to whitewash the design intention of this building on a political level.¹⁰³⁰ In this article, Qianlong boasted of Shi Fang's ingenious design. He mentioned that this architecture could provide different sceneries in four seasons as well as morning and evening. However, the primary purpose of this article was to deconstruct the entertainment function of the building. Writing in his article, "not just a salute to Ouyang Xiu and Mi Fu" 非徒欧米之兴慕也,¹⁰³¹ demonstrates that he used the two symbols of Ouyang Xiu's "Huafang Zhai" and Mi Fu's "Mijia Chuan" (see in Chapter 1) to summarize the entertainment function of the boat-architectures. As we know from the first chapter, these two symbols certainly do not represent only leisure and entertainment in pursuit of beauty. But for Emperor Qianlong, none of these matters. According to his perspective, the cultural symbol of boats should be absolutely unambiguous. That would be the vision of the emperor himself in the concept of *junzhou-minshui*. That would be the alarm bell of being overturned from the metaphor of *zaizhou-fuzhou*. Therefore, he wrote at the end:

Yet [I should] awe the warning of 'carrying the boat,' laying the safety [of the regime] as stable as the stone. Keep [my mind and action] clear and coherent, and fulfill my responsibilities. The meaning is in this! The intention is in this!

若夫凜載舟之戒，奠磐石之安，虛明洞達，職思其居，意在斯乎！意在斯乎！
1032

In this sentence, Emperor Qianlong borrowed the cultural symbol of the boat image of *junzhou-minshui* to turn the design intention of the Shi Fang into a warning to himself. This practice not only distances the image of himself from that of Emperor Yang of Sui, a "fatuous" and self-indulgent ruler, but also closes himself up to his political idol, Emperor Taizong of

¹⁰³⁰ Aixin-jueluo Hongli, "Shi Fang ji," in *Yuzhi wen chuji*, vol. 5, 14a-15a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, 14b.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*, 15a.

Tang, who was famous for attaching importance to the teachings of *zaizhou-fuzhou*.

In this article of Emperor Qianlong, another point is worth noting: that is *dian panshi zhi an* 奠磐石之安 (laying the safety of the regime as stable as the stone), which is parallel to the *lin zaizhou zhi jie* 凜載舟之戒 (awe the warning of “carrying the boat”). Emperor Qianlong mentioned at the beginning of this article that, since the ancient time of *maoci tujie* 茅茨土阶 (thatch roof and earthen base), Chinese architecture mainly had raised the ground with stone platform foundations to avoid moisture, enhance lighting and strengthen the structure. Gradually, the height of the stone platform was used as a metaphor for the architectural hierarchy by the ancients, so there are various masonry methods for the platform or footpaths at different levels and on different terrains. Regardless of their materials’ quality and height difference, they were all used to define the building’s sturdy foundation. Then, he turned to Shi Fang’s pedestal – a foundation independent in the water, without any support, like the hull of a boat. Through the foreshadowing of the words on the stone platform foundations, he tried to convey a clear implication. Although this building looked like a boat in the water, it would be stable and safe from capsizing as long as it had a stone base. It could not only give users the imagination of the boat space and the landscape feeling in a boating tour but also would not need to be worried about sinking like a real boat due to damage.

The implication of expressing “safety” and “stability” had long been expressed in the boat-architectures built by the literati (discussed in Chapter 1). However, interestingly, Qianlong’s narrative was utterly new and from a higher standpoint. Because he did not mention the metaphor of “waves,” which was often used by literati to represent the ups and downs of the official careers. He introduced the concepts of *li* 禮 (etiquette) and “hierarchy” in architecture. The vision of “permanent safety” he imparted to Shi Fang shattered the confines of personal circumstances and ascended to the heights of national security. Nevertheless, for a feudal emperor, the two were one: the country’s stability was equivalent to the permanence of the regime of himself and his descendants.

Under Qianlong’s design and reinterpretation, the Shi Fang in Qingyi Garden was a building that combined three cultural symbols of a boat that fit the emperor’s status: 1. the image of a “dragon boat” for amusement; 2. the symbolic boat in the metaphor of *zaizhou-fuzhou*; and 3. the stone-based boat expressing the regime’s permanence. As a bystander of history, we may be able to capture such a complete narrative about desire, horror, and aspiration: a man at the peak of power in a prosperous country who sought pleasure while simultaneously fearing the consequences that such pursuit might bring upon him. This recurring theme was consistently emphasized throughout his history lessons. Therefore, while covering up his desires, he was also vigilant in acting out his indulgence. At the same time, his vision of his hereditary regime’s permanence acted as a countermeasure against the apprehension of subjugation and provided impetus for his exercise of moderation in pursuing desires.

This system of effectively leveraging his weakness, including fear, indulgence, and ego, enabled him to strike a delicate balance that empowered Emperor Qianlong to function at an optimal level, although following tortuous paths. However, this was not the case for the later Qing emperors. It also dashed hope of the “eternal safety” pinned on the Shi Fang. About 100

years later, in the second Opium War in the tenth year of Xianfeng reign (1860), the British and French allied forces invaded Beijing, and the Qingyi Garden (together with other imperial gardens) was almost entirely destroyed. Shi Fang was no exception. It can be seen from the old photos that after the Shi Fang was burned, the wooden buildings above it completely disappeared, and only the stone platform was still standing (Fig. 3.3.2-8). The original lake surface dried up due to the lack of dredging and management. The top of the platform and the whole lake became overgrown with messy vegetation.

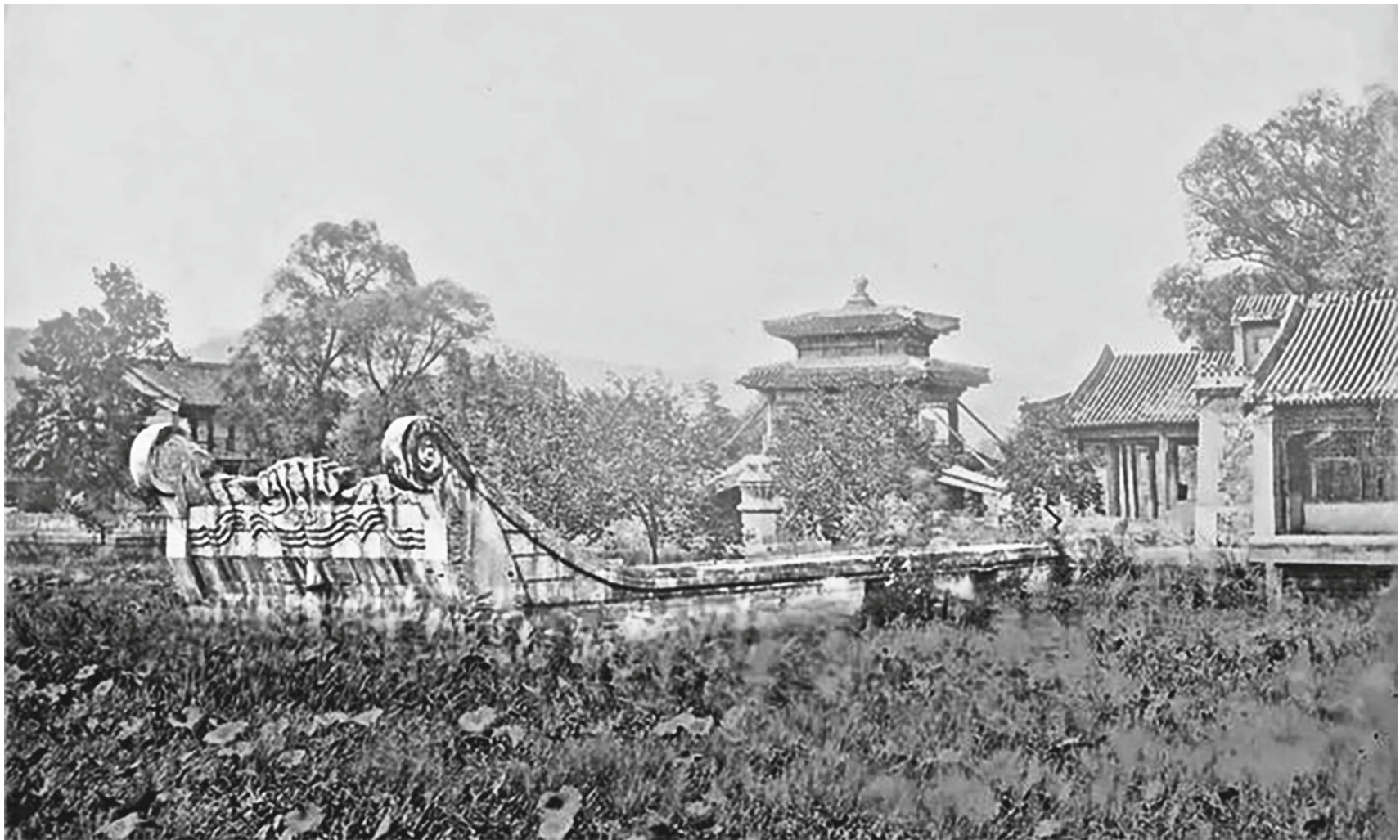


Fig. 3.3.2-8 The remains of Shi Fang after the British and French allied forces invaded Beijing.

This picture constitutes the perfect irony: although the “boat” built of stone would not be capsized by water, it could still not bless a country’s longevity.

3.3.3 The Change and Contrast of Form, Space, and Intention

In the 11th year of Guangxu reign (1885), the Empress Dowager Cixi, who attended state affairs “behind the curtain” for several decades, ordered the reconstruction of the Qingyi Garden. She gave this imperial garden another widely known name – “Yihe Garden” 颐和园. As this garden served mainly for her summer recreation, it was also called the “(New) Summer Palace.”

There have been numerous studies on the history of Empress Dowager Cixi and the court power struggle in the late Qing dynasty. Most of the scholars and literati in the late Qing dynasty and the Republic of China (1912-1949) attributed the demise of the Qing dynasty to Cixi, a woman who was keen on power and greed for pleasure, a woman with evil characters

as *huoshui* 祸水 (flood water, see Chapter 2).¹⁰³³ Even those who praised Cixi, such as He Gangde 何刚德 (1855-1936), summarized: “Her wisdom was undoubtedly admirable. But she was too strict with people in the palace in daily life. Moreover, she had a natural love of touring and sightseeing” 其英明处，不能不令人钦服。惟平日在宫中驭下过严，且性喜游观。¹⁰³⁴ The construction of the Summer Palace was perceived by these educated individuals as a manifestation of her extravagant disposition. They vehemently criticized it, particularly regarding the appropriation of the military expenditure during the garden construction process,¹⁰³⁵ which ultimately “led to” the disastrous defeat of the Beiyang Navy in the First Sino-Japanese War.

Twelve years before the Qingyi Garden was rebuilt, in the 20th year of Tongzhi (1873), Emperor Tongzhi 同治 (爱新觉罗·载淳 Aixin-jueluo Zaichun, 1856-1875, r. 1861-1875) ordered to rebuild the Yuanming Garden, which was known as the Old Summer Palace, for the two Empress Dowagers in the name of “filial piety.” However, it was actually his approach to distance Cixi from the palace to fight for his control of power. The duration of this project was limited to one year due to the opposition from several ministers, which ultimately led to its termination.

Refraining from endorsing the garden project, as she was cognizant of losing her formidable influence by voting in favor of relocating to the garden instead of remaining in the palace during this juncture, Cixi opted to consolidate her grip on governance against all odds.

¹⁰³³ In the period of late Qing dynasty and the Republic of China, various literati poems and various wild history stories about Cixi, there are many descriptions of Cixi as *huoshui* 祸水. See Wang Zhao 王照, “Fangjia yuan zayong jishi” 方家园杂咏纪事, cited in Xu Lingxiao 徐凌霄 and Xu Yishi 徐一士, *Lingxiao Yishi suibi* 凌霄一士随笔, vol. 2 (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 1997), 504: 辛苦挥戈盼日中，谈言微中狄梁公。那知阴蓄滔天势，祸水横流汉火终; and Zhang Huaqi 张怀奇, “Yihe Yuan ci” 颐和园词, in Wu Shijian 吴士鉴, *Qing gong ci* 清宫词 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1986), 183: 一条祸水出萧墙，十丈妖星流大地。

¹⁰³⁴ He Gangde 何刚德, *Chunming menglu – Kezuo outan* 春明梦录 客座偶谈, punctuated and collated by Zhang Guoning 张国宁 (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 1997), 16.

¹⁰³⁵ For example, Kang Youwei 康有为, *Kang Nanhai zibian nainpu* 康南海自编年谱 (Guangzhou: Chucheng zhidian, 1898), 35b-36a: 颐和园广袤十余里。咸丰十年，兴园明、清漪、静宜等园，皆为英人所焚。时西后以游乐为事。自光绪九年经营海军，筹款三千万。所购铁舰十余艘，至是，尽提其款筑颐和园; Chi Zhonghu 池仲祐, *Haijun dashiji* 海军大事记, cited in *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan: Yangwu yundong* 中国近代史资料丛刊：洋务运动, vol. 8, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui 中国史学会 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1961), 483: 海军款二千余万尽输入颐和园之用. For more information, see Xu Che 徐彻 and Dong Shouyi 董守义, eds., *Qingdai quanshi* 清代全史, vol. 9 (Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe, 2007), 28-29, and Lin Yanjiao 林言椒 and Li Xisuo 李喜所, eds., *Zhongguo jindai renwu yanjiu xinxi* 中国近代人物研究信息 (Tianjin: Tianjin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1989), 99-100.

Yet her heart never gave up the plan to carry on a large-scale garden project. Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869-1928) summarized the large-scale projects built by Cixi under the entry of “Xiaoqin Hou daxing tumu” 孝钦后大兴土木 (The Empress Xiaoqin working on the Great Constructions) in *Qingbai leichao* 清稗类钞 (Trivial Notes about the Qing Dynasty), which compiled the stories and hearsays of the Qing dynasty. It wrote:

[...] first built the San Hai (Beihai, Zhonghai, Nanhai), embraced the Jin’ao-yudong Bridge inside of the garden. However, [Cixi] still considered that the West Garden was in the city and the landscape was not as fascinating as the countryside, thus raised again the proposal to rebuild the Yuanming Garden. Later, the waterway was blocked because the Yuanming Garden had been deserted for too long. It was easier to carry on the Longevity Hill and Kunming Lake projects, of which the water surface was much broader. Therefore, the construction work at the Yuanming Garden was suspended, and it started to restore the Longevity Hill landscape, renamed it the Yihe Garden. After three years, the garden was completed, and Xiaoqin Empress led the emperor and the empress to live in it [...].

……先修三海，包金鳌玉 于海中，然犹以西苑在城中，山水之趣不及郊野，乃又有重修圆明园之议。其后以圆明园荒芜岁久，水道阻塞，不如万寿山昆明湖水面广阔，施工较易，乃辍圆明园工而修万寿山，且锡名为颐和园。不三年，园成，孝钦率帝后等居之……。¹⁰³⁶

As mentioned above, even in the heyday of the prosperous and peaceful Qing dynasty under Qianlong’s reign, the original Qingyi Garden project had to be covered up with the excuses of “water treatment” and “filial piety” due to its tremendous costs. When Empress Dowager Cixi ordered the construction of the Yihe Garden, the Qing government was in a financially precarious situation. The country had experienced two Opium Wars and incurred substantial indemnity payments, rendering it financially precarious. Therefore, the construction of the garden “suffered from the lack of fundraising skills” 苦于筹款无术. Only “in the name of the establishment of the navy, [the project could] request the local officials for allocation of funds every year, and appropriated six or seven tenths from it” 以兴办海军名义，责疆吏年拨定款，就中挪移十之六七。¹⁰³⁷ In the 11th year of Guangxu reign (1885), the Qing government established a navy *yamen* 衙门 (government office) in the name of training the naval army and appointed Emperor Guangxu’s biological father, Prince Chun 醇亲王 Yixuan 奕譞 (1840-1891), to supervise naval affairs. However, this navy *yamen* took over the role of the Neiwu Fu and the Gong Bu 工部 (Ministry of Industry), which were initially responsible for the construction of the imperial projects. It became the engineering department of Cixi’s garden projects. It was not only responsible for raising funds for the construction of the gardens but also responsible for subcontracting and acceptance of specific garden projects.

¹⁰³⁶ Xu Ke, *Qingbai leichao*, vol. 1, 175.

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

The navy *yamen* needed to be provided with an excuse to build a garden. In August of the 12th year of Guangxu (1886), Yixuan built a “Shuishi Xuetaang” 水师学堂 (Naval Academy) on the site of the Yanshang Zhai 延赏斋, Zhiran Ju 织染局 and Shuicun Ju 水村居 of the original Qingyi Garden (Fig. 3.3.3-1).¹⁰³⁸ The project was executed under the title of “repairing the Qingyi Garden for preparing the navy exercise.”

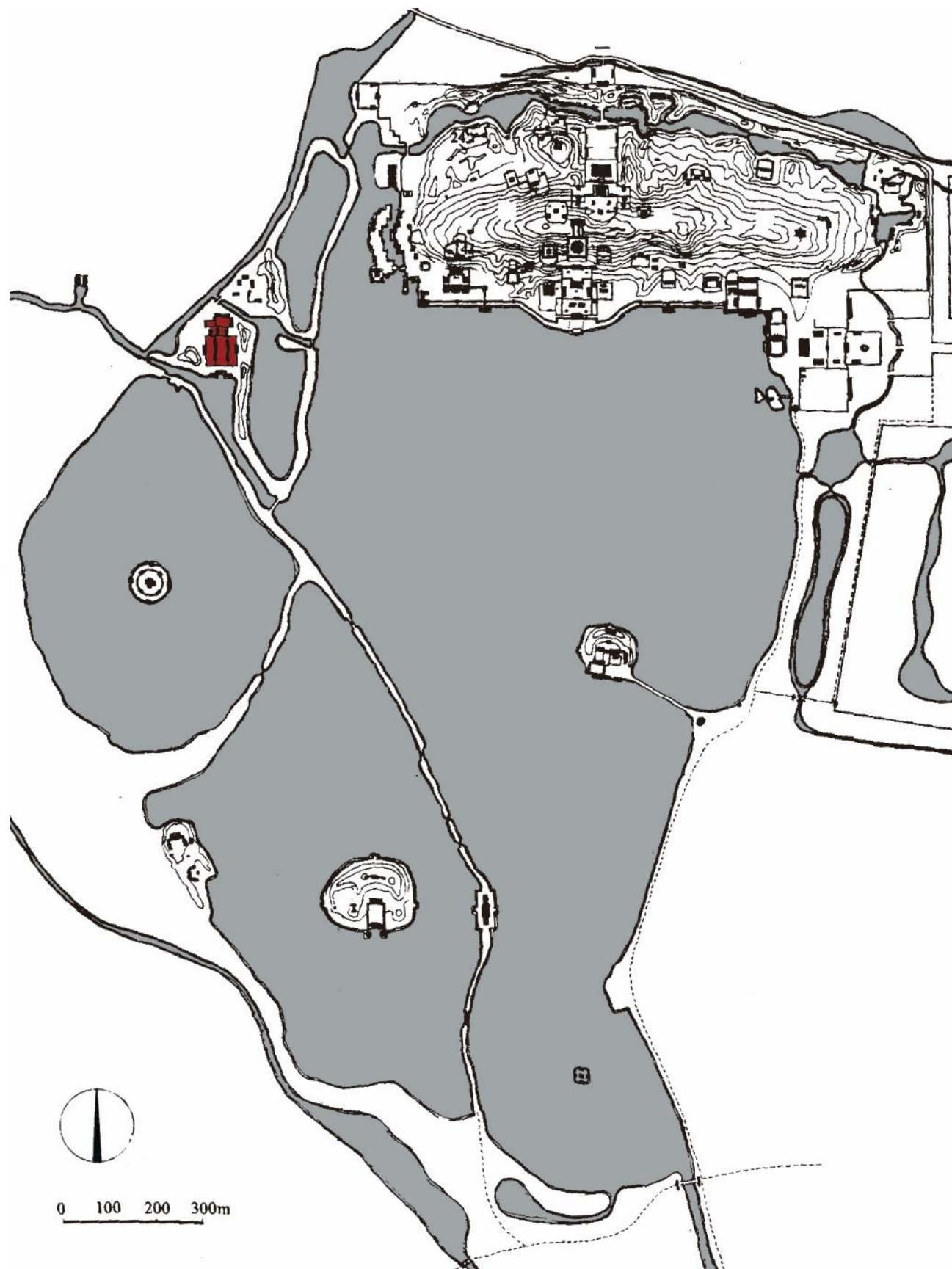


Fig. 3.3.3-1 The location of the Naval Academy in the Yihe Garden.

According to the records of Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904), an important official in the court and also the teacher of Emperor Guangxu, on the 24th of the tenth lunar month (1886.11.19) of this year, Yixuan stated that the purpose of “this action” 此举 (*ciju*) was: “Replace Bohai with Kunming Lake and replace Luanyang with the Longevity Hill” 昆明湖易渤海，万寿山换溱阳, and that he tried to obtain the understanding of the ministers of the

¹⁰³⁸ See Zhou Weiquan, “Qingyi Yuan shilue,” 141.

court.¹⁰³⁹ Yixuan's "Bohai" 渤海 referred to the Bohai Bay of Weihai 威海, Shandong province, the training base of the Beiyang Navy at the time, and "Luanyang" 滦阳 referred to the Summer Mountain Resort in Chengde 承德避暑山庄, which located in the north of the Luan 滦 River. (The south of a mountain and the north of a river were known as *yang* 阳.) Yixuan's statement intended to present Cixi's anyway unquestionable order as two advantages despite the excessive costs of the garden project. One was that Kunming Lake could act as a naval exercise place instead of Bohai Bay, and the other advantage was that it would help save money, if Cixi would be satisfied with a garden in the suburbs of Beijing instead of going further afield to build a resort.

On the 15th of the 12th lunar month of this year, Kunming Hu Shuishi Xuetang 昆明湖水师学堂 (Kunming Lake Naval Academy), aimed at training naval talents, officially opened. However, on the same day, the officials who presided over the opening ceremony of the Academy presided over the other ceremony of putting up the beams of the Hall of Dispelling Clouds – the main building of the Yihe Garden. They made no effort to act discreetly in order to avoid suspicion. It became apparent that the purported development of the naval army, known as *xinban haijun* 兴办海军 (developing the naval army), was merely a flimsy cover for covertly constructing a garden. Compared with Emperor Qianlong's painstaking efforts to inspect the water system in the western suburbs several years in advance and his effective management thereof, the authorities at this time did not even think any more about this excuse of "developing the navy"; notwithstanding that the shallow waters of Kunming Lake unquestionably cannot substitute for the natural maritime environment required for actual combat exercises.

The lack of discretion allows foreshadowing to flourish. The clandestine garden construction project failed to maintain its secrecy, resulting in numerous speculations and discussions with lousy influence in the court and among the civilian people. Therefore, at the beginning of the 14th year of Guangxu (1888), Cixi had to issue an edict on the construction of the garden in the name of Emperor Guangxu, publicized the project, and renamed it the "Yihe Garden" in the meaning of *yi yang chong he* 颐养冲和 (maintaining the peace and harmony). At the end of the same year, the Beiyang Navy was formally established. Prince Chun, Yixuan, entrusted Li Hongzhang 李鸿章 (1823-1901) to continually raise 2.6 million taels of silver from local governors in the disguise of building the Beiyang Navy. The money was stored as investment, and the interest was used for the Yihe Garden project. After that, he successively misappropriated various taxes that should have been used as military expenses for the navy. According to scholars' investigations, the ongoing development of the project boosted the total costs into astronomical heights. Even though verifiable figures are not available, it is estimated that the actual costs exceed those of Emperor Qianlong's construction of the Qingyi Garden.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁹ See Weng Tonghe, *Weng Tonghe riji* 翁同龢日记, ed. Weng Wange 翁万戈, collated by Weng Yijun 翁以钧, vol.5 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2012), 2061.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For the relevant research on the appropriation of military expenditure and the cost of the Summer Palace project, see Zhai Xiaoju, *Jinghua tonglan: Yihe Yuan*, 58-59.

Compared to the massive expenditure of Cixi's garden construction, since the 14th year of Guangxu (1888), the navy had not added a single warship, and ammunition had also been relatively scarce. Huang Jun made a poignant mockery of this in *Huasuirensheng An zhiyi*. He recorded a postscript by Tan Yankai 谭延闿 (*zi Zuan 组庵*, 1880-1930) and agreed with Tan's satire that the Yihe Garden was built with the navy's military expenses. Eventually, all the navy boats sank, but fortunately, there was still a garden left and did not go with the navy.¹⁰⁴¹ Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston (1874-1938) commented similarly in his book:

Perhaps it would be unfair to say that the Venerable Buddha (Empress Dowager Cixi) did nothing for the Chinese navy in return for the diversion of its fund to her "stately pleasure dome." Her contribution to her country's naval forces exists to this day in the form of a Marble Boat (Shi Fang) in the Summer Palace lake, of which the best that can be said is that while the rest of the Chinese fleet perished ingloriously at Weihaiwei, it was destined to survive both the China-Japan war and the Manchu dynasty."¹⁰⁴²

Just as Emperor Qianlong personally led the Qingyi Garden's construction, the Yihe Garden was personally presided over by Empress Dowager Cixi. She originally planned to restore the whole scale of the Qingyi Garden fully, but due to various practical reasons, she had to shrink the project again and again. The buildings' names, forms, and functions in this new garden were also quite different from those in the Qingyi Garden period. Shi Fang was the unique one among all. The reconstructed Shi Fang changed its original form and space and implied a completely different design intent.

The new Shi Fang was still built on the original stone foundation. Since the stone foundation was undamaged while the building above had disappeared entirely, the difference between the old and new Shi Fang is mainly in the part of the structures on top. By comparing the images, it is evident that there exists a significant disparity between the two (Fig. 3.3.3-2).

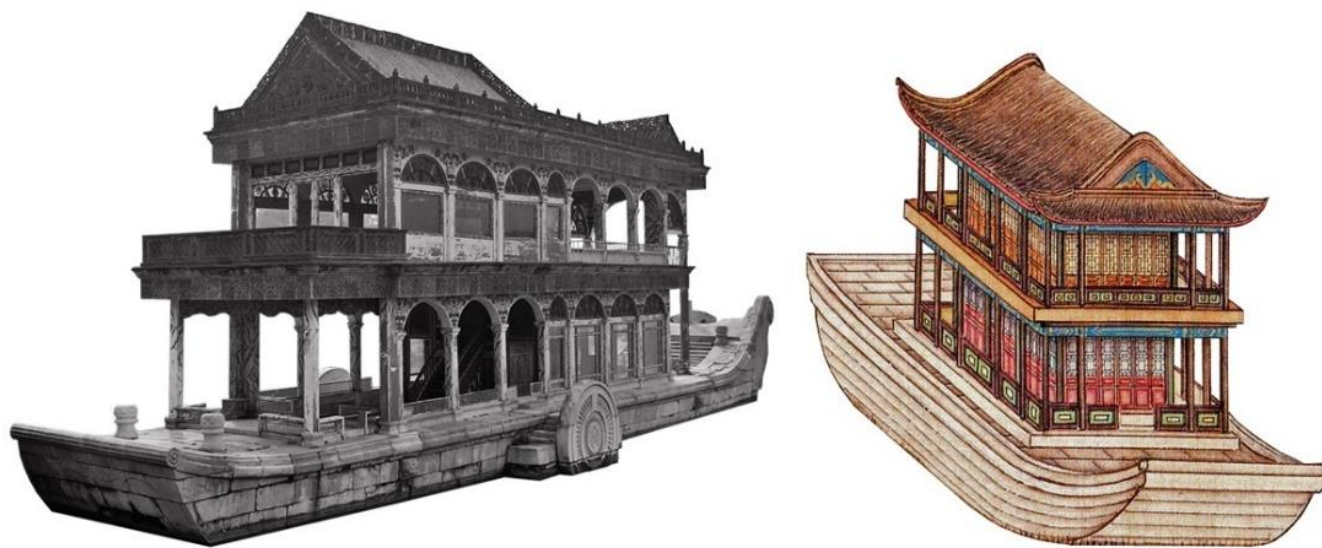


Fig. 3.3.3-2 Comparison of the reconstructed (left) and the old (right) Shi Fang.

¹⁰⁴¹ Huang Jun, *Huasuirensheng An zhiyi*, 917-918: 与其沉之威海卫，无宁置此为佳。

¹⁰⁴² Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1934), p373.

The original Shi Fang was a two-story wooden building with a width of one bay and a depth of three bays, surrounded by a corridor. Above is an unpartitioned gable-and-hip roof with a *juanpeng* 卷棚 style ridge. Its appearance resembled a traditional imperial boat in another painting by Zhang Tingyan (Fig. 3.3.3-3).



Fig. 3.3.3-3 An imperial boat in “Yuanxi kaiyan tu” 苑西凯宴图 by Zhang Tingyan.



Fig. 3.3.3-4 The Western-style elements of the reconstructed Shi Fang (Qingyan 清晏舫 Fang).

The new building's exterior is dominated by Western-style elements (Fig. 3.3.3-4). The building remains two floors: the first floor is one bay wide and nine bays deep, of which the one at the southern end has double-height; the second floor has one bay at the north end removed to form a deck platform. The upper parts of the pillars of the supporting structure are carved with Western-style capitals. The veneers between the columns imitate the form of the arches, which are filled with decorative stained glass. In addition, these structural elements, such as columns and beams, are painted with oil paint to imitate marble patterns. Therefore, this architecture was also called the “Marble Boat” by Cixi's western guests. The roof above is

divided into three parts: the southern end is a gabled roof with a depth of only one bay, the middle is a four-bay flat roof, and the north is a three-bay gabled roof in the orthogonal direction with the southern end (Fig. 3.3.3-5). The stone railings encircle the outermost part of the entire roof. Rich brick carvings adorn the ridge, railings, and cornice below (Fig. 3.3.3-6).



Fig. 3.3.3-5 The three parts of the roof.



Fig. 3.3.3-6 The brick carvings on the roof. (left)

Fig. 3.3.3-7 The “paddle wheel” on each side of the stone foundation. (right)

It is rumored that the new building was designed to imitate the top cabin of the German steamboat *Xiangfeng* 翔凤 at the request of Empress Dowager Cixi. The project added a disc decoration simulating a paddle wheel on each side of the stone foundation and a small section of steps on the left and right of the “wheel” (Fig. 3.3.3-7). It appeared as an imitation of the paddle steamers of that time.

According to an article titled “Huolun lianpian fan Kunming” 火轮联翩泛昆明

(Steamers sailing on the Kunming Lake), the *Xiangfeng* was a steamboat ordered by Prince Gong 恭亲王 Yixin 奕訢 from the Germans in the first year of Tongzhi reign (1862). In 1870, the steamer was transported to Beijing and named *Xiangfeng*. According to the description in the text, this steamer “was decorated with crimson-golden flowers, bright as fire, and the interior was extremely luxurious.” However, since it looked “too foreign,” the Empress Dowagers of the Two Palaces and Emperor Tongzhi only rode once, and later it was discarded and not used, and was only tied to the shore to embellish the scenery, and later transported to the Summer Palace.¹⁰⁴³



Fig. 3.3.3-8 The drawings of Pengri 捧日 (left) and Xiangyun 翔云 (right).

This *Xiangfeng* steamboat no longer exists, and no image can be found. Therefore, we cannot know what kind of imitations the new Shi Fang had done to the top cabin of the *Xiangfeng*. Nevertheless, the record of this article reflects another notable phenomenon. The article stated that the delivery of *Xiangfeng* was delayed, rendering it outdated in light of the rapid advancements in Western shipbuilding technology. Therefore, in the twelfth year of Guangxu (1886), the second year after Cixi ordered the reconstruction of the Summer Palace, she required three more steamboats (*Pengri* 捧日, *Xiangyun* 翔云, *Hengchun* 恒春) to be ordered from abroad (Fig. 3.3.3-8). The customs apportioned these expensive procurement costs in the name of the “Navy School” in the Summer Palace to train the “Navy.” Having learned that Cixi did not favor the *Xiangfeng*, the three steamers were transported to the Fujian Chuanzhengju 福建船政局 (Fujian Shipping Affair Bureau) for appearance modification as soon as they arrived. “After the construction was completed, the appearance of the three boats changed greatly. Although they were foreign steamers, they looked exactly like the dragon boats” 工竣，三船面貌大变，虽系洋船，浑似龙舟。¹⁰⁴⁴ The renovation failed to satisfy Cixi. When the three steamboats entered Beijing in the 15th year of Guangxu (1889), they were still despised for their *yangqi weijin* 洋气未尽 (uneliminated foreign style). So, they were remodeled entirely under the supervision of Prince Yixin and Yixuan before they were sent to the Summer Palace.

¹⁰⁴³ See Beijing yanshan chubanshe 北京燕山出版社, comp., *Jiujing renwu yu fengqing* 旧京人物与风情 (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1996), 561-563.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid., 561.

This record shows that in the 15th year of Guangxu reign, the aesthetics of the royal family and nobles led by Cixi were still based on the traditional Chinese style. However, when the Shi Fang was rebuilt in the 19th year of Guangxu reign (1893), it imitated an outdated Western steamer. Perhaps the aesthetics of these royal families could be wholly subverted in four years due to various factors, especially when the West continued to oppress and plunder the countries under its control with an increasingly powerful posture? Could it be that the reason was a power struggle between the conservative Cixi and the reformist Emperor Guangxu, and the Chinese and Western appearance of the boats had become a symptom that conservative or reformist forces had won the upper hand?

It is challenging to obtain concrete evidence that confirms the hypotheses above. However, the alteration of its design's intent during the stylistic transformation before and after the building's reconstruction remains discernible. We shall delve into these aspects in the ensuing discussion.

The first aspect is the change of form and style. As described earlier, the Shi Fang immediately catches people's attention with its apparent western architectural elements. However, a closer look reveals the contradictions in its design. The conflicting design, on the one hand, resulted from the collision and amalgamation between Chinese and Western styles. On the other hand, the divergent orientations of this "boat," indicated by the platform and the structure atop, also engender formal perplexity.



Fig. 3.3.3-9 A paddle-wheeled steamboat in the late Qing dynasty.

Despite the western-style columns and arches in the "tawdry superstructure,"¹⁰⁴⁵ the new Shi Fang's roof is purely Chinese, let alone all the traditional ornaments. It is not difficult to see that the roof imitates the most typical appearance of a traditional Chinese boat with three compartments of "front-middle-back" (e.g., the dragon boat in "Qianlong nanxun tu," see Fig. 3.2.2-1&6). Meanwhile, the original platform built by Emperor Qianlong was barely changed. Disc decorations added to imitate the paddle wheel were too small to be recognized in the intended way: turning a Chinese boat into a Western paddle-wheeled steamboat (Fig. 3.3.3-9). Therefore, the new Shi Fang still adopted the traditional Chinese *fang* style from the whole

¹⁰⁴⁵ Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City*, 474.

picture but was embellished with several Western details. The design can be likened to a “sandwich,” consisting of two layers of Chinese style with a central layer showcasing Western influences (Fig. 3.3.3-10). However, let us not forget the *zidongting* on the Pearl River mentioned in the second chapter, which was sometimes also furnished with a Western interior. For the audience who had seen *zidongting* before, the design of Shi Fang would be pretty familiar. Maybe that is why the wife of Sir Walter Beaupré Townley (the British Ambassador to Beijing, 1863-1945), Lady Susan Townley (1868-1953), even described the Shi Fang as “built in perfect imitation of a Chinese junk.”¹⁰⁴⁶ The way that Johnston described her comment as “unaccountably”¹⁰⁴⁷ perfectly shows the intriguing contradiction of Shi Fang’s form – even in Western eyes. To certain foreigners, it embodied a “westernized” design; for others, it epitomized an authentic Chinese style.

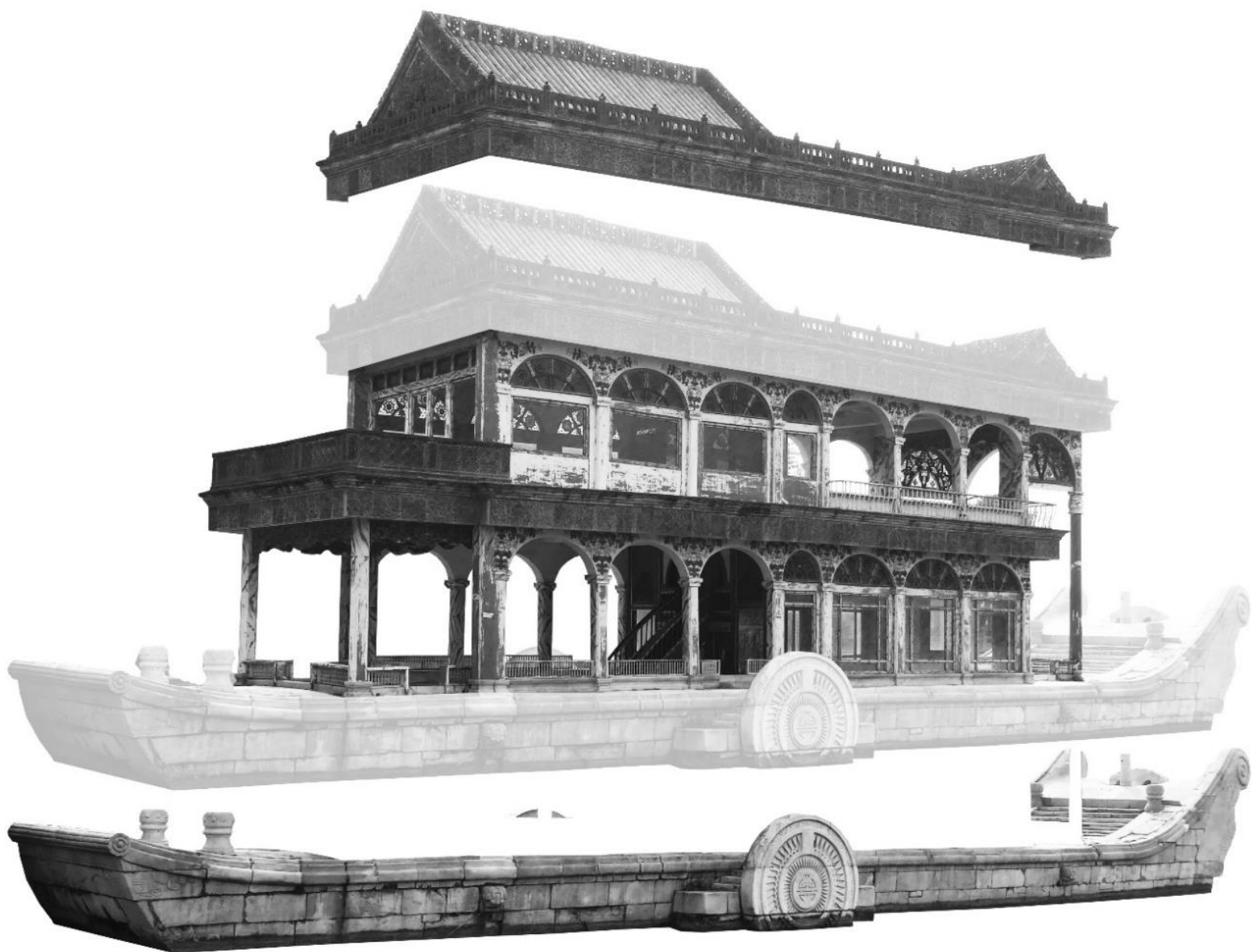


Fig. 3.3.3-10 The “sandwich” design of the new Shi Fang.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Lady Susan Townley, *My Chinese Note-Book* (Methuen, London:1904), 285.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See the note in Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City*, 474.



Fig. 3.3.3-11 Looking at the Xing Bridge on the Shi Fang.

Furthermore, suppositionally we distinguish the boat-architecture's "prow" from its "stern" according to the roof shape, we will immediately find another contradiction: the "prow" of the reconstructed superstructure, as suggested by the roof of the "front cabin," is surprisingly identical to the original platform's "stern." As mentioned earlier, Qianlong's original design intention for the Shi Fang was to imitate the dragon boat moored outside Suzhou city during his Southern Tour. So, its front was facing the direction of the Xing Bridge (and the "Maimai Jie") on the north side (Fig. 3.3.3-11). This orientation implies that this "boat" is heading from the river to the narrow channel leading into the city. The image portrays the stone components that imitate the rudder on the platform situated at the southern extremity of the existing structure, offering a distinct indication for its posterior section (Fig. 3.3.3-12).



Fig. 3.3.3-12 The stone components that imitate the rudder on the platform. (left)

Fig. 3.3.3-13 "On prow of the Boat of Purity and Ease, Summer Palace, Peking." (right)

However, the Shi Fang's reconstructed superstructure somehow reversed the original orientation by using the roof arranged in the opposite direction. For example, the old photograph, compiled by Margaret Ann Patricia Phipps (1907-1992), depicted Margaret standing on the stern of the Shi Fang, as indicated by its hull; however, it was straightly titled as "On prow of the Boat of Purity and Ease, Summer Palace, Peking" (Fig. 3.3.3-13).

The orientation of this "boat" was further confused by the middle (between the roof and the platform) part's design – both the northern and southern ends can be regarded as the "front." On the northern end, the first bay features a single-story height and a decorative loggia reminiscent of the front of the imperial boat, *Mulan Huo* 木兰舫 (Fig. 3.3.3-14). The northern part of the first floor is more open than the southern part, suggesting that the northern part is the front of this "boat."



Fig. 3.3.3-14 The imperial boat, *Mulan Huo*.

However, the two-storied arcade of the southern end also suggests a front façade, as almost every foreigner assumed when they took the photographs (Fig. 3.3.3-15).



Fig. 3.3.3-15 The vintage photograph showcased the southern “front façade.”

The new Shi Fang, if cut as depicted in the image (Fig. 3.3.3-16), can be considered a fusion of two *fang* architectures facing opposite directions. The lower part aligns with the north, mirroring Emperor Qianlong’s original design for Shi Fang, while the upper section faces south towards the picturesque Kunming Lake.

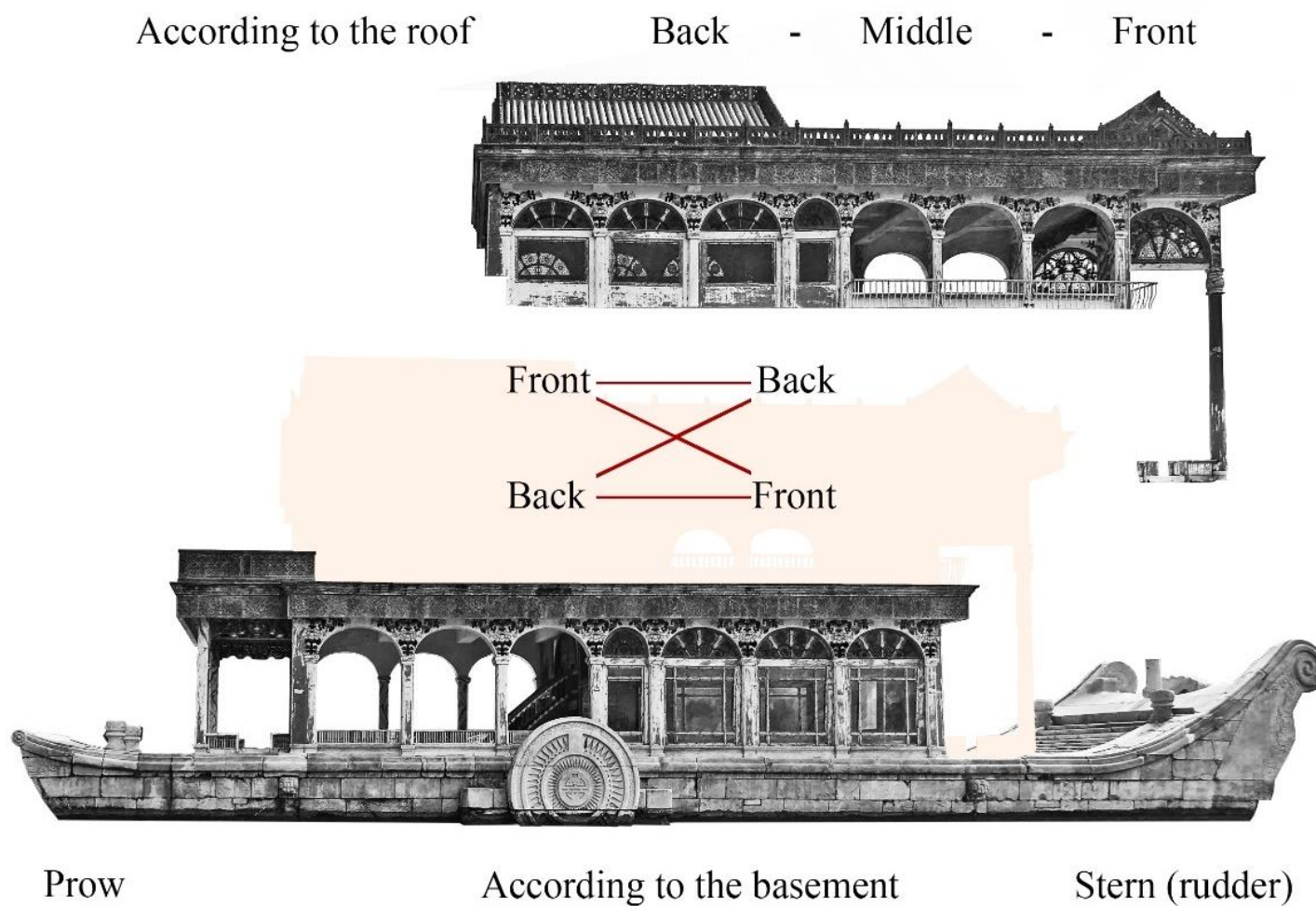


Fig. 3.3.3-16 The diagram of cutting the new Shi Fang in a zig-zag way.

The reason why Shi Fang was reconstructed in this conflicting way might lie in the change of its function, which is the second aspect.

Unlike the original Shi Fang, built according to Emperor Qianlong's taste for leisure and entertainment, the new Shi Fang's style was never truly adored by Empress Dowager Cixi. Katharine A. Carl's (1865-1938) book *With the Empress Dowager* recorded a party on Shi Fang (the Marble Boat):

We were rowed across the lake, first to the island, where the Palace and small temple adjacent were visited, after which the ladies took the boats again and continued the tour of the lake to the Marble Boat. This Marble Boat was built over the lake as a summerhouse for one of the Emperors, and is on the plan of the Palace house-boat, but with an upper, as well as lower deck. It is one of the things in the Summer Palace most talked about by foreigners, and it is a curiosity, though not a thing of beauty. It was never made the objective point of any of Her Majesty's promenades, nor visited, except when the foreigners were invited to the Palace. On the lower deck of the Marble Boat, where was the best view of the lake, light refreshments, sweets, and fruits were served.¹⁰⁴⁸

As Miss Carl pointed out, Empress Dowager Cixi only used Shi Fang as a place to entertain foreign female guests instead of a space to enjoy her leisure time. Since the lower deck, which faces south, provides "the best view of the lake," it is reasonable to make it the front façade. The original "prow" on the north only facilitated Emperor Qianlong's association with his entrance into Suzhou city in his south tour and meant nothing to Empress Dowager Cixi. Therefore, the new design weakened the original orientation and emphasized the direction toward the lake.

The functional change also explained the transformation of aesthetical perception allowing western elements. Cixi was not interested in foreign steamboats or any other western technology, just as she never really tried to understand and support the ideas of the Westernizationists. As mentioned before, for those foreign steamers bought for herself, she ordered the radical appearance transformation to the traditional Chinese style. The only reason she allowed Shi Fang to be designed in a semi-Western way was to cater to the tastes of her Western guests. From what we know, she was halfway to her goal. Because the reconstructed Shi Fang was "one of the things in the Summer Palace most talked about by foreigners."¹⁰⁴⁹ However, in her western guests' eyes, it was only "a curiosity, though not a thing of beauty."¹⁰⁵⁰

The nickname "Marble Boat," foreigners used to call Shi Fang, explained part of its strange nature to them. This leads us directly to the third aspect: the change of Shi Fang's name.

Before further explaining the name "Marble Boat," it is worth noting that Shi Fang was

¹⁰⁴⁸ Katharine A. Carl, *With the Empress Dowager* (New York: The Century Co., 1905), 168-169.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

renamed “Qingyan Fang” 清晏舫 (the Boat of Purity and Ease) after its reconstruction. The name “Qingyan” derives from the idiom *haiyan heqing* 海晏河清 ([when] the sea is at **ease**, and the river flows with clear **purity**), which refers to the reign of peace and prosperity. In the change of name, it is clear that the rule’s self-awareness of *zaizhou-fuzhou* was no longer in the spotlight and was replaced by the vanity of glossing over the “peace.”

As mentioned above, the nickname “Marble Boat” derived from the oil varnish on the wooden pillars and beams. They were all painted like the texture of marble (see Fig. 3.3.3-4). As “marble” is a kind of stone, the nickname paradoxically echoed the original name “Shi Fang” (the Stone Boat). However, this “marble” was only the deceptive whitewash, an empty shell instead of the solid stone foundation represented in its original name.

When Qianlong’s “warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou*” and “wish of stable rule” attached to the Shi Fang were disintegrated by Empress Dowager Cixi’s reconstruction, this boat-architecture descended into an ironic joke to Her Majesty’s western guests: At that time, China was no better than this “boat,” slowly sinking like a stone while presenting a false prosperity of a royal aristocracy confined to its surface.

In conclusion, this chapter’s discussion of the emperor’s boat-architecture commences by introducing the wisdom of governing the country derived from treating floodwaters, symbolized by the metaphors of *junzhou-minshui* and *zaizhou-fuzhou*. In this metaphorical context, the boat symbolizes the emperor while the water represents the populace under his governance; just as water possesses the potential to either carry or capsize a vessel, so do individuals likewise possess the power to either uphold or dismantle a regime. The emperors internalized the metaphorical image of the “boat” as a representation of themselves and their rule, giving rise to two contradictory symbolisms in boat-architecture: On one hand, the concept of an “uncapsizable” boat-architecture carries a profound meaning of enduring reign; on the other hand, the architectural space of the “dragon boat water pavilion” is associated with desires for pleasure due to historical anecdotes about fatuous and self-indulgent emperors. Emperor Qianlong’s frequent construction, utilization, and documentation of boat-architectures consistently responded the symbolism of *zaizhou-fuzhou*, propagating his vigilance against indulgence in pleasure and mastery over his desires. However, these buildings inherently served as venues for daily leisure activities, suggesting a proclivity in Qianlong’s disposition to indulge in pleasurable pursuits – a propensity that he concealed from others and even refrained from acknowledging to himself.

Following this idea, the second section focuses on Emperor Qianlong’s Huafang Zhai. It provides a comprehensive analysis of the background and spatial form of this boat-architecture, highlighting the necessity to consider both the symbolic legacy of literati’s boat-architecture and the exclusive symbolic emphasis on boat-architecture for the emperor in investigating its design intention. Then, Qianlong’s Southern Tour, especially when he toured the Jiangnan region by boat (which featured architectural space onboard), along with its related studies, served as a valuable reference for studying Huafang Zhai (an architecture that imitated a boat), thereby establishing a vision of power dynamics between the Manchu (non-Han) emperor and the

Jiangnan (Han) literati. Focusing on the shared name and function between Huafang Zhai and the two prototypes of boat-architecture, the complex psychological motivations behind Qianlong's transplantation of the boat-architecture, which was favored by scholars in southern China, to Beijing are unveiled through an in-depth analysis of his own poetry on Huafang Zhai. This exploration uncovers a perpetual struggle between gratification of desires and the exercise of self-restraint, wherein Qianlong's hubris projected onto the boat (as a representation of himself) paradoxically contributes to, rather than undermines, the balance of his mental structure.

The third section focuses on another boat-architecture constructed by Emperor Qianlong, namely the Shi Fang. Firstly, an examination is conducted on the construction process of Qingyi Garden where the Shi Fang is situated to provide contextual background. This extremely expensive project was initially launched with the pretext of water treatment, but eventually evolved into an opulent imperial garden disguised as a gift out of filial piety. Its vast expanse of water was deliberately constructed as a substitute for the picturesque West Lake in the southern region of the Yangtze River, while the Shi Fang was intricately designed to evoke Emperor Qianlong's profound delight during his Southern Tour. The writings of Qianlong regarding the Garden of Qingyi and the Stone Boat suggest that, despite employing various justifications, he remained unable to totally reconcile with his true self who succumbed to indulgence for pleasure. He refrained from mentioning the true design intention of the Stone Boat, yet once again emphasized the warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou* and the auspicious meaning of uncapsizeable regime. Finally, the reconstruction of Qingyi Garden (Yihe Garden) and Shi Fang (Qingyan Fang) by Empress Dowager Cixi in the late Qing dynasty was examined to create a contrasting impression with Emperor Qianlong's design. As the Shi Fang and the reconstructed Qingyan Fang were examined as the tangible manifestations of rulers' balanced and unbalanced mental structures, they served to emphasize an ironic juxtaposition that reflects both the rise and fall of imperial authority and governance.

In the study of Chapter 3, the "literati/officials" identity in Chapter 1 is implicitly perceived as a contrasting structure to the "emperors/royal families" identity. Consequently, the two boat-architecture prototypes introduced in the first chapter are consistently revisited, particularly in the second section of Chapter 3. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the triangular "balanced structure" projected on the boat-architecture by Emperor Qianlong can also be interpreted, to some extent, as having its three corners represented by the boat-architecture discussed in Chapters 1, 2, and 3: signifying the metaphorical warnings within Han culture (literati), symbolizing pursuits of desire and pleasure (female entertainers), and implying an arrogant wish for an unwavering regime (emperors).

Through the research conducted in the first three chapters, a comprehensive explanation has been provided regarding the essence of boat-architecture as a cultural phenomenon and its intricate and extensive interconnections. Building upon this foundation, Chapter 4 will depart from the previously established cultural domain influenced by the social elites and delve into the formation and reception of vernacular discourse surrounding boat-architecture. Within the study on the discourse characterized by ambiguity and uncertainty, occasional references to the findings presented in the initial three chapters will be intermittently introduced for contrasting purposes.

4. Landowners/Folks: The Discourse of Boat-Architectures Created by the Local Grassroot Communities

In addition to the designers, producers, and users of boat-architecture, when it is perceived not solely as a mere collection of physical structures but rather as an intricate cultural phenomenon, the discourse surrounding it and its narrators assume equal significance.

Although the discourse on boat-architecture's description, narration, and writing is extensively explored in the research conducted within the first three chapters, it remains predominantly limited to designers and users belonging to cultural elites rather than encompassing oral narratives within folk culture. The focus of this chapter, in contrast, is centered on the dissemination of boat-architecture discourse in folklore by folk observers from grassroot communities, who fabricated their own interpretations based upon, beyond, or even disregarding the designers' intentions.

The Yangchuan Wu 洋船屋 (Foreign Steamboat House) in Jing county, Anhui province, which was built during Daoguang reign (1821-1850), serves as the primary case study for this chapter. The primary reason for selecting this case lies in its dual significance as both a surviving vernacular architectural entity and a narrative text interwoven with folklore. The objective and subjective perspectives are alternately employed in this case study to further elucidate the correlation and disparity between architecture and discourse. For instance, the research perspective in examining architectural elements focuses on a rational analysis of them as objects, whereas in analyzing folklore, it strives to present an empathetic analysis by considering historical subjects. Through this approach, the chapter attempts to reflect on a dialectic between truth and fiction – for the narrator, the truth depends on the intention he wants to express.

Another reason for selecting this case is the temporal context of its construction and the name it was given, which signifies the conflict and integration between tradition and modernity, as well as between China and the West during the late Qing dynasty. The “steamboat,” as a Western-imported commodity and a tool used by the West to facilitate the opening of commercial ports in China, is juxtaposed with the traditional Chinese symbol of a “boat.” This comparison enhances the depth and research potential of “boat-architecture” as a cultural phenomenon. Particularly noteworthy is the power symbolism embedded within folk discourse surrounding the early steamboat, which transforms this cultural phenomenon into an arena for power dynamics and counter-power competition. Within this discourse, material representations were conveyed through symbols, while historical truth gave way to its reconstruction and interpretation based on present needs.

4.1 Yangchuan Wu and Its History: Architecture and Folklore

In 1821, the first year of Daoguang reign, it has been 57 years since the appearance of the Jenny spinning machine, 39 years since the steam engine was improved by James Watt (1736-1819), and 14 years since the steamship *North River* (colloquially known as the *Clermont*) first sailed on the Hudson River.

Two years before, in 1819, the Englishman Sir Stanford Raffles (1781-1826) had struck a deal with the Singaporean Temenggung Abdul Rahman (d. 1825), the Malay leader second only to the sultan, to meddle in Malay palace politics and establish the Tengku Long (1776-1835) as the sultan. This political bargain allowed the British East India Company (1600-1858), eagerly trading spices, silks, and tea for over 200 years, to land in Singapore and open a commercial port between China and Great Britain while avoiding direct conflict with the Dutch fleet.

Two decades later, in 1840, the British fleet launched the First Opium War on the Coast of Guangdong, China. After two years of war, the Qing government accepted all the negotiation terms proposed by the British and signed the first unequal treaty between China and Britain of modern times on the British flagship *HMS Cornwallis*. In this treaty, the Qing government opened Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen 厦门, Ningbo 宁波, Shanghai five trading ports and ceded Hong Kong 香港 island. The British trade surplus grew as a result of the influx of opium and daily foreign goods, leading to a significant outflow of silver from China and causing severe disruptions to the self-sufficient small-scale peasant economy.

The First Opium War laid bare the Qing government's glaring vulnerabilities in coastal defense and pervasive political corruption, ultimately exposing the gradual decline that would lead to its downfall despite subsequent attempts at reform. Ironically, it was only after several years following the conclusion of the Daoguang reign that the British East India Company, which gained access to China through its *chuanjian paoli* 船坚炮利 (formidable naval power and weaponry), faced financial difficulties due to consecutive years of exorbitant war expenditures. Consequently, it faded into obscurity in historical records subsequent to losing its exclusive trade monopoly privilege.

At the end of this turbulent Daoguang reign, a building resembling a foreign steamboat was constructed by members of the Zhu family, namely a father and son duo, in an isolated mountain village. Subsequently referred to as "Yangchuan Wu," meaning the "foreign (steam)boat house," this edifice became a subject of local folklore due to its distinctive design. Influenced by indigenous customs, it came to symbolize "filial piety" transcending generations as a metaphorical vessel navigating through life's challenges.

The building complex in question does not rank among the most refined or classical of local residential buildings, and the relevant research conducted thus far remains relatively superficial. Consequently, this section will commence with a comprehensive architectural analysis that presents Yangchuan Wu as a vernacular architecture (chapter 4.1.1) through three parts: A. Surroundings and outline, B. layout and courtyard system, C. Partition and traffic. Secondly, it will conduct a detailed examination of Yangchuan Wu as a manifestation of local folklore (chapter 4.1.2), investigating three questions: A. Who built it? B. For whom? C. Why

was it built?

The aim of this section is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the architectural design and discourse generation of a folk boat-architecture, encompassing both tangible and intangible aspects. Through extensive discussions, it will be established that understanding both dimensions is equally essential in comprehending a case study on folk boat-architecture, thus laying the groundwork for the remainder of chapter 4.

4.1.1 Yangchuan Wu as a Vernacular Architecture

The Yangchuan Wu is also called “Ducheng Tang” 笃诚堂 (the hall of faith and honesty) after its main hall. It is located in Huangtian 黄田 village, Jing 泾 county, Anhui province. The whole building complex covers an area of over 4200 m² with a construction area of about 3700 m². As the idea of leaving enough arable land on the flatter western side of the valley, this building complex was set on the east side of the valley, abutting the western foot of Huangzi 黄子 Hill (Fig. 4.1.1-1).¹⁰⁵¹

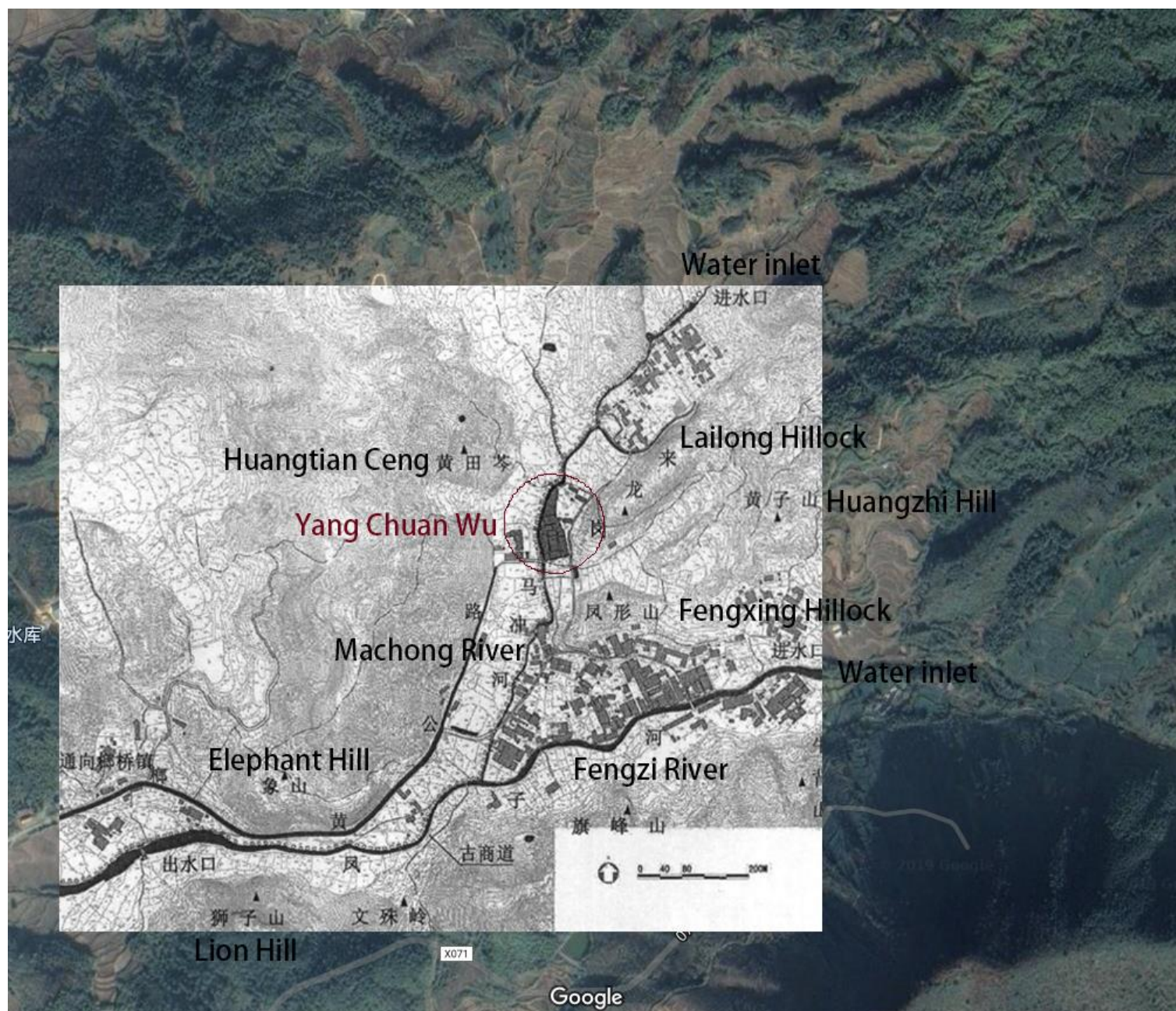


Fig. 4.1.1-1 The location and surroundings of Yangchuan Wu.

¹⁰⁵¹ The term “Huangzi” literally refers to “the son of Mount Huang,” indicating that the Huangzi Hill is part of the Mount Huang mountain range.

4.1.1.1 Surroundings and Outline

The original site is a relatively flat triangular property between the Lailong 来龙 (dragon-coming) Hillock¹⁰⁵² and the Machong 马冲 (steed-galloping) River. On the west side of the Machong River are stacked terrace fields facing the south (Fig. 4.1.1-2). The builder defined the boundaries of the building complex with walls about four meters high along the edge of the site, except for the drying yard and vegetable field to the south, making full use of the limited land.



Fig. 4.1.1-2 The roof plan of Yangchuan Wu.



Fig. 4.1.1-3 The north "prow" of Yangchuan Wu.

The plan of this building is generally symmetrical on the east and west sides, with a sharp pointing shape in the north and an obtuse and broad shape in the south. The land is higher in the north. Thus, the northern part is slightly upward (Fig. 4.1.1-3), intersected by the two sidewalls directly along the terrain at an acute angle, and looks like the "prow" of a boat. The south land is lower and broader, so the central part of the complex is set in the south. The south

¹⁰⁵² The Lailong Hillock constitutes a constituent part of the western slope of the Huangzi Hill.

wall forms an outwardly projecting obtuse angle, while the two corners created by the sidewalls and the south wall are intentionally rounded, resulting in a seamless and streamlined design.

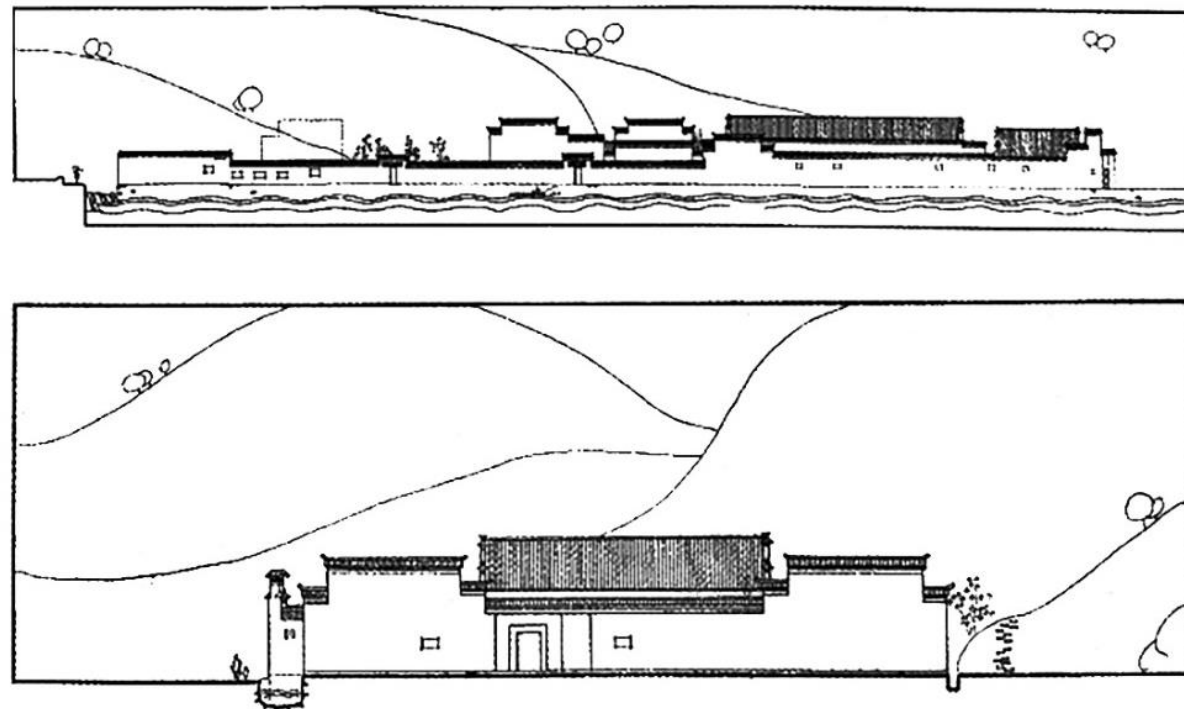


Fig. 4.1.1-4 The west and south facades of Yangchuan Wu.

Because of the eastern hillock, this triangular complex has only two facades, the west and the south (Fig. 4.1.1-4). The west facade along the street is a complete continuous wall about 150 meters long. Contrary to the terrain, the north side of this facade is lower, and only a tiny two-story building can be seen from outside the wall. It looks like the cockpit on top of a boat's deck. The south side is higher than the north, and most interior constructions are two-story buildings, such as residential buildings and the main hall. These buildings with large volumes are so well arranged that people see many layers from the outside, giving the whole complex a naturally grown yet harmonious appearance. This part is similar to a boat's cabin or aft cargo compartments. The south facade forms an almost symmetrical fold in the center, and the entrance is on the west part of it. This shape may be due to *fengshui* 风水¹⁰⁵³ superstition to avoid the entrance facing the longitudinal axis of the building. Nevertheless, the streamlined shape of the "stern" once again further highlights the design intention of imitating a boat.

To sum up, the outline of Yangchuan Wu mainly resulted from the local terrain in the first place, but it can be inferred from some details that the builder consciously imitated a boat's image while complying with the site.

As a result, if people look from the distance of the country road or down from the Huangtian Cen 岑 (the small but relatively high hill). The Yangchuan Wu would present an image like a sailing boat. Especially in spring, the paddy fields would be filled with water, increasing the feeling of being surrounded by water. As shown in the photo, the cascading rice terraces look like waves of water, and this building looks exactly like a boat going upstream (Fig. 4.1.1-5).

¹⁰⁵³ The word *fengshui* 风水, which consists of the characters *feng* 风 (wind) and *shui* 水 (water), is commonly referred to as Chinese geomancy. Its underlying principle aims to establish a harmonious relationship between individuals and their surrounding environment by harnessing the power of natural forces.



Fig. 4.1.1-5 Yangchuan Wu and the paddy fields in spring.



Fig. 4.1.1-6 The artificial dam in front of Yangchuan Wu.

There is another point worth noting. The bifurcation of the Machong River, which coincidentally provides a sense of this building being surrounded by water, was a manufactured result. The river used to rush straight down from north to south. However, the builder deliberately constructed an artificial dam at the northern part of this building complex (Fig. 4.1.1-6). After the alternation, the river's main stream still follows its original channel – flowing down along the west sidewall of the building complex, while part of the water was diverted to flow along the east side of the building and then rejoin the main channel in the south of the building complex. This embranchment was mainly designed to discharge domestic sewage and irrigate a vegetable field south of the building. In addition, though invisible, part of the river was also drawn into the building, forming a square pool in a small garden. Apart from the practical reason, this water treatment also clearly played a role in spreading the folklore that the building was a mimic of a boat.

Finally, if the *yangchuan* in the name of the Yangchuan Wu is regarded as a foreign steamboat, as suggested by certain local narratives, further parallels can be drawn when comparing the architectural structure of the building complex with that of an early paddle-wheeled steamboat. For example, if we consider that steamboats in the 19th century were mostly paddle-wheeled boats, we can find some constructions that can be seen as “cockpit,” “chimneys” and “wheels” (Fig. 4.1.1-7).

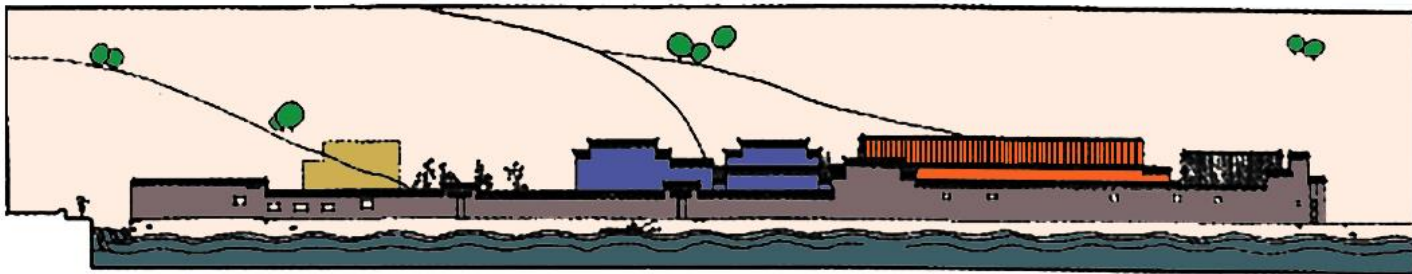


Fig. 4.1.1-7 The buildings that can be seen as “chimneys” and “wheels” in Yangchuan Wu.



Fig. 4.1.1-8 The windows on the west wall of Yangchuan Wu.

Moreover, the small rectangular windows with open tracery on the outside walls, especially the west wall, can be seen as the porthole of a steamboat (Fig. 4.1.1-8), while the bridges connected to the side entrances can be seen as the gangway ladder (Fig. 4.1.1-9).



Fig. 4.1.1-9 The bridge connected to the side entrance on the west wall of Yangchuan Wu.

4.1.1.2 Layout and Courtyard System

If the builder of the Yangchuan Wu used the exterior outline of the complex to mimic a steamboat, the following questions would be: How did he, in such a unique outline, configure the interior spaces and functions to fulfill a big feudal family's daily use, and did he also imitate a steamboat in organizing the interior spaces?

Firstly, given such a unique external form, how did the designer not weaken but strengthen the axis and the building's centrality? The answer has much to do with this region's courtyard system of vernacular architecture.

The residential buildings in this area generally belong to Huizhou 徽州 architectural style. Like most traditional Chinese dwellings, Huizhou architectures consist of residence area and gardens. The residence area usually organizes space with a sequence of multiple courtyards. However, due to the limited land use in mountainous areas, most Huizhou architectures comprise two stories, and the courtyards have very little depth. Therefore, people there creatively added the patio as an essential spatial element.

The patios in Huizhou-style architecture are generally enclosed by the main building in the north, wing buildings on both sides, and the wall (sometimes the auxiliary building) in the south. It is designed to solve the need for ventilation, lighting, and water drainage of the high-walled buildings without external windows, while also providing the occupants a sense of tranquility. Roofs slope inwards into each patio, ensuring rainwater flows into ditches separating the uncovered and covered part of the patio instead of dropping outside. Since light and water are the precious survival elements, the patio's collection function of these two has become a psychological representation of wealth accumulation.

The Yangchuan Wu complex is meticulously designed, incorporating a rational arrangement of courtyards, patios, gardens, and building units of varying sizes (Fig. 4.1.1-10). By analyzing the builder's design process, it will be easily shown how this system effectively works.

Initially, the builder divided the land into two parts, from where it grows narrow and asymmetrical. The broader south part (the "midship" and "stern") was then further divided into three parts: the front yard, the main buildings, and the back garden. The front yard was conventionally set up with two symmetrical residence units for male servants and guards.

After that, the builder put the main hall unit on the north-south central axis behind the front yard. Then, the five residential units were arranged: three behind the main hall unit one by one, and the other two were rotated 90 degrees and mirrored on the east and west sides of the hall.

Apart from the residential unit immediately behind the main hall unit, the different units were separated by long narrow lanes. Walls enclosed the back garden, and its entrance was set in the westerly sideyard to avoid direct connection with the women's residence units. Uneven spaces left between the units and the sidewalls were filled with side yards or service functions, such as kitchens, sanitary spaces, stables, and storages.

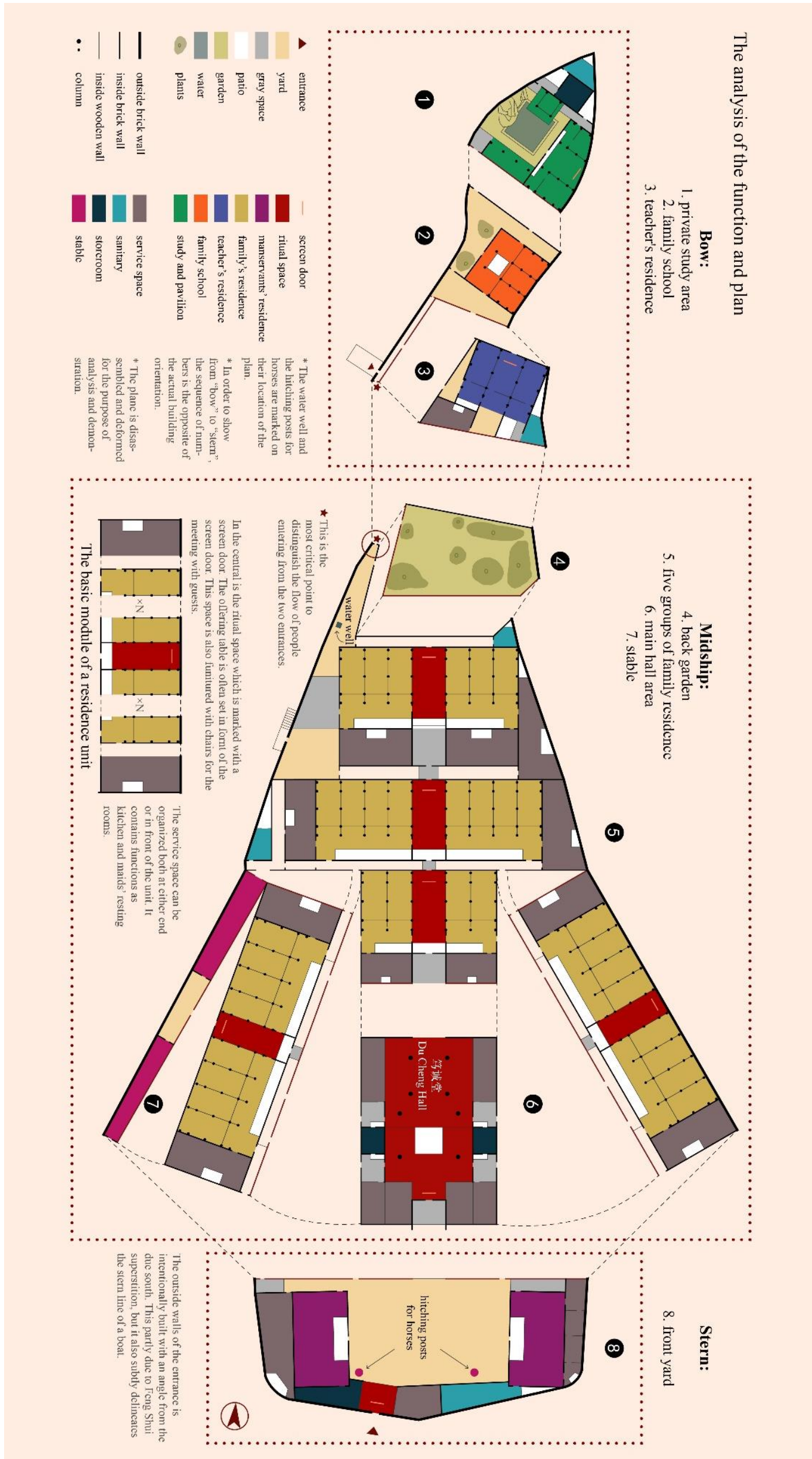


Fig. 4.1.1-10 The analysis of the function and plan of Yangchuan Wu.

Then the layout of the narrow north part (the “prow”) can be freer to design according to on-site conditions. The primary function of this part revolves around “education.” A *jiashu* 家塾 (family school) was set in the middle that educates the children of families, relatives, and neighbors. It was also the only two-story building in this part. Two trees were planted symmetrically in front of the school, emphasizing the entrance and strengthening its axis. There was also a paper-burning stove to deal with the waste paper produced by students.¹⁰⁵⁴ On the south side of the family school is a residential unit provided for the teacher and his family, and on the north side of the family school is the owner’s study. The teacher’s residence unit has a small but complete courtyard with its kitchen and sanitary. Although the unit is adjacent to the back garden, it is isolated by a gate to the south of the secondary entrance. On the sharp north end is the owner’s study. The study unit was assorted with a square-pool garden using the river water introduced inside the building complex. The study is on the east side of the pool. Between the west side and the courtyard wall are some rockeries, like artificial hills. The study entrance is a small doorway in a wall so that when people in the study leave the door open, they can only see a glimpse of the artificial hill. This architectural intervention dispelled the sense of constraint in the limited land for this unit; instead, it created a feeling of being in nature. Two decorative pavilions faced each other across the square pool. The one on the south side was designed as a semi-pavilion integrated into a corridor, effectively reducing the pavilion’s volume. The service function of the study area was put in the triangular space on the northernmost side and cannot be seen from the garden.

At this point, the main layout is finished. This part of the design shows an intention of imitating a boat with three partitions (“the prow,” “the midship,” and the “stern”), especially the use of the prow triangle area as the school and study unit. We can see that in the south of the building complex, there is a rectangular area with a drying yard and a vegetable field. It is hard to believe the designer would spare this regular-shaped land but use the very irregular northmost part if he did not have in mind the imitating of a boat: Even if the drying yard had to be set in the south, the vegetable field could be arranged in the back, as the people living there do it today (see Fig. 1.1.1-3).

However, the specific interior space, on the other hand, was not intended to mimic a boat or steamboat but was a combination of traditional local practices and a so-called *hucuo* 护厝 style in the Fujian area. It will be explained in the following.

Due to land shortage, the units were so closely aligned, and the patios became very useful in organizing the space inside each unit of the main buildings. It is worthwhile to analyze how the flexibly integrated system of patios effectively connects the interior space in accordance with traditional patterns and the unique outer contour of the boat shape.

There are three main types of patios in the building complex. Since the spatial organization of these patios followed local customs, it could be decided quickly and easily.

Firstly, the most crucial patio is, of course, the patio in the main hall unit. It was formed

¹⁰⁵⁴ The ancient Chinese held the belief that paper inscribed with characters possessed a sacred quality, rendering it unsuitable for simple disposal. Consequently, incineration in a specialized stove was the most prevalent method of discarding such material.

by the main hall on the north side, two side corridors, and the lobby hall on the south side. From the contrast in the previous images (see Fig. 4.1.1-2 & 4.1.1-10), we can see that the spatial division of the building is different from that implied by the form of the roofs. From the perspective of internal space, the two groups (each group of four, a total of eight) of pillars connect the main hall in the central three bays, the corridors, and a part of the lobby hall. They formed an ample ritual space with a patio at the center (Fig. 4.1.1-11).



Fig. 4.1.1-11 The patio of the main hall unit of Yangchuan Wu.

This spatial form achieved a larger usable area and created a sequence of light and shadow, providing the main hall with a higher level of ritual space. The family school unit, which also emphasizes ritual space, has a similar patio but is smaller. The remaining space of the main hall unit was filled with service rooms, transportation spaces, and storage. To further increase indoor lighting and ventilation, four tiny patios were arranged symmetrically on either side of the small storage buildings on the outer side of the corridors. Adding four small patios in the corner to a patio in the middle is called *meihua* 梅花 (literally “plum blossom,” which refers to the quincuncial shape) patios.

Secondly, the residential units’ extended, narrow rectangular patios are exceptional. This kind of patio is not often seen in Huizhou architecture. It is known as a feature of vernacular architecture in Jing county. This practice is related to the arrangement of the residential units.

Like the other Huizhou architectures, each residential unit is a two-story building that conforms to a basic module. In the center is the public ritual space marked with a screen door. Several private rooms (in Huizhou, commonly one or two; in case of Yangchuan Wu from two to four) can be set up on both sides of the ritual space for people to settle. The second floor is

mainly reserved for unmarried daughters,¹⁰⁵⁵ and the staircase to the second floor is located behind the screen door. The kitchen and maids' resting rooms,¹⁰⁵⁶ or other service spaces, can be organized at either end or in front of the residential unit. However, different to other traditional Huizhou vernacular residences, the layout of the residential units in this building complex is very similar to that of the *hucuo* in the Fujian and Guangdong provinces.

Hucuo is the long residence unit parallelly arranged on each side of the central unit sequence. It is a popular way to expand the layout when the depth of the building complex does not meet the use. The literal translation of *hucuo* is “[the unit] protecting the house.” In Fujian, the east patio is called the *rijing* 日井 (sun patio) in the front, and *longjing* 龙井 (dragon patio) in the back, while the west one is called accordingly the *yuejing* 月井 (moon patio) and the *hujing* 虎井 (tiger patio).¹⁰⁵⁷ In Yangchuan Wu, however, the unique long and narrow patio also can be seen in the second and third residence units in the mid-way sequence because the site's width is reduced and insufficient for the *hucuo*.

The layout of the *hucuo* style resulted in such a special kind of very long and narrow patio. On two ends of the patio are short corridors; on the front side of the patio is a wall, and on the back side is the wide-open porch of the building unit (Fig. 4.1.1-12). This porch creates a “grey space”¹⁰⁵⁸ necessary for the occupants' daily activities. Due to its close proximity to the patio, the space benefits from excellent ventilation in summer and ample natural lighting in winter, resulting in a cool and airy atmosphere during warmer months and a warm ambiance during colder months. Additionally, there are two low walls situated on either side of the ritual area. On the one hand, this is to keep the number of bays in the mid-way building within limits;¹⁰⁵⁹ on the other hand, it also provides privacy for the residents to rest on the porch.

¹⁰⁵⁵ In the Huizhou region, it even advocated the custom that the daughters should not go downstairs all year round, which was seen as a symbol of good parenting. It shows that young women get accustomed to loneliness. This may have contributed to their eventual acceptance of solitude and thus their ability to maintain chastity in the prolonged absence of their husbands.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Young maids, who have the responsibility of caring for unmarried daughters from a young age, often reside in the same quarters as their charges; however, older attendants do not cohabit with their masters.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See Li Qiuxiang 李秋香, Zhang Lizhi 张力智 and Kang Jiabao 康加宝, *Min Tai chuantong juzhu jianzhu ji xisu wenhua yichan ziyuan diaocha* 闽台传统居住建筑及习俗文化遗产资源调查 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2014), 62; Cao Chunping 曹春平, Zhuang Jinghui 庄景辉 and Wu Yide 吴奕德, eds., *Minnan jianzhu* 闽南建筑 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2008), 22. For further reading, see Yu Ying 余英, *Zhongguo dongnanxi jianzhu quxi leixing yanjiu* 中国东南系建筑区系类型研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gogye chubanshe, 2001), 292-321.

¹⁰⁵⁸ The term “grey space” refers to Kurokawa Kisho's 黒川紀章 concept of space characterization.

¹⁰⁵⁹ In ancient China, it was legally mandated that no civilian residence along its central axis exceeds three bays in width.



Fig. 4.1.1-12 The porch of the residential unit of Yangchuan Wu. (left)

Fig. 4.1.1-13 The triangular patios of Yangchuan Wu. (right)

Thirdly, the most common patios are those in the service rooms or the servants' residences. In order to create a larger usable area in a small space while meeting the needs of lighting and ventilation, these patios are often attached to one side of the walls. They can be set up at will as long as the remaining building area is easy to divide and use. In addition, there are also some triangular patios (Fig. 4.1.1-13). The formation of these patios is achieved by utilizing the acute angles of the triangular spaces.

Thus, through the system of courtyards, patios, and gardens, the space in Yangchuan Wu is well organized in an irregular site.

4.1.1.3 Partition and Traffic

In a large feudal household in ancient China, it was essential to establish a hierarchical order based on age, gender, and social status to differentiate between the elderly and the young, distinguish men from women, and separate servants from their masters. Vernacular architectures in Huizhou rely on partitions that emphasize hierarchies of different spaces, governing traffic flow and determining the codified usage of spaces. In this way, these partitions reinforce the authority of male heads and contribute to the cohesive structure of patriarchal families.

The following will discuss the partition and traffic organized by **walls, lanes, and doors** in Yangchuan Wu and introduce how they connected traffic flows and achieved functional divisions. The discussion will show that the internal space division method is still traditional but coincides with the impression on board. Moreover, the side entrances through the bridges contribute further to the image of "boarding a boat" while facilitating partitioning.

A typical Huizhou architecture usually is enclosed by tall and thick external brick walls. The closure of Yangchuan Wu's outside wall contributes to the foundation of mimicking a boat's hulk. Apart from the sides facing the patio, the interior units are also surrounded by brick walls. Even within the same unit, thick brick walls separate public transport and service spaces from living spaces. Although it is pretty common in Huizhou architecture, it would remind us of the watertight compartment – only it aims to prevent fire, not the leaking water, from spreading. Therefore this kind of wall is also called *fenghuo-qiang* 封火墙 (fire-sealing gable).

On the other hand, those walls can separate the women living alone in the house from the outside world. For these reasons, the brick walls, except for the doorway, rarely have windows. Even if there are windows in the wall, they are minimal in size and cannot be opened. Lateral wooden walls between columns separate the rooms inside the living unit, while the side facing the patio has windows or doors that allow light to pass through. On the second floor, where the unmarried daughters lived, there is no window to the outside of the building complex, or only a tiny window aperture for ventilation. The patio side, however, features latticed windows adorned with elegantly curved railings for women to lean on. From these windows, the daughters may discreetly steal glances in hopes of catching a glimpse of their potential suitors. The daughter who is favored by elders can express her opinions and even exercise her autonomy in choosing a partner after meeting these men.



Fig. 4.1.1-14 One of the lanes of Yangchuan Wu.

The deep and narrow lanes in the Yangchuan Wu are called *huoxiang* 火巷 (fire lane) or *beilong* 背弄 (back lane) (Fig. 4.1.1-14). They comprise the outside walls of different building units, such as the former and latter residence units, the *hucuo* unit, and the main hall

unit. The lanes serve three purposes: facilitating everyday traffic, ensuring fire prevention measures, and providing emergency exits. Typically oriented in a north-south direction, these lanes separate mid-way buildings from side-way buildings. However, in Yangchuan Wu's case, there are two north-south fire lanes and two east-west fire lane – a unique feature due to the extensive depth of the entire building complex that restricts setting present side-way buildings on the narrow northern side of the land. The lanes are mainly used by servants and women, who are not allowed to use the ritual space on the central axis of the building in the daily traffic. In these lanes, there are often roofed shelters where doorways are opened. So even in rainy weather, people traversing the lanes need not be concerned about getting wet. The lane was long and straight, making it easy to get through quickly, while the doors on the walls on either side of the lane provided easy access to almost everywhere in the complex. This traditional practice might also evoke the narrow passageways found in boat cabins, as described in Baoting's story in *Niehai hua* (see 2.3.2 and Fig. 2.3.2-2),¹⁰⁶⁰ but it could also serve practical purposes only.

It is worth noting that, with the exception of those located on the central axis, doors in other parts of the lanes will not be positioned directly opposite each other on both sides of the wall. This arrangement is due to the narrowness of the lanes, which would cause inconvenience for individuals entering and exiting if two doors were facing each other. Additionally, a different design approach was employed for the door on the ritual axis by incorporating a screen door in its center. This practice not only prevents one from seeing through the patios into the depths of the building but also establishes buffer zones within the traversing space sequence.

There are several doorways crucial in this building complex. Firstly, the outer entrance on the outside wall and the inner entrance to the main hall unit are worth noting. The former is very simple, while the latter is much more decorative. The exterior walls are mostly covered with white stucco, and the entrance is framed with stone, with only a screen door to mark its decorum. However, the south facade of the main hall unit is un-plastered and built with a special kind of bricks (Fig. 4.1.1-15). They are made of two mixed clays, forming a pattern like the ink paintings. This type of brick is characteristic of Jing county and is rarely seen elsewhere. There are also decorative stone carvings that flank the entrance steps. The entrance is pushed inward, creating a grey space in front of it; the beam upwards is massive and curved.

¹⁰⁶⁰ It is not certain that all boats at that time were equipped with side walkways or corridors. But according to the documents, at least a kind of famous passenger boat in Jiangnan region, *siwang chuan* 丝网船, were characterised by one or two walkways (*jialong* 夹弄). See China Maritime Museum, Wang Yu 王煜 and Ye Chong 叶冲, eds., *Zhongguo guchuan lu* 中国古船录 (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press, 2020), 70-71.



Fig. 4.1.1-15 The south facade of the main hall unit of Yangchuan Wu.

Secondly, a gate separates the main building complex in the south from the educational complex in the north. It is the most critical point to separate female family members and outsiders. The gate is typically kept locked. Female residents in the southern area are allowed to access the back garden at their discretion, but they will never come into contact with the male teacher residing in a building adjacent to the garden. The teacher's residence consists of only one floor, making it physically impossible for him to peer over the wall and observe any women present within the garden.

Thirdly, there are three ornamental garden gates present. According to an ancient document, upon entering from the second entrance on the western sidewall, a pathway emerges on the left-hand side.¹⁰⁶¹ This pathway leads to an irregular courtyard of the family school through a door shaped like a vase located at the northern end of the lane. Subsequently, one must pass through a gate in the courtyard wall in order to officially arrive at the family school. This entire guided route enhances the spatial sequence prior to entering the family school. As children traverse through this lane, they should cultivate a sense of tranquility and composure; moreover, their entry into the school is psychologically signaled by passing through this vase-shaped door. Additionally, there existed two other artistically designed garden doors: one being a half-moon-shaped door situated on the eastern side of the pavilion within study's garden; while another takes form as a Salix-leaf-shaped door positioned on its western side. The narrow

¹⁰⁶¹ See Zhai Guangkui 翟光遠, *Jingxian jianshe zhi* 泾县建设志 (Xuancheng: Jingxian yinshuachang, 1989), cited in Wu Qingzhou, "Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu," 140.

shape of these two doors allows for limited space outside their thresholds to be concealed by walls, thereby evoking an aura of mystery and intrigue. Furthermore, their poetic names and imagery serve to amplify artistic ambiance within this garden setting. Regrettably though, all areas northward including these garden doors have fallen into neglectful disrepair; thus leaving us only able to imagine their existence based solely upon literal records found on maps.

Fourthly, there is a side entrance located on the riverside. Due to the vastness of the entire building, it would take quite some time to reach any destination northwards from the south entrance. To avoid this inconvenience, side entrances are necessary. Interestingly, the only accessible side facade is the west wall, which is isolated by the river. Consequently, “boarding bridges” have been constructed to further enhance the resemblance of the entire complex to a boat. The mapping documents initially depicted only one side entrance; however, now there are three entrances in total. Although it is possible that the middle entrance was added at a later stage, it can be reasonably assumed that an initial south side-entrance leading directly to the stable already existed because it would have facilitated easier access for horses.

In general, the partition and traffic of this building complex essentially adopted the methods of local traditions, with only minor alterations due to the topography and the layout.

Based on the aforementioned three sections of architectural analysis, it can be inferred that the appearance of Yangchuan Wu bears a striking resemblance to that of a boat or even a steamboat. This is not in conflict with the builder’s endeavor to accommodate limited land use, living conditions and functions, as well as local architectural features. Whether resembling or imitating a boat, the building’s exterior is characterized by this shape. Its interior follows traditional patterns and only incidentally recalls some elements of a boat. In contrast to the *fang* architectures in the garden, Yangchuan Wu’s interior space does not emphasize boat characteristics. The house builder skillfully adapted the construction of traditional buildings to respond flexibly to the unique topography, thereby enhancing Yangchuan Wu’s boat-shaped appearance. However, based on the analysis conducted, it cannot be definitively stated that the builder intended to create what we currently see.

4.1.2 Yangchuan Wu as a Folklore

The Huangtian village’s current tourism promotion features a local saying: “The foreign Steamboat House – the epitome of filial piety.” It shows that this building and its accompanying narrative have shouldered significant responsibilities in showcasing the community’s deep-rooted adherence to traditional values, particularly filial piety, which has been consistently disseminated.

The story of Yangchuan Wu follows an oral tradition and thus has several slightly different versions. Most relevant articles and reports have directly adopted the most widely spread version of “a father and a son build a ‘Foreign Steamboat House’ out of filial piety” without textual research. No one had examined the story carefully enough to determine a more realistic narrative among the various editions. Therefore, the following part attempts to solve

as much ambiguity as possible so that the true history can be touched.

Generally, it is said that Zhu Yiqiao 朱一乔 (or Zhu Zonghuai 朱宗怀) built this boat-like house driven by filial piety to satisfy his mother's wish – she had difficulty going out because of her bound feet but yet eagerly wanted to see the foreign steamboat far from this village. It is impossible to verify the absolute truth of the details in the story, but the available local gazetteers, the Zhu family's genealogy, and contemporaneous related sources still allow for a certain degree of research into the folklore.

Before conducting textual research on this story, we first need to get to know more about the local Zhu family briefly. Next, this legend of Yangchuan Wu will be researched from three perspectives: A. Who built it? B. For whom? C. Why was it built?

4.1.2.1 Zhu Family in Huangtian Village

Ningguofu 宁国府 borders Jiangningfu 江宁府 to the north and Huizhou to the south (Fig. 4.1.2-1). The territory can be divided into two major geographic areas: the plain plains in the north and the hills and mountains in the south. Jing county is in the southern mountainous region (Fig. 4.1.2-2).

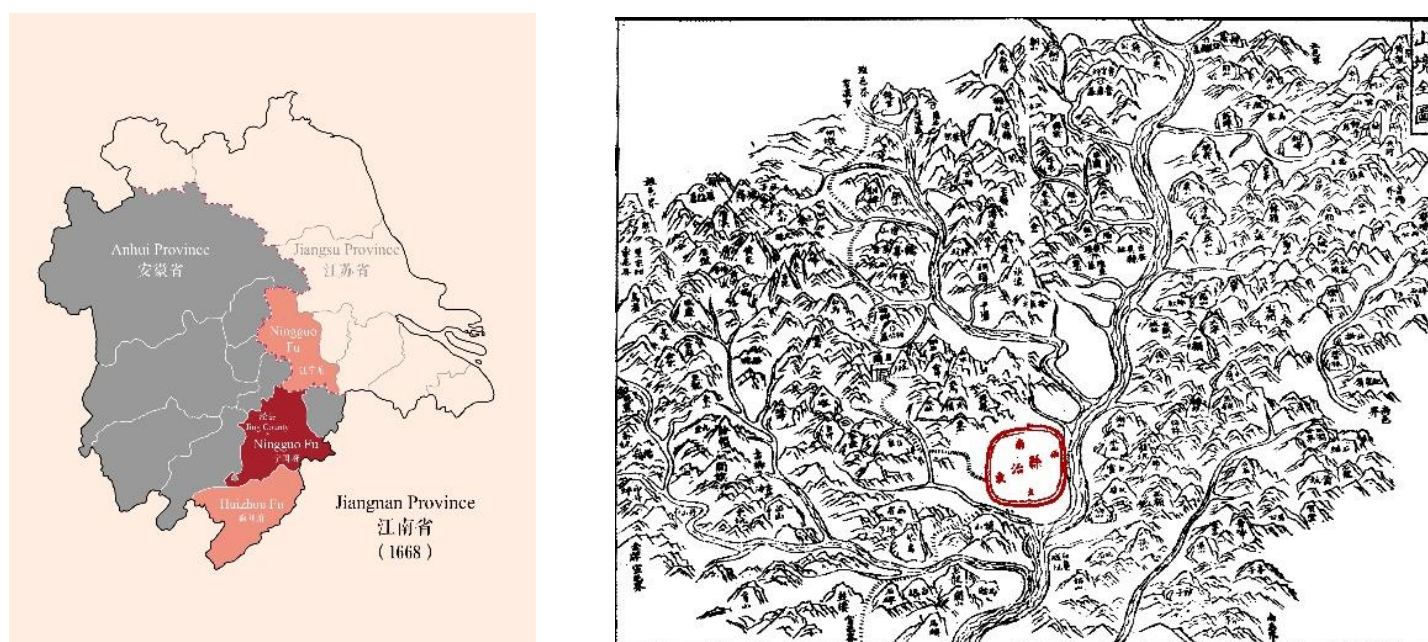


Fig. 4.1.2-1 The location of the Ningguo Fu. (left)

Fig. 4.1.2-2 The mountainous region of Jing county. (right)

Although the local soil is fertile and the woods are rich in resources, the scarcity of arable land has led to hardships for the residents. Consequently, due to population growth and ecological pressures, some individuals have been compelled to seek business opportunities elsewhere. As a result of this region's robust entrepreneurial tradition, there has been a rise in influential clans and an accumulation of commercial capital. In contrast to Jiangsu province, these clans primarily reside in rural areas rather than towns or cities. Therefore, it is common for thousands of people with the same surname to live together in remote villages surrounded by mountains.

Among them, Huangtian village is mainly composed of the Zhu family. It is located southeast of Jing county, at the foot of the Huangdui 黄颢 Hill (another name for the Huangzi Hill), the highest mountain in the county. In the article named “Jingxian xiangtu ji” 泾县乡土记 (the Local Records of Jing County), Hu Pu'an 胡朴安 (1878-1947) wrote that:

[...] west of Mopan Hill is Huandui Hill. The peaks of this hill rise one after another and look like lotus blossoms. The Zhu family's village is southwest of the hill; [...]. The Zhu family is large, scattered in the east of the county. [The Zhu family settlement] spans over ten miles and contains tens of thousands of registered households. It is celebrated for its culture and cultivation of the talented. The political competencies of Zhu Li and the literary accomplishments of Zhu Jian are still highly praised by the Zhu family people now. [...] The Zhu family people traded salt for generations and became the most wealthy family in the region.

……磨盘山西为黄峴山，层峦叠嶂，状如莲花。山之西南为朱氏村，……，朱氏族大，散居于县之东乡，纵横十余里，户口数万，人文蔚起，朱理之政事，朱琦之文学，至今族人能称道之。……朱姓世业盐，财富甲于一邑。¹⁰⁶²

The Zhu family's lineage can be traced back to the Chayuan-gong 茶院公 (a courtesy title), Zhu Gui 朱瓌, in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-960). Zhu Wei 朱纬 (1059-1127), the sixth generation of Zhu Gui, was the first to move to Jing county. According to the family genealogy, while resting in Jing county during his journey to the Huai River region, Zhu Wei was captivated by its fertile lands and picturesque landscapes. He prophesied that future generations would thrive if they settled there. Consequently, he and his son made their home in this county.¹⁰⁶³ Then after hundreds of years, the 22nd generation of the Zhu family, Huangtian-gong 黄田公, Zhu Benshi 朱本杓 (b. between 1539-1541, became 59 years old) first settled in Huangtian village.¹⁰⁶⁴

One of Zhu Benshi's children, Zhu Xianzhe 朱贤浙, had three sons; Zhu Mingxing 朱明性, Zhu Mingqing 朱明情 (1618-1694), and Zhu Mingkuai 朱明快.¹⁰⁶⁵ They are the 24th generation of the Zhu family. The lineage of the eldest brother, Zhu Mingxing, was broken after only one generation.¹⁰⁶⁶ The lineage of the second brother Zhu Mingqing mainly depended on one of his grandchildren, Zhu Wuxun 朱武勋 (1662-1742). As Zhu Wuxun had five sons, his

¹⁰⁶² Jingxian difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 泾县地方志编纂委员会, ed., *Jingxian zhi* 泾县志 (Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe, 1996), 1008.

¹⁰⁶³ See Zhu Yi 朱彝, *Zhangxiangdu Zhushi xuxiu zhipu* 张香都朱氏续修支谱 (Jingxian Zhu Family, 1907), preface, 30a-b: 纬公一名中立，历官于淮，道归过泾，信宿于丰登之乡，见其土地沃饶，山水明秀，遂同子旦公居焉，是有张香派。

¹⁰⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 3b-4a: (二十二世本字派) 杓公，……由谢塘冲迁居黄田，因以“黄田”为号。

¹⁰⁶⁵ See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 4a-5a: (二十三世贤字派) 浙公，……，子三：性、情、快。

¹⁰⁶⁶ See “Lewu-gong zhuan” 乐吾公传, in Zhu Jian 朱琦, *Xinxiu Zhangxiangdu Zhushi zhipu* 新修张香都朱氏支谱 (Jingxian Zhu Family, 1825), vol. 26, 3a: 伯传一世，遂绝。

descendants are called the *shang-wu-fang* 上五房 (higher five branches).¹⁰⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the third brother, Zhu Mingkuai had three sons, Zhu Jin 朱缙, Zhu Shen 朱绅, and Zhu Xu 朱绪; their descendants are called the *xia-san-fen* 下三分 (lower three branches).¹⁰⁶⁸ The later generations of the Zhu family in Huangtian village are mainly composed of descendants from these eight branches.

According to the Huangtian Zhu family's genealogy research, this family line had long been engaged in business. The prosperity of the Huangtian Zhu family can be attributed to their ancestor, Zhu Mingkuai, who achieved success through astute business acumen, diligent work ethic, frugality, and strategic career planning. The famous scholar from the *shang-wu-fang*, Zhu Jian 朱琚 (1769-1850), wrote a brief biography of Lewu-gong 乐吾公 (Zhu Mingkuai), "Lewu-gong zhuan" 乐吾公传. It said that when Zhu Mingkuai's grandfather Zhu Benshi first moved to Huangtian village, "everything was in its primitive state and almost could not rise" 百务草创，几不振. It was Zhu Mingkuai who did business well and gained wealth. He "gradually increased land ownership and properties and finally became an honored member of the Zhu family" 田畴日饶，称族中翘楚。¹⁰⁶⁹

Zhu Jian also recorded that Zhu Mingkuai selflessly shared his business profits with his brother's family without hesitation.¹⁰⁷⁰ We know that Zhu Mingqing, the second brother of Zhu Mingkuai, obtained the sixth rank of *dingdai* 顶戴 (an official cap showing various ranks with a button of precious stone on top), obviously not without Zhu Mingkuai's financial help. Zhu Mingqing's second son, Zhu Wuxun, the ancestor of the *shang-wu-fang*, who also made a fortune in business, apparently received help from his kind-hearted uncle. There is a record of silver donations in the Zhu family genealogy, which also shows the business success of Zhu Mingkuai and his nephew Zhu Wuxun. This intriguing account reveals that only the contributions of 60 taels from Zhu Mingkuai and 50 taels from Zhu Wuxun stood out among those made by family members who donated less than ten taels.¹⁰⁷¹ Therefore, the prosperity of the whole Zhu family in Huangtian village and its network of business activities began in Zhu Mingkuai.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See Zhu Yi, *Zhangxiangdu Zhushi xuxiu zhipu*, vol. 2, 1a-b: (二十六世武字派) 武勋公……子五: 庆霞、必达、庆霏、庆霖、庆霏.

¹⁰⁶⁸ See Zhu Jian, *Xinxiu Zhangxiangdu Zhushi zhipu*, vol. 2, 5a-b: 快公, ……子三: 缙、绅、绪.

¹⁰⁶⁹ See "Lewu-gong zhuan," in *ibid.*, vol. 26, 3a: 家素约，又值祖考黄田公徙新宅，百务草创，几不振。惟公能恢宏而崇起之。秉性和平，有深识，故所谋辄遂。田畴日饶，称族中翘楚。峴山公乡居厚德。公服贾，所入胥分润，式好无间。喜行善，省己利物，勤且摯.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See *ibid.*: 峴山公乡居厚德。公服贾，所入胥分润，式好无间.

¹⁰⁷¹ See *ibid.*, vol. 31, 2a: ……杓公派下乐吾公捐银陆拾两，烈公捐银拾两，勋公捐银伍拾两，平庚捐银伍两…….

4.1.2.2 Father and Son of the Zhu Family: Who Built It?

In most versions, every story of the Yangchuan Wu begins with its builders, a father (Zhu Yiqiao) and his son (Zhu Zonghuai) of the Zhu family in Huangtian village. It is said that they acquired wealth through business and built this building, imitating a foreign steamboat, as their family residence. It sounds like the father and son worked together and built this building together. However, just a glance at Zhu's family tree reveals an alternative narrative, while meticulous investigation and logical conjecture regarding the genealogy of the Zhu family unveil remarkably more than what is documented.

Through sorting out the genealogy, we first learn that the builder of the Yangchuan Wu came from the *xia-san-fen*, the descendants of Zhu Mingkuai. The complicated generational relationship between large families can be a headache, but the Chinese have devised a solution by incorporating special Chinese characters in names (usually the second character). From the 20th generation of the Zhu family onwards, this special Chinese character is sorted according to a poem with five characters in each line: “Tian zi ben xian ming, wen wu qing an ping. Yi zong cheng da pu, yong shi shi gong qin” 天子本贤明，文武庆安平。一宗成大谱，永世仕公卿 (The son of heaven is virtuous and wise, and his civil and military affairs are prosperous and peaceful. One clan becomes a grand family, and the decedents will always be great officials).¹⁰⁷² In this poem, each character represents a generation in the Zhu family from the 20th to the 39th generation. Therefore, from the character *yi* (一) in Zhu Yiqiao's name (朱一乔), local people can quickly learn that he represents the 30th generation of the Zhu family.

A further in-depth understanding of Zhu Yiqiao's family background will reveal that Zhu Anxi 朱安洗 (1710-1788), the nominal grandfather of Zhu Yiqiao, had no heir. Zhu Pingliang 朱平惊 (1739-1819),¹⁰⁷³ the youngest son of Zhu Anxi's cousin (his father's younger brother's son, Zhu Andu 朱安渡), was adopted by Zhu Anxi as a descendant.¹⁰⁷⁴

According to Zhu Pingliang's record in genealogy, he was a student of the Tai Xue.¹⁰⁷⁵ Whether this title was gained by his true talents or by donating money, it shows that he had been well nurtured after being adopted by Zhu Anxi. Zhu Pingliang had three sons, respectively

¹⁰⁷² Ibid., vol.1 4b. The Zhu family's daughters' names are arranged based on a 16-word description of the virtues and merits that Chinese feudal females should possess, see *ibid.*: 庄淑徽和，荃华蕙仪，端容慈行，娴姒娟娥。

¹⁰⁷³ See *ibid.*, 1a: 惊公，……生乾隆己未年六月初三日(1739.07.08)寅时，卒嘉庆己卯年四月初一日(1819.04.24)子时。

¹⁰⁷⁴ See *ibid.*, vol. 13, 1a-b: (二十八世安字派) 洗公，……子一：惊，系堂弟渡公四子。

¹⁰⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, vol. 14, 1a: (二十九世平字派) 惊公，……太学生……。

when he was 25, 26, and 29 years old:¹⁰⁷⁶ Zhu Yiding 朱一定 (b. 1763),¹⁰⁷⁷ Zhu Yikuan 朱一寬 (1765-1784),¹⁰⁷⁸ and Zhu Yiqiao (1767-1793).¹⁰⁷⁹ Later, he had a son Zhu Yiyan 朱一宴 who died shortly after birth.¹⁰⁸⁰ For some unrecorded reason, or just bad luck, among the remaining three sons, except for the elder Zhu Yiding, who lived longer – he lived at least 63 years old when the family genealogy was revised in the fifth year of Daoguang (1825), Zhu Yikuan died at the age of 21, while Zhu Yiqiao died at the age of 27.

Compared with Zhu Yikuan, who was married but had no children before death, Zhu Yiqiao already had a son when he died. He named his son Zhu **Zonghuai** 朱宗怀 by using the Chinese character *zong* 宗, which queued after *yi*, in the poem mentioned above. Zhu Zonghuai was born in the 51st year of Qianlong reign (1786) when Zhu Yiqiao was 20 years old.¹⁰⁸¹ Only seven years later, Zhu Zonghuai, who was just about to enter home school, lost his father forever.

So far, we can point out that the narrative of “Zhu Yiqiao and his son doing business together” in folklore is sheer fabrication. Even in a region like Huizhou, where young people are encouraged to go out into business, a child under seven would not be allowed to follow his father on the road. In other words, if Zhu Yiqiao’s presence as a ghost is not considered, the construction of the Yangchuan Wu can only be built by Zhu Zonghuai or Zhu Zonghuai and his sons together.

In the existing documents, except for a few words in the family genealogy, no records are left to inform people about Zhu Yiqiao’s relatively short life. However, according to the brief notes on the genealogy of the three brothers and the customs of Huizhou, we might as well speculate this: As the eldest son, Zhu Yiding should be more responsible for taking care of the parents, gathering the family’s local land tax and earning his status as a student of Tai Xue for the honor of his family (again, either by passing an exam or by donating enough money). The second son, Zhu Yikuan, was obliged to go out for risky business ventures. When Zhu Yikuan passed away, the third son Zhu Yiqiao succeeded his brother’s duty at the age of 18, until he accidentally died on the road ten years later.

At the time of Zhu Yiqiao’s death (1793), there were the following members in this

¹⁰⁷⁶ The age here is determined in accordance with Chinese tradition, whereby a newborn is considered to be one year old and their age increments by one at each passing of the Chinese New Year.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Zhu Jian, *Xinxiu Zhangxiangdu Zhushi zhipu*, vol. 14, 1a: (二十九世一字派) 一定, ……太学生, 生乾隆癸未年三月初七日(1763.04.19)寅时.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, 1b: 宽公, ……生乾隆甲申年十二月二十二日(1765.01.13)亥时, 卒乾隆甲辰年十一月十八日(1784.12.29)酉时…….

¹⁰⁷⁹ See *ibid.*, 1b: 乔公, ……生乾隆丁亥年五月十六日(1767.06.12)酉时, 卒乾隆癸丑年五月初八日(1793.6.15)子时…….

¹⁰⁸⁰ See *ibid.*, 1a: ……子四: 一定、宽、乔、宴, 宴殇.

¹⁰⁸¹ See *ibid.*, 1b: 宗怀, 生乾隆丙午年十月十八日(1786.12.08)未时.

small family (ages are also given): Zhu Pingliang (55), Zhu Pingliang's wife Hu Wenlian 胡问莲 (1736-1815, 59);¹⁰⁸² Zhu Yiding (31), Zhu Yiding's wife Hu Banzhen 胡班贞 (b. 1763, 31),¹⁰⁸³ Zhu Yidingzi's son Zhu Zongpan 朱宗潘 (b. 1790, 4);¹⁰⁸⁴ Zhu Yiqiao's wife Hu Qianzhen 胡嵌贞 (b. 1765, 29),¹⁰⁸⁵ Zhu Yiqiao's son Zhu Zonghuai 朱宗怀 (7). Since Zhu Yikuan had no heirs, his wife would likely remarry someone else because there was no record of her in Daoguang's family genealogy.¹⁰⁸⁶ In addition, Zhu Yiding had a daughter whose birth date was not recorded, so it is uncertain whether she existed at this time.¹⁰⁸⁷

The family structure above-mentioned is unfavorable for a business family because there is a gap in young adults who can go out doing business, and the original business relationship might be dislocated. However, things are far from hopeless – two male heirs were already in the third generation. In particular, when the eldest brother Zhu Yiding already had a four-year-old son, and his wife and his brothers' widows could also care for the elderly and children, he could try to take more risks himself. Although it is difficult to determine whether Zhu Yiding had taken over the business route and interpersonal relationship after his younger brother died, one thing is sure: when Zhu Zonghuai, the oldest man of the third generation, grew up to be able to do business, he set foot on his father's old path and successfully brought a steady stream of wealth to the family again.

However, due to the lack of documents, it is impossible to verify the business experiences of Zhu Zonghuai in different versions of villagers' hearsay. We can only imagine that, like his father and many of his contemporaries, Zhu Zonghuai was likely far from his hometown when he was over 13 or 14. At first, he might be apprenticed to an acquaintance of his father's or have a job in another relative's business. Then he gradually became experienced and started his own business. He might collaborate with his younger cousin and compose a team. Later, after his sons were born, he might take some of them and teach them how to manage the family business.

From the prosperity of the third generation and beyond, we know that this family had survived successive blows and even become more robust. Zhu Zonghuai and Zhu Zongpan both acquired the title of the student of Tai Xue and accumulated enough wealth to build grand residence buildings in their hometown; Zhu Yikuan also "obtained" Zhu Yiding's second son Zhu Zongyu 朱宗珣 (b. 1798)¹⁰⁸⁸ as an heir 14 years after his death (5 years after Zhu Yiqiao's

¹⁰⁸² See *ibid.*: (胡)问莲, ……生雍正乙卯年十二月二十二日(1736.02.03)亥时, 卒嘉庆乙亥年九月十三日(1815.10.15)巳时.

¹⁰⁸³ See *ibid.*: (胡)班贞, ……生乾隆癸未年二月二十七日(1763.04.10)亥时.

¹⁰⁸⁴ See *ibid.*: (朱宗)潘, ……生乾隆庚戌年九月二十八日(1790.11.04)戌时.

¹⁰⁸⁵ See *ibid.*, 2a: (胡)嵌贞, ……生乾隆乙酉年正月二十四日(1765.02.13)卯时.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See *ibid.*, 1b.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See *ibid.*, 1a.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See *ibid.*, 1b: 宽公……子一: 珣, 系兄定次子入嗣。……珣, 生嘉庆戊午年七月十四日(1798.08.25)子时.

death).

According to the *Chongxiu Anhui tongzhi* 重修安徽通志 (Re-edited Records of Anhui Province) in the Guangxu reign, Zhu Zongpan “did business in the counties, towns, and cities along the Three Rivers,¹⁰⁸⁹ Hunan, Hubei as well as Fujian, and Guangdong province” 经商于三江两湖闽粤各州县镇市.¹⁰⁹⁰ According to the interview of Mr. Zhu Yongpang 朱永骧,¹⁰⁹¹ a descendant of Zhu Yiding, Zhu Zonghuai once traded black tea in Singapore.¹⁰⁹² Therefore, it is likely that this family opened a trade route from Fujian or Guangdong to Singapore after the opening of Singapore as an important port for Sino-British trade. On the other hand, some authors of popular literature about Huangtian villages followed the other narrative that Zhu Yiqiao (Zhu Zonghuai) had been doing business in Shanghai.¹⁰⁹³

Interestingly, these statements (concerning business in Fujian, Guangdong, Shanghai, and Singapore) are probably all true. Because in Singapore’s tea trade, boats mostly came from Fujian, Guangdong, and Shanghai. And sometimes, boats sailing from Fujian could also be registered with the Shanghai customs. In his book *Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade*, John Phipps recorded the tea trade in Singapore, “In 1829-30, nine Chinese junks imported, viz. From Canton 1; Tew Chew (Chaozhou), 2; Siang-hai (shanghai), 2; Amoy (Xiamen), 4. The whole burthen being 47,000 peculs, or about 3,000 tons.”¹⁰⁹⁴ He also recorded that in season 1830-31, there were two junks from Shanghai. He described these two junks as: “From Sianghai (shanghai), near Ningpo (Ningbo), in Tehetchiang (Zhejiang) province, two; one of 500, and the other of 175, tons burden: the heads of these are painted

¹⁰⁸⁹ The Three Rivers (三江), namely the Xin’an River 新安江, Fuchun River 富春江 and Qiantang River 钱塘江, refer to the upper reaches, middle reaches and lower reaches of the Yangtze River respectively.

¹⁰⁹⁰ He Shaoji 何绍基, Yang Yisun 杨沂孙 and Cheng Hongzhao 程鸿诏, eds., *Chongxiu Anhui tongzhi* 重修安徽通志 (1878), vol. 254, 19.

¹⁰⁹¹ The interview with Mr. Zhu Yongpang was conducted by the author in December 2020.

¹⁰⁹² Since 1819, the successful establishment of a port in Singapore by the British East India Company has transformed it into a pivotal transit point for Sino-British trade. Prior to this development, Singapore’s tea trade was negligible; however, it experienced rapid growth thereafter.

¹⁰⁹³ See Tan Zhengheng 谈正衡, *Weilei de xiangchou* 味蕾的乡愁 (Shenyang: Wanjuan chuban gongsi, 2018), 272; Wang Zhouyong 汪周永, ed., *Xuancheng mingsheng guji* 宣城名胜古迹 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 2004), 69; Guo Zhanheng 郭占恒, *Wo yu muqin* 我与母亲 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang gongshang daxue chubanshe, 2014), 249.

¹⁰⁹⁴ John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade: Comprising the Commerce of Great Britain and India, Particularly Bengal and Singapore, with China and the Eastern Islands, Including much Useful Information, and Many Interesting Particulars Relative Thereto; with Directions, and Numerous Statements and Tables, Adapted to the Use of Merchants, Commanders, Pursers, and Others, Connected with the Trade of China and India* (London: W.H. Allen and Company, 1836), 282.

green.”¹⁰⁹⁵ Here, the green-headed boats represent that they actually sailed from Fujian.¹⁰⁹⁶

Although China and Southeast Asian countries had long-term non-governmental trade exchanges before the 16th century, forming relatively mature trade routes and systems, the risks were still much more extensive than inland trading. Why did Zhu Zonghuai focus his business on Singapore? Why was Singapore a port so critical in his time?

Firstly, Singapore was a free port, and all vessels trading there were free of duty, “equally and alike to all.”¹⁰⁹⁷ Secondly, Singapore was also closer to China than India. Therefore, under the occasionally issued Qing dynasty’s sea ban policy, Chinese merchants found it “by far more advantageous, and certainly less hazardous and expensive, to sail for this port direct, than proceed more southerly.”¹⁰⁹⁸

In the season 1834-35, John Phipps recorded that Chinese junks imported 3 to 4,000 boxes of tea, “part of which was disposed of at from 5 to 5½ Sp. Dols. per box of 20 to 23 catties – 100 catties make a pecul.”¹⁰⁹⁹ “During the months of February, March, April, and May, 1835, Tea to the extent of from 30,000 to 34,000 dollars worth was sold at Singapore, and shipped for England, at a cost of Sp. Dols. 28 per pecul, cash. The Tea shipped from Singapore to England, in 1834-35, answered well on the whole, yielding an exchange of 4s. 6d. To 8s. Per Sp. Dol.”¹¹⁰⁰ He also mentioned that an intelligent mercantile gentleman was exhaustively investigating Singapore’s tea trade. This man ascertained that about 5,000 boxes or 1,000 peculs of superior black teas are brought to Singapore annually by the Chinese junks, costing from Sp. Dols. 5 to 6 per box in China. Furthermore, the same gentleman thought the quantity of these qualities might be increased to about 15,000 boxes.¹¹⁰¹

Phipps also mentioned an article from the *Singapore Chronicle*, 11th April 1835, which can also prove the prosperity of Singapore’s tea trade:

[...] As the junks now find such a ready outlet for teas, we expect to see a considerable increase in our annual imports, and of all the various descriptions hitherto procurable at Canton; which may ultimately encourage ships to come here direct from Europe for the purchase of teas, which they may be enabled to do at a cheaper rate than in China,

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid., 283.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See Zhou Kai 周凯, *Xiamen zhi* 厦门志, ed. Xiamenshi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi 厦门市地方志编纂委员会办公室 (Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe, 1996, based on the 1839 edition), 131: ……福建船用绿油漆饰, 红色钩字; 浙江船用白油漆饰, 绿色钩字; 广东船用红油漆饰, 青色钩字; 江南船用青油漆饰, 白色钩字。……故福建船俗谓之绿头船, 广东船俗谓之红头船。

¹⁰⁹⁷ John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade*, 279.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid., 283.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid., 278.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

besides the saving of time in proceeding to that market, and the heavy duties levied at the port of Canton.¹¹⁰²

According to G. F. Davidson and his contemporaries, the number of Chinese sailing ships to and from Singapore peaked by 1839-1841. As he called them, these “unwieldy vessels” visited Singapore in numbers from 150-250 per annum, and their size ranged from 50-500 tons.¹¹⁰³ It was also mentioned that these Chinese junks always came with the monsoon and researched Singapore in January, February, and March. All the large junks must sail on their return voyage by the end of June. If they waited till the middle of July, they might encounter heavy gales in the Chinese sea, like those who “were lost with valuable cargos” in 1841.¹¹⁰⁴ The Chinese junks were manned and navigated entirely by the Chinese. They not only carried items including tea, raw silk, camphor, Nankin, and earthenware but also brought supplies for “the myriads of Chinese that reside on this and the neighbouring islands.”¹¹⁰⁵

At the cost of Zhu Yikuan and Zhu Yiqiao’s lives, the Zhu family might explore a way into the Sino-British tea trade in Singapore. As a successor of his uncle and father, Zhu Zonghuai finally survived all kinds of risks and difficulties. In his adventure, he experienced the dangerous long journey between China and Singapore on those junks, witnessing other boats, probably the steamboat, passing by. Adrift in the oceans or foreign lands, which kept him far away from home and their families, this man of the Zhu family suffered, yet accumulated massive wealth and opened his mind to the outside world.

4.1.2.3 Women of Huangtian Village: For Whom?

In the most often told story, Yangchuan Wu was built for Zhu Yiqiao or Zhu Zonghuai’s mother in the most often told story. Zhu Yiqiao’s mother died in 1815. No Chinese could have seen foreign steamboats before. It is more likely that the building was built for Zhu Zonghuai’s mother. Before delving into the individuality of Zhu Zonghuai’s mother, it is imperative to provide an introduction to the background of the women residing in Huangtian village as a self-contained social entity.

Women in Huangtian village were used to their husbands and children doing business abroad all year round. These women were mostly from nearby villages, especially from the Hu

¹¹⁰² Ibid., 279.

¹¹⁰³ See, G. F. Davidson, *Trade and Travel in the Far East; Or Recollections of Twenty-one Years Passed in Java, Singapore, Australia, and China* (London: Madden and Malcolm, 1846), 53-56.

¹¹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, 55: “Some few of them that waited in 1840 till the middle of July, in the hope of getting opium cheaper than their neighbours who sailed earlier, encountered heavy gales in the Chinese sea; and one or two of them were lost with valuable cargos. This lesson has not been lost upon their successors, who have since taken care to run no such risks.”

¹¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, 54: “Their cargos form a very material item in the trade of the place, and consist of tea, raw silk, camphor, Nankin (both yellow and blue), immense quantities of coarse earthenware, and supplies of all kinds for the myriads of Chinese that reside on this and the neighbouring islands.”

family. The author of the *Jingxian xiangtu ji*, Hu Pu'an, was born in this village. In his article, he mentioned the Hu family as follows:

The Hu family's village is located west of (Mopan) hill. [...] The Hu family people live together within ten miles. There are about ten thousand registered households. People in the Hu family have little money but are well-known for their literary accomplishments.

（磨盘山）山之正西为胡氏村……胡氏聚族而居，纵横不出十里，烟火万家，而财力甚微，世以文学显。¹¹⁰⁶

It seemed a good plan for the daughters of a literary but financially embarrassed family to marry into the Zhu family with economic power in a neighboring village. These women had been indoctrinated with Confucian patriarchy since childhood and had foreseen their fate from their mothers, sisters, playmates, and neighbors. They were well-educated and very loyal to their husbands. They thoroughly understood the necessity and helplessness of men leaving their homes for business and thus were willing to wait for them and educate their offspring in the long loneliness. If they did their duties well, they would receive the honor of *jiefu* 节妇 (the virtuous women, especially refers to the widows who do not remarry after their husbands died) from the Qing government, which was highly applauded by local communities.

The situation was grimmer for women whose husbands and sons traveled to the Southern Sea. Much higher risks went hand in hand with the promise of higher profits. In addition to the dangers of wind, waves, and piracy, the country's trade policies also worked against them.

In 1717, the 56th year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi, the *Nanyang jinhai ling* 南洋禁海令 (the imperial decree that forbids inland merchants to carry out business activities in Southeast Asia and orders overseas Chinese there to return home) was reissued.¹¹⁰⁷ It announced that if anyone sold a ship to a foreigner, whoever made or sold it would be sentenced to death immediately. Also, if a person who had gone abroad remains in a foreign country, the person who went with him and knew the situation would be sentenced to three-month solitary confinement. At the same time, a message was sent to the foreign country that "those who stayed should be sent back to China and sentenced to death" 将留下之人令其解回处斩。¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰⁶ Jingxian difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Jingxian zhi*, 1008.

¹¹⁰⁷ The official prohibition of maritime commercial activities by the Qing Court is widely believed to have been implemented during the 13th year of Emperor Shunzhi's reign (1656). See Aixin-Jueluo Kungang 爱新觉罗·昆冈, ed., *Qinding da Qing huidian shili* 钦定大清会典事例 (1899 revised edition), vol 776, 10b-11a: 顺治十三年谕：海氛未靖，必有奸民暗通线索，资以物粮。若不立法严禁，何由廓清？今后凡有商民船只私自下海，将粮食货物等项与逆贼贸易者，不论官民，俱奏闻处斩。

¹¹⁰⁸ See Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉, *Huangchao wenxian tongkao* 皇朝文献通考, vol 33, 27a. See *SKQS*.

Although Emperor Kangxi relaxed the law as “people who went abroad before 1717 can return to their original places” 康熙五十六年以前出洋之人载回原籍,¹¹⁰⁹ Emperor Yongzheng wrote in his reply to Gao Qizhuo’s 高其倬 (1676-1738) memorial: “I think most of the people who trade overseas are restless. They will have no scruples if they are left to their own will. More and more of them will wander among foreign countries” 朕思此等贸易外洋者，多不安分之人，若听其去来任意，伊等全无顾忌，则飘流外国者，以致愈众¹¹¹⁰ and “[the individuals] who are unable to return within the designated timeframe demonstrate a willingness to remain in foreign territories and should not be subject to pity.” 若逾限不回，是其人甘心流于外方，无可惋惜。¹¹¹¹ Therefore, he legislated against the return of overseas traders who stayed abroad: “Due to the new opening of the ban, the rules must be strict. Lest the mainland people become greedy for profits and drift gradually, the former people who stayed abroad are not allowed to return home” 因今洋禁新开，禁约不可不严，以免内地民人贪利冒飘流之渐，其从前逗遛外洋之人，不准回籍。¹¹¹²

For the Huangtian women in the Qing dynasty, there was only one silver lining in all this hardship: they and their children would be financially supported by their husbands in business. Those men brought back part of their earnings now and then and nurtured their wealth in the village with houses and lands so their families could receive a steady income. Those with reserve wealth also donated money to the local community: they built bridges and roads, set up school funds and opened libraries for family children, cared for the elders, and buried the dead.¹¹¹³

The men who fulfilled their duties were praised for their filial piety, benevolence, and righteousness. Most men would treat their duties seriously because as long as they could go away, their family members still lived in the community. In a small mountain village, commonly, the wellbeing of a man’s parents, wife, and children depended on the man’s reputation. Even those Chinese who resided in Singapore and could not return sent remittances to their families back home. G. F. Davidson wrote about this in his book as follows:

Advantage is taken of the opportunity afforded by the return of these junks, every season, by the Chinese residents, to make remittances to their families in China; and the masters of them are entrusted with their remittances, which usually consist of money, though, occasionally, rice and other useful articles are sent. The shipper pays the master a per-centage on the sum transmitted; and instances of fraud on the part of the latter are extremely rare. A boy about 14 years of age whom I had as a servant in my house at

¹¹⁰⁹ Aixin-Jueluo Kungang, ed., *Qinding da Qing huidian shili*, vol 776, 14b.

¹¹¹⁰ See, Aixinjueluo Yinzhen, *Shizong Xian huangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗宪皇帝朱批谕旨, vol. 176-1, 385b. See *SKQS*.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² Aixin-Jueluo Kungang, ed., *Qinding da Qing huidian shili*, vol 776, 15a.

¹¹¹³ Such charity behaviours are recorded in local gazetteers, see He Shaoji, Yang Yisun and Cheng Hongzhao, comp., *Chongxiu Anhui tongzhi*, vol. 254.

Singapore, used to ask me for a month's wages in advance, to send to his mother in Macao. Hundreds of similar instances might be adduced. This is one of the bright traits in the Chinese character.¹¹¹⁴

Not all these women were lucky enough to have frequent reunions with their husbands and sons. Most of the time, they could only get money and maybe letters. Some could rely on family servants' or relatives' help to buy farmlands and repair houses. Others need to take all the burden by themselves. Principally, their duties comprised caring for the parents-in-law and raising their children – their daughters would be wedded to individuals from neighboring villages; while their sons would either remain under their care for education or be taken away by their spouses for business endeavors, contingent upon their accomplishments in imperial examinations. As for their husbands, some only returned to their homeland in their later years, while others never did so. Perhaps they perished during their journeys or perhaps they remarried and established new families elsewhere.

Hu Qianzhen, she was Zhu Yiqiao's wife, faced such a sad life. The dice of fate were not in her favor.

The record of Hu Qianzhen in Zhu's family tree is concise: “*Née* Hu, Qianzhen, daughter of Di-gong 迪公 of the Xitoudu 溪头都, was born at 5-7 o'clock on the 24th day of the first lunar month in the Year of Yiyou under Qianlong's reign (1765). She became a widow at the age of 29. So far, she has been living in widowhood for 32 years. (She is) in compliance with requirements, waiting for the honor” 嵌贞，溪头都迪公女，生乾隆乙酉正月二十四日卯时。二十九岁寡，现守志三十二年。符例，待旌。¹¹¹⁵ We know from this that she came from the Hu family in Xitoudu (a neighboring area of Huangtian village), which was mentioned earlier. Her father, Hu Yongdi 胡永迪, was recorded in the Hu Family's genealogy.¹¹¹⁶ According to the records, Hu Yongdi represented the 21st generation of the Hu family, recognizable by the character *yong* and was a *guoxue sheng* 国学生 (a title that refers to the officials' offspring among the students of the Tai Xue). He had a son, Hu Shunling 胡顺龄, who left no heirs. Therefore, there is scarce information available on Hu Yongdi, with both his birth and death dates being lost, and no records pertaining to his daughter Hu Qianzhen.

Nevertheless, based on the current information, we can infer that Hu Qianzhen, a daughter of the literature-admiring Hu family and daughter of a father honored as a *guoxue sheng*, must have been indoctrinated with Confucian ethics and etiquette requirements since childhood. At the same time, she was likely to be well-read in poetry and books. Thus, she possessed the qualities of loyalty to her spouse and proficiency in nurturing her offspring. In

¹¹¹⁴ Davidson, *Trade and Travel in the Far East*, 55-56.

¹¹¹⁵ Zhu Jian, *Xinxiu Zhangxiangdu Zhushi zhipu*, vol. 14, 2a.

¹¹¹⁶ See Hu Dahu 胡大護, *Jingchuan Xiyang Hushi jiacheng* 泾川西阳胡氏家乘 (Renben Tang 仁本堂, 1896), vol.5 30a: 永迪公，国学生，……生男顺公，……生卒失考，……顺龄公，生卒失考。止。

addition, because her brother Hu Shunling had no heirs, her natal family was still fragile even though her father was a *guoxue sheng*, which made her entirely dependent on the Zhu family after marrying Zhu Yiqiao.

The marriage between her and Zhu Yiqiao had taken place prior to 1786, as evidenced by the birth of their only son Zhu Zonghuai when she was 22 years old. Seven years later, at 29 years old, she became a young widow. Besides her seven-year-old son, who urgently needed to be educated, she also needed to honor her parents-in-law, who were in their 50s, and maintain relationships with two sisters-in-law. Being the youngest daughter-in-law in this family without a strong natal family to rely on, it is conceivable that her life should not have been easy.

Perhaps it was because of the education she had received since childhood. Out of love for his son and a sense of responsibility to the feudal family, Hu Qianzhen did not remarry but conscientiously fulfilled the responsibility of a daughter-in-law. When the family genealogy was reconstructed, she was 61 years old. By this time, she had successfully raised her son and cared for her parents-in-law until their death. She married her son with a woman belonging to the Hu family in Xiyang 西阳 (the same line as the Hu family in Xitou, but branched out earlier) and had three grandsons and two granddaughters. Among them, the eldest grandson had also married a wife and had a daughter, and one of the granddaughters, Zhu Dongzhu 朱冬珠, married back to a Hu family in Xitoudu.

Out of recognition of Hu Qianzhen's virtue, it was written in the genealogy that she met the Qing dynasty's commendation requirements for women's morality, that she would be reported in the next round of awards granted by the imperial court, and will be awarded the title of *jiefu*. Under the entry of “*lienv, jiefu, xiancun daijing*” 烈女, 节妇, 现存待旌 in Volume 8 of *Jingxian xuzhi* 泾县续志 (the Extended Record of Jing County), which was also compiled in the fifth year of Daoguang's reign (1825), there is a passage of text: “*Née Hu, Zhu Yishi's wife, widowed at 29 years old. The family was poor, supported by her work of spinning. [She] has been respectful to her uncle and aunts and friendly to her sisters-in-law. [She] raised her son to grow. She is now 61 years old*” 胡氏, 朱一士妻, 年二十九寡, 家贫, 纺绩度日, 孝舅姑, 和妯娌, 抚孤成立, 现年六十一.¹¹¹⁷ Except from the husband's name, Zhu Yishi 朱一士, everything else matches Hu Qianzhen's information.

This missing link has been discovered. There exists a document provided by Zhu Chongqing 朱重庆, a descendant of Zhu Yiqiao. In this document, he mentioned his “30th generation ancestor (Zhu Yi)Qiao” and noted by “also named ‘[Zhu Yi]shi, zi Junchen” 一诤士, 字俊臣,¹¹¹⁸ when he participated in the Jiangnan Township Examination. This information shows that Zhu Yiqiao was also known as Zhu Yishi, providing that the former record accurately corresponds to Hu Qianzhen's statement.

This record provides more information about Hu Qianzhen: Her family was relatively

¹¹¹⁷ Ruan Wenzao 阮文藻, ed., *Daoguang Jingxian xuzhi* 道光泾县续志 (1825), vol. 8, 24b, in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Anhui fuxianzhi ji*, vol. 46, 878.

¹¹¹⁸ Gu Tinglong 顾廷龙, ed., *Qingdai zhujuan jicheng* 清代殊卷集成 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1992), vol. 205, 260.

poor when she was newly widowed. She earned money through spinning and weaving. She diligently devoted herself to raising Zhu Zonghuai, demonstrated filial piety towards her husband's eldest brother Zhu Yiding and her two married sisters, and maintained harmonious relationships with her sisters-in-law.

For Hu Qianzhen, this kind of life lasted at least 32 years. According to the story, it was she for whom Yangchuan Wu was built out of gratitude.

4.1.2.4 The Discourses of the Construction Intentions: Why Was It Built?

Unlike other buildings in Huangtian village with more detailed literature and graphic records in the genealogy, there are very few related documents about the Yangchuan Wu and its construction. This is astonishing and happened rarely, given Zhu Zonghuai's vast financial resources and the prosperity of his descendants. Perhaps a reason can be seen in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom army's raging in Huangtian village in the Xianfeng and Tongzhi reigns and having burned many documents. Alternatively, the family center might have been moved away from Huangtian village due to the fact that many of Zhu Zonghuai's descendants have settled overseas.

In short, there is no way of knowing the cost of the Yangchuan Wu construction or its usage when it was built first. It is even challenging to confirm the specific date of the construction, only known to be in the Daoguang reign. Some scholars say it is the end of the Daoguang reign, but they did not give any evidence. According to Zhu Yongpang, it was built about 50 years earlier than the house of his ancestor, Zhu Zongpan, who was Zhu Zonghuai's cousin. The only construction activity documented is that in the 11th year of the Tongzhi reign (1872), Emperor Tongzhi awarded Zhu Zongpan for his charitable and social welfare projects and even granted him money to build a memorial gate in his hometown. However, that still does not tell when the house of Zhu Zongpan was built. Therefore, this is still insufficient to determine the construction time of the Yangchuan Wu.

In addition to the remaining architectural entities, information about the Yangchuan Wu can only be obtained from the stories passed down by the villagers. These stories, without exception, emphasize the reason for the construction: each story mentions that a son – we have verified in the previous section (4.1.2.2) that this is Zhu Yiqiao's son Zhu Zonghuai – built the building imitating the foreign steamboat in order to satisfy a wish of his mother, who was also confirmed in the previous section (4.1.2.3) as Hu Qianzhen.

These stories are often formed by piecing together some plausible but not necessarily accurate details. As in all folklore, such details often promote universally recognized values. The structure of the story also revolves around this expression of values. Therefore, the value often as well functioned as the inner logic of the story, being filial piety in this case.

It may seem too simple and rough to describe the reason for the construction of the Yangchuan Wu as satisfying the mother's wish. However, as long as we imagine Zhu Zonghuai's childhood and youth, we will immediately understand why he was willing to satisfy his mother regardless of the cost: having lost his father when he was young, Zhu Zonghuai personally witnessed throughout his life the unwavering dedication of his mother in providing for their family, nurturing him with utmost care, and anxiously awaiting his return from overseas business ventures, fearing he might meet the same fate as his father.

The motivation behind Zhu Zonghuai's behavior extends beyond the oftentimes superficial notion of filial piety, as it stems from his genuine desire to reciprocate and express gratitude towards his mother for her decades-long love and selflessness.

From this standpoint, we can even try to locate the construction date of Yangchuan Wu more accurately. First, we know this building has no record in the family genealogy of the fifth year of Daoguang. Therefore, its construction date should be later than 1825. Secondly, Hu Qianzhen was 61 when the family genealogy was revised. Considering that people attached great importance to their parents' ten-year birthdays, it is plausible that Zhu Zonghuai constructed this building as a commemorative gift for his mother's 70th or 80th birthday. As such, it is highly probable that the building was finalized in either 1834 or 1844. The latter date may be more favored due to its alignment with the folklore surrounding "the last years of the Daoguang reign."

However, if we turn the focus from Zhu Zonghuai to his mother, Hu Qianzhen, the question would be: why did she propose such a wish? There have been passed on two different versions of folklore that have survived to this day.

In most of the story narrations, Hu Qianzhen's initial wish was to see the foreign steamboat. This longing stemmed from the mere curiosity of an elderly woman who had never ventured beyond her mountain village. Due to her advanced age and restricted mobility resulting from bound feet, she was unable to go far from home in order to catch sight of a foreign steamboat. Naturally, ocean vessels were also incapable of reaching the mountain village. In essence, direct contact with a foreign steamboat remained unattainable for her. Consequently, instead of simply presenting his mother with a photograph depicting a foreign steamboat, Zhu Zonghuai opted to construct a structure resembling such vessel so as to provide his mother with a more tangible experience.

However, the folklore documented in Wang Yiting's report provides a distinct and heightened emotional perspective to Hu's wish:

It is recorded that the Yangchuan Wu was built in the last years of the Daoguang reign in the Qing dynasty. The owner's name was Zhu Yiqiao. It was said that Zhu Yiqiao had an only son named Zhu Zonghuai. During the First Opium War, Zhu Yiqiao took his son to do business abroad, focused on tea and stationery, and often dealt with foreigners. Suddenly one day, Zhu Zonghuai received a letter from his mother, *née* Shun. In the letter, she told a bad dream that the sea tide attacked the whole family. At the critical moment facing the disaster, from the east suddenly appeared a big *yangchuan* (洋船, it can refer to both "foreign boat" and "ocean boat"),¹¹¹⁹ and the whole family was thus saved by it. The lady awoke in joy and surprise. However, with her wake up on the bed, there was only the green lamp and her solitary shadow. Thinking of her husband and son both wandering abroad and doing business, she felt melancholy about old age.

¹¹¹⁹ The distinction between these two must be acknowledged, and will be further elaborated upon later.

After reading this letter, Zhu Zonghuai's homesickness soared. Before long, he and his father, Zhu Yiqiao, decided to build the Yangchuan Wu that looked like a *yangchuan* in their hometown so that his old mother could always stay on this *yangchuan* and feel their companionship.

据记载，“洋船屋”建于清道光末年，主人叫朱一乔。传说朱一乔有个独生子叫朱宗怀。鸦片战争时，朱一乔带着儿子在外做生意，主要经营茶叶和文房四宝等，常与洋人打交道。忽有一日，朱宗怀收到母亲顺氏的一封家书，言梦见一家人遭海潮冲击。正当面临灭顶之灾时，东方忽现一艘大洋船，全家人登船得救，夫人因此惊喜而醒。可醒卧床上，青灯孤影，念及丈夫和儿子均在外漂泊经商，徒生晚年暮景的凄凉。

读罢此信，朱宗怀思亲之情倍增。不久，便与父亲朱一乔商定在家乡建造一艘“洋船屋”，让老母常年置身这艘与他们父子相伴的“洋船”之中。¹¹²⁰

Aside from the various errors of the protagonists in this version of the story, we can see that it proposes an explanation that is closer to the group psychology of the women in Huangtian village: Given their situation mentioned above, it is understandable why a mother (or a wife) would want to feel closer to her son (or her husband) in whatever way. If the only thing their sons (or husbands) could rely on at sea was their boats, then using the boat as a symbol of attachment and companionship might bring great comfort to them.

The Yangchuan Wu, as a folk story, is dissected into three distinct parts in this section: who built it, for whom was it built, and why was it built. It should be noted that these narratives are derived from oral accounts of villagers and cannot be strictly verified. However, they often provide valuable insights into the broader historical context. Through these stories, we can gain a deeper understanding of how people embraced a unique architectural style and how external influences shaped their experiences during this process. These aspects will be further explored in subsequent sections.

As mentioned, the second version of the story introduces the term *yangchuan* as a foreign or sea vessel, which differs from the first version that specifically emphasizes it as a foreign boat in folklore. This disparity reflects two aspects in the reception and dissemination of architectural discourse surrounding Yangchuan Wu: one within its traditional context and another influenced by the Western presence during a specific era.

Therefore, chapters 4.2 and 4.3 will analyze these two contexts respectively.

4.2 Formation, Reception, and Propagation of Folk Boat-architecture Discourse in the Traditional Context

From the previous section, it can be observed that Yangchuan Wu, as a vernacular

¹¹²⁰ Wang Yiting 王一婷, “Xingzhuang qiyi de Huizhou minju: Yangchuan Wu” 形状奇异的徽州民居——洋船屋, *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中国文物报, March 30, 2007. 004: 1.

architecture, exhibits certain resemblances to a boat. However, solely relying on existing historical information is insufficient to substantiate its design intention as an imitation of a boat, let alone a “steamboat.” Meanwhile, the folklore surrounding Yangchuan Wu is replete with symbolic representations or at least imagery associated with the steamboat.

As Michel de Certeau has pointed out, “whereas historiography recounts in the past tense the strategies of instituted powers, these ‘fabulous’ stories offer their audience a repertory of tactics for future use.”¹¹²¹ The local legend of boat-architecture narratives often utilizes visual resemblances and temporal coincidences to effectively convey a specific present purpose. The inquiry into whether the architectural structure bears resemblance to a boat does not hold primary significance in this discourse; rather, it functions as both the premise and result of this conversation, allowing for its iterative retelling.

From a certain perspective, this phenomenon can be seen as analogous to the construction of the garden architectures by literati or Emperor Qianlong that bear the appellation “Fang,” yet exhibit visual dissimilarity to boats. The sole distinction lies in the timing of occurrence: one arises during design or construction, whereas the other emerges when recounted by a local or an outsider. In other words, for non-cultural elite groups, the symbol of the “boat” is not actively projected onto the building during its construction like it is for cultural elites; instead, it is incorporated through subsequent discourse formation, acceptance, and dissemination.

Therefore, the purpose of this section is not to authenticate the historical events described in the texts or establish a linear correlation between them. Instead, it aims to elucidate the significance of these texts as a discourse system for comprehending boat-architecture as a cultural phenomenon.

4.2.1 The Reception of the Discourse on Yangchuan Wu in Rural Huizhou

Building upon the content presented in the previous section, the discussion on the formation, acceptance, and dissemination of folk boat-architecture discourse in the traditional context will commence with the focus on Yangchuan Wu.

4.2.1.1 Filial Piety

The narration of Yangchuan Wu’s story introduced above shows that “filial piety,” the most basic moral ethics in Chinese traditional culture, has become the explicit and direct factor driving the story’s plot development. That is, to meet the mother’s wish, no matter if the wish is out of curiosity or concern.

Chinese traditional ancient villages, especially the Huangtian village of the Zhu family, were mainly clan villages. These villages were based on patriarchal clans and constituted the traditional Chinese social order’s basic units. Therefore, filial piety was also promoted in these villages to control and maintain social order according to Confucian religious spirit. The

¹¹²¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 23.

prevalence of filial piety in the Huizhou-Ningguofu areas was further emphasized by the robust clan connections.

Despite its limitations, filial piety was essential in maintaining clan unity in feudal societies. The Zhu people of Huangtian village in Ningguofu exhibit heightened reverence for filial piety, attributed to their ancestral connections with Zhu Xi, the most influential Neo-Confucian educator in the Southern Song dynasty.

Zhu Wei, the first to move to Jing county, must be mentioned again here. He represents the sixth generation of Zhu Gui, the most ancient ancestor recorded of the Zhu family in Huangtian village. He had a brother Zhu Xuan 朱绚 who moved to Fujian province. One of the third generations of Zhu Xuan was Zhu Xi, the most famous neo-Confucianist in the Southern Song dynasty. Although the Zhu people in Huangtian village were not descendants of Zhu Xi, they shared the same root. Therefore, they were still proud of this blood connection and attached great importance to Confucian culture and education as a family heritage. As a result, this tiny and remote village brought up many literati who passed the imperial examinations. Some of these people became officials, and those who did not sometimes return home to teach children.

Given the scarcity of land and high population density, some children might still drop out of school and go into business to support their families, even with the clan's support. Some individuals with limited talent or unfortunate circumstances turned to entrepreneurship after failing the imperial examinations, yet the pervasive influence of Confucian culture across generations continued to shape their values. Even in cases where one may not personally hold such values, adherence to clan network rules and constraints necessitates concern for reputation. That is why these successful businessmen, upon amassing wealth, willingly returned to their hometowns, investing in properties and constructing ancestral halls and residences. On one hand, the accumulated riches were reinvested into the Zhu family and the local community, fostering greater prosperity. On the other hand, a man's contributions to his family and village garnered increased respect and reputation within the surrounding society.

Filial piety has always been a crucial aspect, if not the most essential one, of their values in Huangtian village. As a result, those influenced by Confucian classics aspire to be recognized as filial sons and daughters. Given that men often leave for business and are absent from the family, filial piety is frequently directed towards the eldest woman in the household. Like Hu Qianzhen, these women shoulder significant family responsibilities and endure great hardships; however, their efforts do not go unrewarded. They would earn high respect if they adhere to moral standards and succeed in raising their children.

Zhu Zonghuai was a devoted son without reproach in the folklore of the Yang Chuan Wu. Although the existing genealogies and local gazetteers did not record Zhu Zonghuai's deeds of filial piety, we might use the records of his cousin Zhu Zongpan as a reference. Based on the *Chongxiu Anhui tongzhi*, Zhu Zongpan "served his mother until she died in her 90s. Despite this, he remained deeply sorrowful and distressed following her demise" 事母至九十

余岁，殒而犹毁。¹¹²²

At that time, reaching the age of 90 was a rare feat. Therefore, this record serves as evidence that Zhu Zongpan's mother received proper care and maintained good health (and perhaps happiness) to have lived for so long. Additionally, Zhu Zongpan's reluctance to let her go demonstrates his strong attachment to her. Zhu Zonghuai must have devoted even greater efforts to caring for his mother, as he was solely dependent on her from a young age, unlike Zhu Zongpan who had both parents.

Through the construction of the Yangchuan Wu, dedicated by Zhu Zonghuai to honor his mother, an architectural discourse was employed as a means to express his profound filial piety. Despite the loss of records regarding Zhu Zonghuai's life in existing family genealogies and local gazetteers over time, the local villagers embraced and disseminated this architectural discourse due to their deep-rooted reverence for filial piety – ultimately transforming this boat-architecture into a banner on filial piety of the whole Huangtian village today.

Interestingly, this architectural discourse had already appeared in Huizhou region in the early Qing dynasty. The Tangmo 唐模 village in Huangshan 黄山 city also has a local folklore very similar to Yangchuan Wu's story, which is about the Tangan Garden 檀干园 in this village. It is said to be designed to imitate the famous West Lake in Hangzhou city, and the lake in it is also known as Xiaozi Lake 孝子湖 (the lake of a dutiful son).¹¹²³

The local folklore offers another strikingly similar story of a merchant in the village named Xu Yicheng 许以诚, who thrived during the Kangxi reign by conducting business in Suzhou and Hangzhou city, and his career flourished. He had 36 pawn shops and became very rich. Having lost his father at a young age, Xu ventured into commerce alongside relatives from his clan while his mother remained in Tangmo village. In the summer of one year, the affluent businessman returned to his hometown from Hangzhou for a family visit. During their conversation, he discussed his business ventures in Hangzhou with his mother who then inquired about the city's appearance. Xu Yicheng responded with a well-known adage: “Up above there is the heaven; down below there are Suzhou and Hangzhou” 上有天堂，下有苏杭. He also depicted the exquisite beauty of the West Lake. Consequently, Xu Yicheng's elderly mother frequently reminisced about the splendor of Hangzhou and lamented her inability to witness the magnificence of West Lake during her lifetime. As a result, Xu Yicheng erected a garden in their village that emulated West Lake for his mother's leisure and amusement.

The garden was designed following the Hangzhou West Lake panorama and used as a public garden for the whole village. The contrasting pictures show that the two are not precisely

¹¹²² He Shaoji, Yang Yisun and Cheng Hongzhao, comp., *Chongxiu Anhui tongzhi*, vol. 254, 19a.

¹¹²³ Wang Dabai 汪大白 has done a detailed research on this folklore. According to him, this folklore is unlikely to provide an accurate historical account. See Wang Dabai, “A Survey of Tan'gan Garden of Huizhou Water Outlet Garden in Tangmo Village: Written for culture ecological protection project,” *Journal of Huangshan University*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2011): 1-3.

the same, but they are similar in the topological relationship, and the traces of imitation can be seen in the landscape settings and building configurations (Fig. 4.2.1-1).

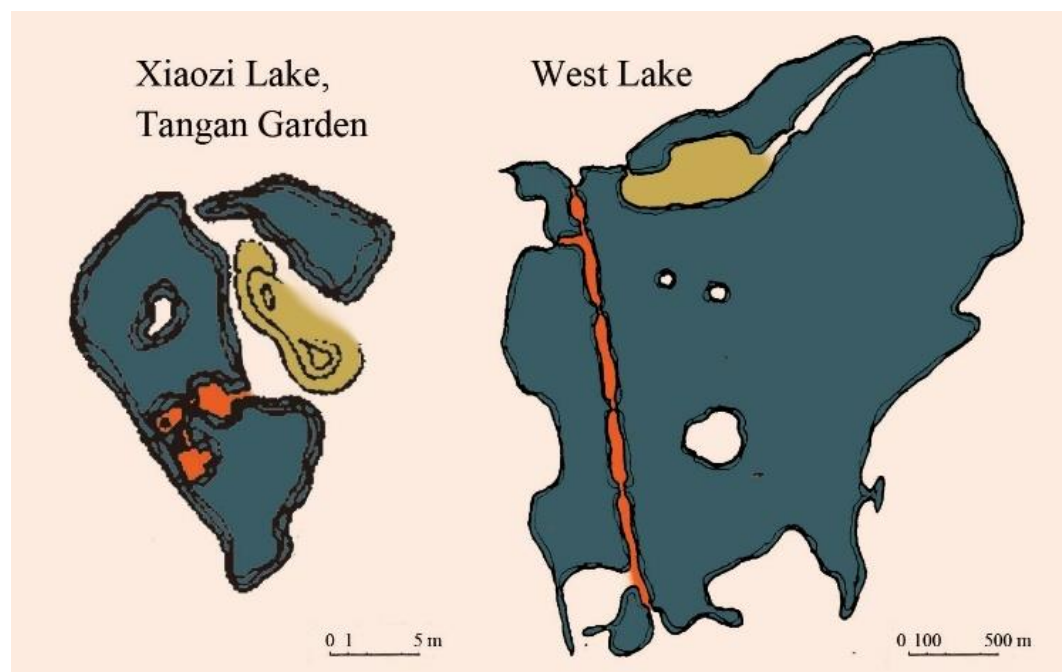


Fig 4.2.1-1 Comparison of the Tangan Garden and Hangzhou West Lake.

The abundance of Huizhou folk stories is overwhelming, yet no researcher has conducted adequate oral history investigations to yield a representative and evaluative outcome. Existing research lacks proper analysis concerning origin and transmission.¹¹²⁴ We do not know when and where this narrative originated, but it gradually became popular in the Qing dynasty.

The correlation between the narratives of Xu Yicheng and Zhu Zonghuai suggests that the latter was influenced by the former. First, Tangmo village and Huangtian village are only about a day's walk away, making it possible for the story to spread among the villagers. Second, it is clear that the two men had very similar life stories: losing their father at a young age, going into business, and being devoted to their mothers. It makes the latter psychologically identify with the former. Third, because Xu's story was much earlier, it was more widely spread and probably even propagated by Hui-Ning 徽宁 (Huizhou and Ningguofu) merchants as a moral model, which made it readily accepted by Zhu Zonghuai.

In short, Xu's story (or perhaps preceding ones) generated a discourse on the architectural manifestation of filial piety that received high praise from locals. Zhu Zonghuai was probably inspired by this architecture-related discourse and actualized it in the construction of Yangchuan Wu. Then this kind of discourse related so strongly to and influenced by a specific architecture became reproduced ongoing through the local folk tales.

4.2.1.2 Auspiciousness

The auspicious meaning of boat/water in Chinese traditional culture supports and strengthens the mental connection between residential buildings and boats, forming another foundation for the reception and dissemination of this architectural discourse.

¹¹²⁴ See Xu Jiewen 许杰文, *Genzhi Huizhou 根植徽州* (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2017), 173-192; Luo Feiyan 罗飞雁, "'Dutiful Son and Virtuous Daughter-in-law' and 'Unfilial Daughter' in Huizhou Folk Stories: On Huizhou Folk Family Ethics," *Journal of Huangshan University*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2013): 9-12.

The following analysis will delve into two aspects of the Chinese perception regarding the auspiciousness associated with water or boat. Firstly, in accordance with the Chinese folk belief system, water is commonly viewed as a symbol of “wealth” due to its essential role in production and life. In the theory of architectural-related *fengshui*, it is a pervasive concept to introduce water flow around the house as a symbol of wealth. For example, Jiang Dahong 蒋大鸿 (1620-1714) wrote in *Shuilong jing* 水龙经 (The Scripture of the Water Dragon) at the end of the Ming dynasty: “The circulation of the water makes the air veins condense [...] [If] there is a river encircling in the back, [this is] a house of prosperity; [if] there is a pond located in the front, [this is] a home of wealth. [If the water flows] on the left and right [of the residence], [this family will be] piled up with gold and jade” 水环流则气脉凝聚……后有河兜，荣华之宅；前逢池沼，富贵之家。左右环抱，有情堆金积玉。¹¹²⁵ Qing dynasty Wu Zi 吴鼐 (1755-1821) wrote in the *Yangzhai cuoyao* 阳宅撮要 (The Summary of Residential Buildings) about architectural *fengshui*: “Water is the mother of *qi* (air), and if [the building’s entrance] is facing [the water], [the *qi*] will gather and not disperse. Water also represents wealth, [if its path is] torturous, [the wealth] will be kept and not gone away” 水为气之母，逆则聚而不散。水又属财，曲则留而不去也。¹¹²⁶

Judging from the examples of vernacular architecture, especially in the villages in southern China, people pay great attention to the water flow in the village. In particular, symbolic “locks” are often set at the water inlet and outlet to retain auspiciousness and wealth. For example, Xu 许 village in Huizhou built the Gaoyang Bridge 高阳桥 at the water inlet and built archways, pavilions, and gardens, among other buildings besides the bridge to meet the requirements of *fengshui*. Jiangxi province’s “Fangxi Xiongshi Qingyun Ta zhi” 芳溪熊氏青云塔志 (The Record of the Qingyun Pagoda in Fangxi’s Xiong Family) records:

There should be a towering peak between the water inlets so that the wealth can accumulate, and the culture can flourish. [...] Since Yimao year in Yongzheng reign (1735), according to the theory of *xingjia* 形家 (geomancers), the Wen Pavillion was built as a [*fengshui*] tower in the place where the Hongyuan River and Changcheng River meet. [People also] built the Wannian Bridge and the Wanshu bridge to lock the water flow, so the financial and cultural aspects have both been prosperous, and a lot of [family members] passed the imperial examinations.

水口之间宜有高峰耸峙，所以贮财源而兴文运者也，……自雍正乙卯岁依形家之理于洪源、长滕二水交汇之际特起文阁以镇之。又得万年桥笼其秀，万述桥

¹¹²⁵ Jiang Dahong 蒋大鸿, *Siku cunmu Qingnang huikan 4: Michuan shuilong jing* 四库存目青囊汇刊 4: 秘传水龙经, collated by Zheng Tong 郑同 (Beijing: Hualing chubanshe, 2017), 340.

¹¹²⁶ Wu Zi, *Yangzhai cuoyao*, cited in Li Zongxin 李宗新, Jin Huaichun 靳怀椿 and Wei Tianjiao 尉天骄, eds., *Zhonghua shuiwenhua gailun* 中华水文化概论 (Zhengzhou: Huanghe shuili chubanshe, 2008), 221.

砥其流，于是财源之茂，人文之举，连绵科甲。¹¹²⁷

For dwelling buildings, it is essential to have the water flowing toward their entrance because it means that wealth and blessings will be brought into the family. On the contrary, if the water flow is opposite the entrance direction of the building, their wealth will be continuously taken away and cannot be accumulated. The practice of *sishui guitang* 四水归堂 (the practice of roofs sloping inward in each patio, which is mentioned in the “Layout and courtyard system” in 4.1.1) of the Huizhou folk house implied that all the rainwater directed into the courtyard will bless the inhabitants to obtain wealth and auspiciousness.

For the Yangchuan Wu facing north, the water flow direction is opposite to that of the main entrance. However, it would be a different case if regarding the building complex as a boat – its prow would be facing the current as if going up towards the waves. Taking into consideration the significance of *fengshui* in Chinese traditional architecture, an intriguing idea arises regarding its influential role. It is plausible that Zhu Zonghuai’s decision to emulate a boat was motivated by his desire to replace the orientation of the main entrance with the orientation of the “prow” to welcome the blessings and wealth brought by the current.

The following will turn to the second aspect. Building a house that mimics the shape of a boat may have a specific meaning of “protection.” This practice expresses people’s wishes for the safety and peace of their loved ones, especially those drifting at sea for business.

In the second version of Yangchuan Wu’s story, recorded by Wang Yiting, we can see how this meaning is broken down into two parts and woven into this narrative. In the first part, Hu Qianzhen dreamt that the whole family was saved by the *yangchuan*, which imbued this symbol with some protective meaning. In the second part, Zhu Zonghuai built a Yangchuan Wu for Hu Qianzhen to live in; that is to say, a building obtains a particular conceptual protective meaning through the use of the *yangchuan* symbol in its architectural design.

Even if not explicitly proposed, it is understandable from the research in the previous chapters that boat-architectures on the land bear this blessing effect still more significantly than an actual boat – because waves can never capsize them. The pursuit of this auspicious meaning is not exclusive to ordinary people: In the first chapter, the literati officials try to use the *fang* building as their study, hoping that they will not be troubled by the ups and downs in the officialdom; in the second chapter, the boat-shaped barbican entrance gates in Nanjing – Tongji Gate and Sanshan Gate – also might have the meaning of being impervious to the flood of enemy armies; in the third chapter, Emperor Qianlong likewise put forward a wish of Qing’s reign never being capsized in Shi Fang’s design intention.

In expressing the hope for safety and stability with a boat-shaped building that never sinks, we can see an echo resonating between the merchant and his old mother in a distant mountain village and the emperor along with the royal families. This conceptual response, disregarding social class gaps, substantiates the deeply ingrained auspicious significance of

¹¹²⁷ “Fangxi Xiongshi Qingyun Ta zhi,” cited in Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan jianzhu yishu yanjiusuo 中国艺术研究院建筑艺术研究所, ed., *Zhongguo jianzhuyishu nianjian 2005* 中国建筑艺术年鉴 2005 (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 2006), 384.

boat-architecture within Chinese culture.

Although the above seems to provide some evidence for the design intention of the Yangchuan Wu in terms of filial piety and auspiciousness, it should be noted that this is by no means an attempt to prove that the original design intention of the building must be an imitation of a boat (or steamboat). Without detailed documentation, the original design intention is, on all accounts, unprovable.

Therefore, this chapter's research focuses mainly on the conceptual or psychological process of the formation, reception, and dissemination of boat-architecture discourse. It also explains why the presentation of the Yangchuan Wu case in the previous section must adopt the two perspectives of "vernacular architecture" and "folklore." Based on all the information so far, it is more pertinent to put it the following way. In order to promote the ancestors' (Zhu Zonghuai's) actions of filial piety and to obtain auspicious meanings such as "wealth" and "safety," the descendants of the Zhu family associated this building with a foreign steamboat according to the similarity of architectural shapes (see 4.1.1) and the experience of the ancestors' maritime business (see 4.1.2). That means the boat-architecture discourse in Huangtian village was produced (and reproduced) more through local folk customs rather than the architectural features themselves.¹¹²⁸

To further illustrate this point, the following will take several other similar folklores as examples, that is, the stories of the "boat-shaped settlements." These narratives demonstrate how traditional Chinese culture strengthens the connection between architectural environments and boat symbolism through folk tales, resulting in discourses that benefit local life and culture.

4.2.2 The folk Stories of the Boat-Shaped Settlements

In his "Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu" 船文化与中国传统建筑 (Boat Culture and Traditional Chinese Architectures), Wu Qingzhou introduced the phenomenon of boat-shaped settlements briefly. In this article, he mentioned three "boat-shaped cities" (Sichuan Huili 会理 city, Sichuan Zizhong 资中 county, Jiangxi Linjiang 临江 city) and five boat-shaped villages and towns (Luocheng 罗城 town in Sichuan Qianwei 犍为 county, Sanzhou 三洲 town in Fujian Changting 长汀 county, Jianqiaowei 建桥围 in Guangdong Fengshun 丰顺 county, Xidi 西递 village in Anhui She 歙 county, and Longchuan 龙川 village in Anhui Jixi 绩溪 county).¹¹²⁹ The local legends associate these cases with the concept of a "boat" in various aspects, including the overall layout, nomenclature (village, building, or street), and local proverbs.

¹¹²⁸ The reason for the emphasis on the steamship-like design of the building may be attributed to Zhu Zonghuai's possible Southeast Asian experience. It also serves as a reference to the symbolism of western boat's image, which will be discussed in the following section. However, this section focuses primarily on traditional context and will therefore skip this aspect for now.

¹¹²⁹ See Wu Qingzhou, "Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu," 129-138.

In addition to the cases mentioned by Wu Qingzhou, similar examples include Anqing 安庆 city in Anhui, Dafu 大阜 village in Anhui Xiuning 休宁 county, Juexi 爵溪 town in Zhejiang Ningbo city, Nanshe 南社 village in Guangdong Dongguan 东莞 city, Shuyang 沭阳 city in Jiangsu, and Zhengzhou 郑州 city in Henan. All these cases have two main things in common: one is that their geographic location is related to water,¹¹³⁰ and the other is that their outlines are more or less similar to the boat's shape.

Regarding how deeply these cases have been shaped into the boat-architecture discourse, they can be divided into several levels (Table 4.2.2-1).

Table 4.2.2-1

Primary degree: location near the water and relatively regular exterior		Linjiang city in Jiangxi; Sanzhou town in Fujian Changting; Nanshe village in Guangdong Dongguan; Jianqiaowei in Guangdong Fengshun
Second degree:	local sayings and ballads	Sichuan Zizhong county; Luocheng town in Sichuan Qianwei county; Xidi village in Anhui She county
	+ A: the local architectures' names	Juexi town in Zhejiang Ningbo city
	+ B: homophony of common local surnames that related to "boat"	Longchuan village in Anhui Jixi county
	+ A&B	Dafu village in Anhui Xiuning county
Highest degree: a complete folklore related to the "boat" symbol		Sichuan Huili city; Anqing city in Anhui; Shuyang city in Jiangsu; Zhengzhou city in Henan

The cases of the primary degree are called "boat-shaped" only because of their location near the water and relatively regular exterior, such as Linjiang city in Jiangxi, Sanzhou town in Fujian Changting, Nanshe village in Guangdong Dongguan, and Jianqiaowei in Guangdong Fengshun.

The second-degree cases are implanted with local sayings related to the "boat" based on primary-degree level. For example, in Xidi village in Anhui province, there is a local couplet saying: "Tishan hanghai, yujue jiayou" 梯山航海, 裕厥嘉猷 (The best suggestion toward prosperity from the ancestors is to climb the mountains and sail the seas). Thus, the local people view the village's "boat" shape as a blessing to survive the "seas" of learning, officialdom, and business. Similarly, the saying "God bestows Zizhong people with a boat city" 天赐资中一船城 in Sichuan Zizhong city emphasizes the auspicious omen of this city's "boat" shape.¹¹³¹ Luocheng town in Sichuan goes a step further. In addition to the local saying "a boat on the top of the mountain" 山顶一只船, there is also a rhyme: "Luocheng is a dry wharf, so the prosperity is not long-lasting. If [local people] wish [they can have enough] water to form a river, Luocheng should be built into a boat shape. [Because] the boat travels in the water; if there is a boat, there must be water." 罗城旱码头, 衣冠不长久。要得水成河, 罗城修成

¹¹³⁰ This is why majority of cases are concentrated in the southern region, while the occurrence of Zhengzhou in the north can be attributed to its proximity to the Yellow River.

¹¹³¹ See Ying Jinhua 应金华 and Fan Binggeng 樊丙庚, eds., *Sichuan lishi wenhua mingcheng* 四川历史文化名城 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2000), 512-529.

舟。舟在水中行，有舟必有水。¹¹³² This song implies that the “boat-shaped” layout can benefit the *fengshui* of the place, and even help solve the problem of local water scarcity. Zhejiang Juexi town uses the naming of internal architectural elements to shape the discourse of a “boat-shaped town.” People named the theater pavilion in the center of the street *wei ting* 桅亭 (the Mast Pavilion,) thus strengthening the image of the whole town as a boat.¹¹³³

Similar to Juexi town is Dafu village in Anhui. The double-arch stone bridge at the village entrance is named Longyan 龙眼 Bridge, which compares the bridge’s archways to the dragon’s eyes. It echoes the village’s layout, named *longzhou* 龙舟 (dragon boat) by the locals. However, going a step further than Juexi town, the villagers of Dafu also weaved a saying related to boats by borrowing the homophony of common local surnames. The rumor is that considering the boat-shaped village, the Pan 潘 family invited people with the surname Yao 姚 (a homonym for *yao* 摇 “paddle”) and Jiang (a homonym for *jiang* 桨 “oar”) to settle down, which means this boat village paddles oars to ride the wind and waves. Likewise, although Longchuan village in Anhui did not use architectural elements to strengthen its connection with the boat symbol, there are also similar sayings about the local surname homonyms. Interestingly, its implication is utterly the opposite of that of Dafu village. It is said that the local Hu 胡 family found a person surnamed Ding 丁 to live at the entrance of the village in order to prevent wealth and good fortune from drifting away with the “boat.” In this case, “Ding” is homophonic to *ding* 定 (anchor), which means to fix the “boat” to prevent the fortune from flowing out.¹¹³⁴

In the highest-degree cases, a complete folklore related to the “boat” symbol circulates in the local area. The protagonists in the folklore are often local officials or gods, and the critical places in the stories are also clearly related to important local public buildings. According to the legend of Huili City in Sichuan, this city’s ancestors originally came from a boat that drifted here and ran aground. The people on board settled here, multiplied, and gradually developed into a city. In order to prevent the city from drifting away again, the local land god tied this “boat city” to the White Pagoda 白塔.¹¹³⁵

Another example is the city wall of Shuyang county. According to the legend, when the county magistrate Du Congxin 杜从心 took over the city wall construction plan initiated by the previous county magistrate, which was once forced to stop on the way due to the breach of

¹¹³² See Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Qianweixian weiyuanhui xuexi wenshi weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议犍为县委员会学习文史委员会, ed., *Qianweixian wenshi ziliao* 犍为县文史资料, vol. 4 (Leshan: Zhengxie Qianweixian wenshiwei, 2001), 118.

¹¹³³ See Yu Weixin 余维新, ed., *Xiangshanxian yueye zhi* 象山县渔业志 (Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe, 2008), 546.

¹¹³⁴ See Shao Baozhen 邵宝振, *Pindu Huizhou* 品读徽州 (Wuhu: Anhui shifan daxue chubanshe, 2019), 30.

¹¹³⁵ See *Liangshanzhou jicheng bianweihui* 凉山州集成编委会, ed., *Liangshan minjian wenzue jicheng* 凉山民间文学集成, vol. 2 (Chengdu: Xinan jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 1993), 282.

the river embankment, he found that the shape of the city wall was like a big boat. So he took advantage of an opportunity and built the city wall in the shape of a boat, trying to suppress the water god and save the city from flooding. In addition, there are local rumors that because Shuyang county is shaped like a boat's profile, no gates were built on the northern wall, which represents the bottom of the boat (Fig. 4.2.2-1). The poem "Now outside the three gates of Lianbao, the wall all the way looks like a sailing boat" 而今连堡三门外，一路围墙似航船, left by County Magistrate Du in history is regarded as a footnote to the authenticity of this story.¹¹³⁶

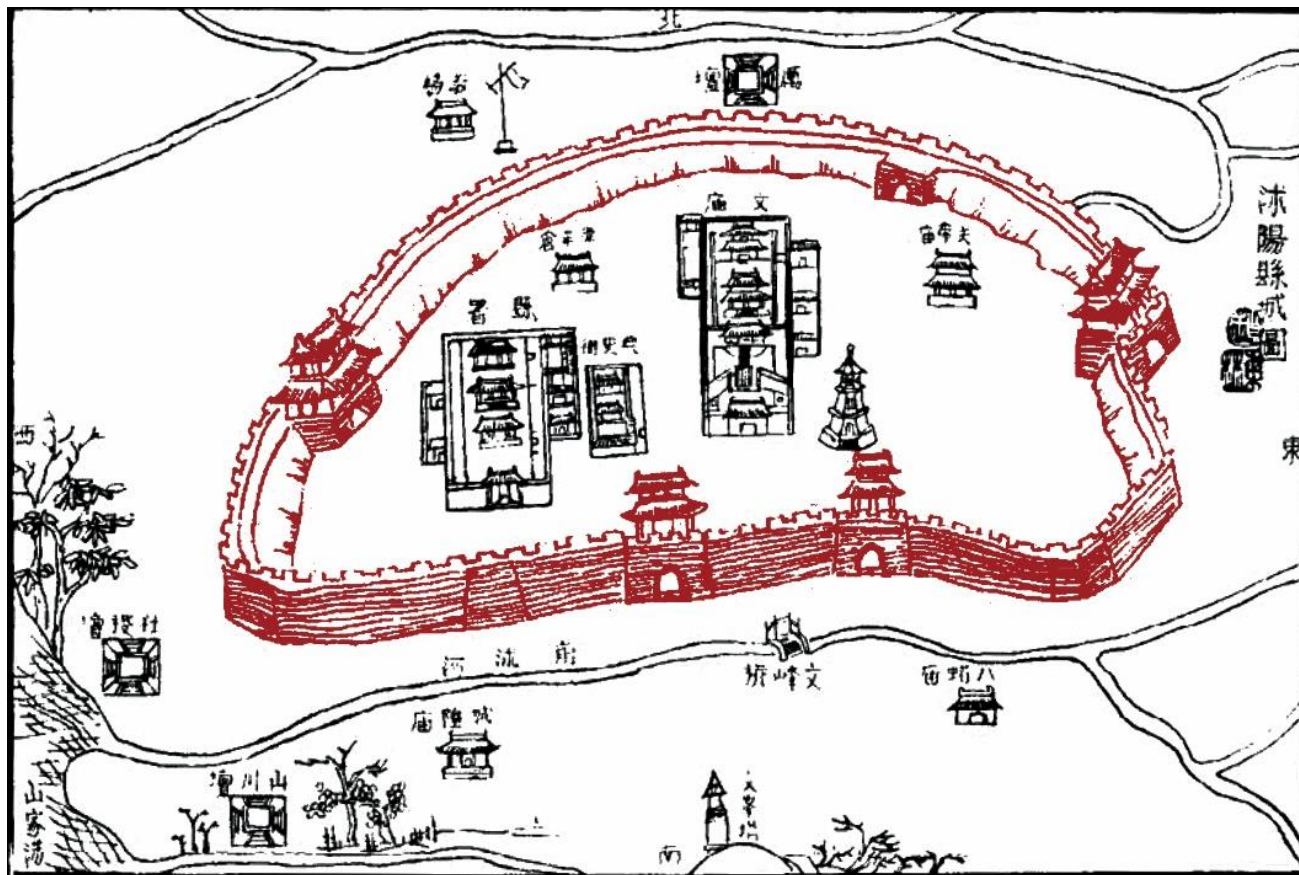


Fig. 4.2.2-1 The layout of the Shuyang city.

A fascinating case of this type is the "iron anchor" story in Anqing city. It deserves a more detailed introduction.

Anqing city in southwestern Anhui province sits on the north bank of the Yangtze River. It is an important port city in the middle/lower reaches of the Yangtze River, and water transportation here has been highly developed. The map of the ancient city in the local chronicles shows that Anqing city was built along the Yangtze River, with a long and narrow shape. Looking at the city from the river, it looks like a big boat moored at the bank (Fig. 4.2.2-2). According to local legend, Anqing city is a "boat," Yingjiang Temple 迎江寺 is located at the prow, and the Zhenfeng Pagoda 振风塔 in the temple is the mast. In order to prevent Anqing city from going eastward with the river, a pair of large iron anchors, each weighing about two tons, were set up on the left and right sides of the temple gate (Fig. 4.2.2-3). The local chronicles recorded that the Yingjiang Temple was built in the 47th year of the Wanli period (1619) in the Ming dynasty and then underwent restorations in successive dynasties. The local chronicles do not record the time and reason for the iron anchors' construction. They might have been

¹¹³⁶ See Sun Zhenglong 孙正龙, Wang Xianglong 王向龙 and Cang Zhonghua 仓中华, eds., *Suqian zhanggu* 宿迁掌故 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2016), 205.

constructed in the second year of Kangxi (1663) because the mountain gate of Yingjiang Temple was restored at this time.¹¹³⁷ Since the gate of the mountain is adjacent to the water, some locals believe that these two iron anchors were initially installed out of “the kindness of the monks in the temple, and they were used to moor the passing wooden boats in times of strong wind and waves to prevent them from capsizing” 庙里的和尚发善心，用来在大风浪的时候，系泊过往的木船，以免翻覆。¹¹³⁸ But this statement is far less widespread than “the ‘anchors’ of the city.”



Fig. 4.2.2-2 Looking at the Anqing city from the Yangtze River.



Fig. 4.2.2-3 Anchors on the left and right sides of the temple gate.

Regarding the local story of “anchors of the boat-city,” the earliest written record can be found in the description of Anqing Zhenfeng Pagoda by Harry B. Taylor (1882-1971) when he came to China in 1905. In his book *My Cup Runneth Over*, he wrote,

Some people said that Anqing city is like a moored boat on the river, with its pagoda serving as the mast. On either side of the pathway leading to the pagoda, two iron anchors with elongated flukes are placed, facing towards the Yangtze River. This

¹¹³⁷ See Yu Shilei 余世磊, ed., *Anqing chanzong tushuo* 安庆禅宗图说 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2018), 175-177.

¹¹³⁸ Liu Zhewei 刘震慰, *Guxiang zhi shi* 故乡之食 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2017), 145.

precautionary measure ensures that this city remains impervious to being carried away by the powerful currents.

也有人说安庆城像一艘停泊在江边的船，宝塔是船的桅杆。在宝塔的入口两边，面向长江，分别嵌入一个锚爪长长的大铁锚。这是为了防止城市被江水飘走！

1139

The document shows that the boat metaphor was widely accepted and spread in the local area at the latest in the 18th century.

Interestingly, more than one version of folk tales had evolved from the concept of Anqing city as a boat. One version was about an official surnamed Peng 彭, appointed as the magistrate of Anqing. If there was a Peng (a homonym for *peng* 篷 “sail”) magistrate, the blessing and auspiciousness would float away because Anqing city is like a boat. Therefore, magistrate Peng was very distressed about his assumption of duty. When his considerate mother (some say his wife) heard about it, she told him, “It is true that your surname is Peng. But as your mother, my surname is Mao 毛 (a homonym for *mao* 锚 “anchor”). With me as an anchor, Anqing city and its blessings will not drift away.” So, magistrate Peng went to Anqing together with his mother. Inspired by her, he also ordered the blacksmith to make two large anchors and put them in front of the mountain gate of Yingjiang Temple – the place that represented the “prow” of the boat. Another version replaces magistrate Peng with magistrate Zhou 周. The symbolic concept is that the *zhou* 舟 (boat) of Anqing city would collide with another Zhou 周, a homonym for *zhou*, and capsize. This version then mentioned precisely the same *fengshui* solution: magistrate Zhou’s mother or wife with the surname Mao and two specially made iron anchors placed in front of the gate of Yingjiang Temple.¹¹⁴⁰

Zhengzhou city also has a story about the “iron anchor.” Like the anchors in Yingjiang Temple in Anqing, an anchor was once placed in the old county government office in Zhengzhou. Although it was destroyed in the national steel refining campaign in the 1950s, many elderly Zhengzhou citizens used to see it, and it was recorded in local cultural and historical documents. According to local legend, one day, the county magistrate suddenly felt the world spinning and the house shaking while trying a case. As he could not sit still, he had no choice but to suspend his work and consult the eminent monk at the Haitan Temple 海滩寺. The eminent monk explained: “Guancheng 管城 (central city of Zhengzhou) is a boat city. The

¹¹³⁹ See Harry B. Taylor, *My Cup Runneth Over* (Ambler Pa.: Trinity Press, 1968). Since I cannot find the original English version of this book, I retranslated the Chinese version of it in *Dai Shihuang zizhuan* 戴世璜自传, trans. Li Yingqing 李应青 (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe, 2018), 46.

¹¹⁴⁰ See Chen Tulin 陈图麟, ed., *Zhongguo minjian chuanshuo gushi* 中国民间传说故事 (Changchun: Beifang funü ertong chubanshe, 2001), 174; Zhang Shangzheng 章尚正, ed., *Anhui* 安徽 (Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 2013), 335; Anqingshi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 安庆市地方志编纂委员会, ed., *Anqing diming zhanggu* 安庆地名掌故 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2001), 30.

boat's prow faces west, and the stern faces east. The high tower (in the Kaiyuan 开元 Temple) is the boat's mast. When the boat drifted to the foot of Mount Song 嵩, it hit the rock. Because its advance was stopped, it kept wobbling. But it is not difficult to calm it down. As long as a big iron anchor is placed in the southeast corner of the official hall, it can be stabilized, and the whole city will be safe and sound." Therefore, the county magistrate ordered the blacksmith cast a heavy anchor and place it in the southeast corner of the hall of the county government office. Since then, he did not feel the shaking anymore.¹¹⁴¹

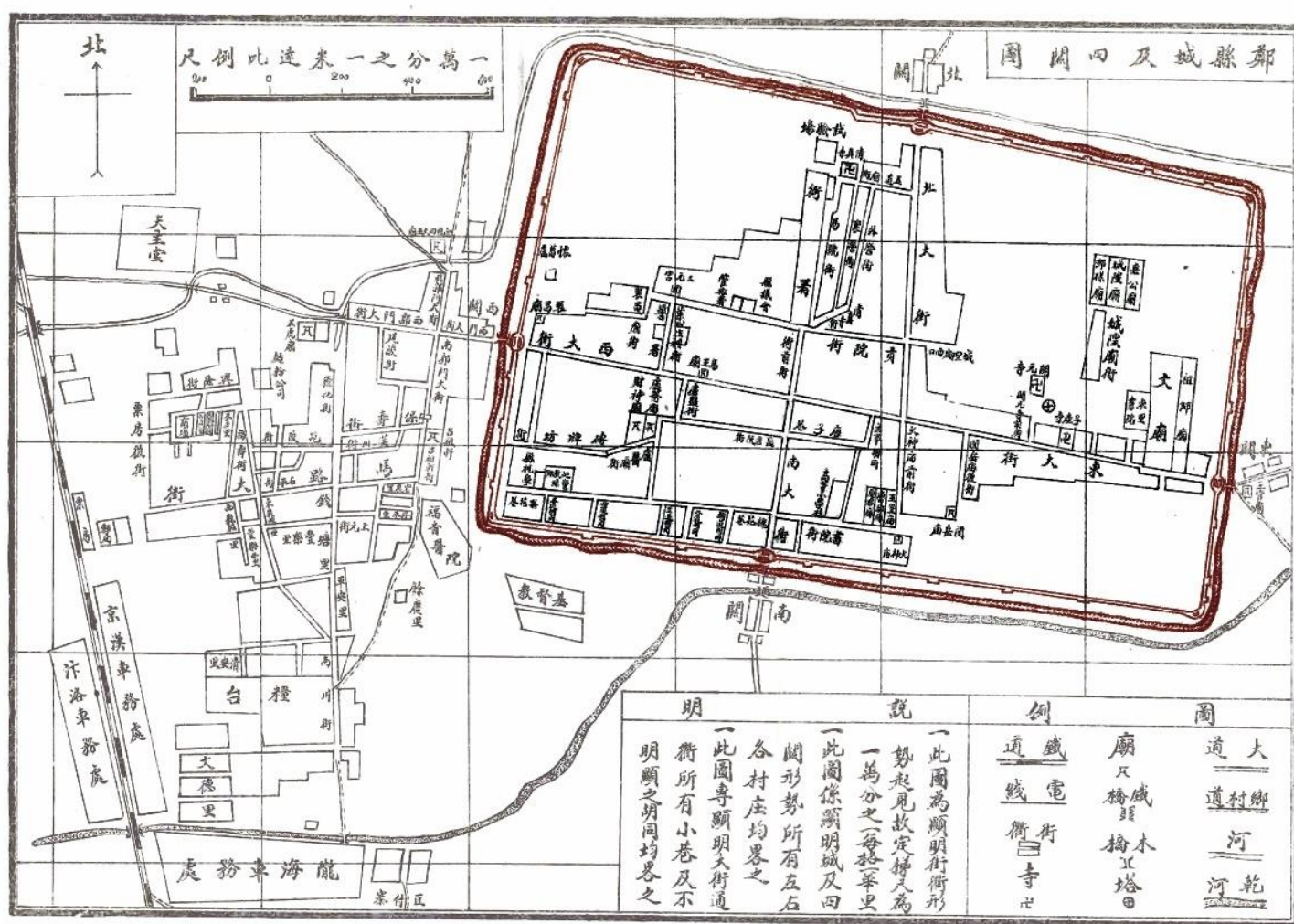


Fig. 4.2.2-4 The layout of the Zhengzhou city.

Zhengzhou's particularity lies in the fact that neither the city is built near the water nor the shape of its wall looks like a boat – it is a regular rectangle (Fig. 4.2.2-4). It makes one wonder why a local saying of “boat city” exists. Moreover, the story of the shaking town and being subdued by an anchor sounds highly implausible at first. However, through the study of the local gazetteers of Zhengzhou, it can be found that this folk legend refers to actual historical events.

The first important clue is the description of an earthquake in the *Zhengxian zhi* 鄭縣志 (The Records of Zheng county). It recorded that the earthquake happened on the evening of the 17th of the fifth lunar month, in the seventh year of Kangxi reign (1668), and “the water in

¹¹⁴¹ See Zhengzhoushi Guancheng huizuqu shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 郑州市管城回族区史志编纂委员会, ed., *Zhengzhou minsu* 郑州民俗 (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhoushi Jinshuiqu huanghe yinshuachang, 1994), 153-154; Zhang Qingxian 张清猷, Liu Yue'er 刘悦耳 and Hu Yunfeng 胡云峰, eds., *Yiwen qushi* 轶闻趣事 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2004), 40.

the well was roiling, and the implements and articles were shaking” 井水动荡，器物摇撼。¹¹⁴² The earthquake happened in the early Qing dynasty, which might be far before the iron anchor story developed, but we may assume that witnesses of this earthquake told their decedents about the experience, who use it as the story’s material.

Another pivotal incident occurred in the 13th year of Guangxu reign (1887) when a devastating flood struck in the Zhengzhou area. As mentioned in chapter 2, water treatment in ancient times has always been an essential and challenging task for local officials in the cities adjacent to the Yellow River, such as in case of Zhengzhou. In history, Zhengzhou was often attacked by the Yellow River floods, and the flood disaster was extremely severe in 1887. The *Zhengxian zhi* recorded it as: “From Zhengzhou to the downstream, 40 prefectures and counties were all flooded, human and animal died in uncountable numbers” 自郑州以下淹没四十余州县，人畜死者无算。¹¹⁴³ When the flood surged toward the city wall from all sides, people would try all means to block the city gates, preventing water from entering. In this scenario, with the outside water rising and striking, Zhengzhou city would be just like a boat in the waves. Whoever had this disastrous experience would wish this “boat” to be sturdy and stable.

Combining the two events, it is now easy to understand why local people in Zhengzhou made up a story about the “boat city” and the iron anchor. On the one hand, the iron anchor placed in the county government – the city’s political center – symbolized a kind of protection for Zhengzhou from floods (or other disasters). On the other hand, placing an anchor in the office – anchors being the key material in treating floods – may also be a political performance of local officials to show their determination to control the Yellow River to the central court.

Generally speaking, boat-shaped settlements’ folk narratives were often constructed based on 1) the geographical location near the water, 2) the similarity between the plan or appearance and a “boat,” and 3) the relationships between local architectures and some elements of the boat, such as the mast and anchor. Local people produced and reproduced the boat-architecture discourse by creating and propagating common sayings, place names, and stories. As a result, the local communities obtained auspicious blessings at the *fengshui* level through the symbolic meaning of the “boat.” Meanwhile, this discourse system’s formation progress also participated in creating public space and accumulating local culture. The wider the spread of this mass psychological cognition, and the deeper it is accepted, the more profoundly it will affect the local people’s understanding of their urban environment. For example, after comparing the city to a boat, people tend to regard the urban space in different regions as the “prow,” “cabin,” or “stern” of the boat, or people also often regard the tower or the high pavilion as the mast, which was reflected to some extent in the cases mentioned above of boat-shaped settlements at different levels.

Taking Yangchuan Wu as a detailed introduction, combined with the folklore regarding villages or cities as boats, the narrative of boat-architecture in the traditional context was

¹¹⁴² Zhou Bingyi 周秉彝 and Liu Ruilin 刘瑞麟, *Zhengxian zhi* 郑县志 (1916, 1931 reprinted), vol. 1, 7a.

¹¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9b.

discussed in this chapter 4.2. The next part will deal with the *yang* 洋 (foreign) narrative in the discourse of Yangchuan Wu, which requires turning to the era background when Western steamers entered the Chinese people's vision in the late Qing dynasty.

4.3 Discourse on Boat-Architecture Against the Background of Conflict and Contest

In 1644, the Ming dynasty collapsed, and the remaining royal family members established the Southern Ming dynasty. From 1645 to 1662, the Zheng 郑 family supported the Lord of Tang, Zhu Yujian 朱聿键 (1602-1646), in fighting against the Qing government. Then in 1662, Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 (1624-1662) of the Zheng family became the *de facto* leader, and his rule became known as the Ming-Zheng 明郑 regime (1662-1683). This regime made Taiwan 台湾 its capital, with Xiamen city, Fujian, and northern Guangdong province as their hinterlands, and ruled the maritime trade in East Asia.

As a consequence, in order to fight against the Zheng family and other maritime anti-Qing forces, the court began to implement the *Qianjie ling* 迁界令 (the imperial decree for the people of the coastal provinces of Southeast China to move inland about 30 to 50 *li*) and banned maritime trade from June 1655, starting with the rule of Emperor Shunzhi (1638-1661, r. 1644-1661) in the Qing dynasty. The coastal provinces suffered significant damage due to this policy, which remained in effect until 1683 when Zheng Keshuang 郑克塽 (b. 1670), the grandson of Zheng Chenggong, surrendered to the Qing government. Subsequently, in 1684, the maritime ban was lifted by the Qing government.

Although the Qing government officially announced the opening of maritime trade in the 23rd to 25th year of Kangxi reign (1684-1686), it never gave up its supervision but further intervened in overseas trade activities. About 30 years later, in 1717, the Qing government was worried that overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia would form a resistance force like the Zheng family's maritime merchants, so it promulgated the *Nanyang jinhai ling*. The open sea policy began to shrink.

The ban on navigation inhibited foreign trade and the development of Chinese shipbuilding technology. As a result, not only did coastal residents who had lost economic resources increasingly call for resistance, but many scholars and court officials also advocated for the reopening of sea routes and foreign trade. Therefore, under the impetus of various forces, the governmental sea ban orders were relaxed from time to time.

In Daoguang reign, especially after the Opium War, Western countries began to dump goods to China while plundering silver and resources. All kinds of *yanghuo* 洋货 (foreign goods) were imported in large quantities through treaty ports, and their kinds and quantities increased yearly. As the *yanghuo* market, especially the foreign cloth bulk commodity, penetrated the daily life of the domestic people, China's traditional economic structure – the self-sufficient small-scale peasant economy – gradually disintegrated.

According to Karl Marx's theory, a change of the traditional economic structure goes hand in hand with a change in the social superstructure. In Li Changli's 李长莉 words:

The cognition of *yanghuo* and their social significance encompasses both the perceptual experiences of ordinary individuals and the rational thinking of cultural elites. Its connotation is determined by the role and function that foreign goods play in people's lives, influenced by their values and cognitive modes, as well as affected by the social atmosphere, prevailing trends of thought, and even political circumstances.

人们对于洋货及其社会意义的认知，既有普通民众的感性体验，也有文化精英的理性思考，其内涵意指由洋货在人们生活中的角色及作用而决定，又被人们价值观念及认知方式所左右，还受社会风气、社会思潮乃至政治情势等影响。¹¹⁴⁴

Significantly when the social turmoil and social contradictions intensified in the late Qing dynasty, *yanghuo*, a foreign object embedded in the daily life of the general public, was also affected. It has become a cultural symbol for people to express a particular intention or appeal.¹¹⁴⁵

As a particular category of *yanghuo*, “foreign steamboat” is even more projected to reflect the violent emotional shocks of the Chinese people in the era of political, economic, military, and cultural conflicts between China and foreign countries.

This section will start with the Chinese people's perception and recognition of foreign goods, particularly foreign steamboats, through textual and visual accounts of various foreign steamboats, ultimately revealing the power dynamics inherent in the symbol of “foreign steamboat.” Consequently, this will further underscore another rationale for disseminating and embracing the architectural discourse of Yangchuan Wu.

4.3.1 The Era of the West Knocking on China's Door: *yanghuo* and Foreign Steamboat

China's contact with the West began in commerce at the earliest, and trade was important long before establishing diplomatic relations or introducing Western ideas. Since the *Travels of Marco Polo* became popular in Europe in the 13th century, China has become the Eldorado, a paradise full of gold in the eyes of Europeans. In the following hundreds of years, countless Western people in business tried to travel across the oceans and seas in pursuit of wealth.

However, in contrast to the popularity of Chinese commodities such as tea and silk in the Western market, there was limited demand for domestically manufactured industrial goods

¹¹⁴⁴ Li Changli 李长莉, “Wan Qing ‘*yanghuo*’ xiaofei xingxiang ji fuhao yiyi de yanbian” 晚清“洋货”消费形象及符号意义的演变, *Urban History Research*, no. 00, (2013): 12.

¹¹⁴⁵ See Li Changli, “Wan Qing ‘*yanghuo*’ liuxing yu shimin yundong xingqi: Cong Yihetuan dao dizhi meihuo yundong” 晚清洋货流行与市民运动兴起——从义和团到抵制美货运动, *Journal of Social Sciences* 399, no. 11, (2013): 132-142.

from the West prior to the Opium War in China. The Qing government exacerbated the situation by imposing restrictions on trade between China and the West, confining it to a single open port, Guangzhou. This effectively assimilated foreign trade into the traditional “tributary” system. Out of a profit-seeking nature, Western capitalists were eager to approach China's threshold and unlock the vast untapped market.

The “foreign steamer” mentioned in the story of the Yangchuan Wu represents both a Western commodity penetrating into China and a tool of warfare to facilitate China's foreign trade market opening. It played an integral role in expediting and advancing China's historical process of embracing Western influence across various domains, as elaborated in the subsequent discussions.

Steamboat is a western product, a kind of *yanghuo*. Before discussing the image of foreign steamboats, it is necessary to introduce and summarize the concept of *yanghuo* and the Chinese attitude towards *yanghuo* at that time.

Generally speaking, imported goods brought into China by western merchants through Sino-foreign trade are called *yanghuo*.¹¹⁴⁶ In the 23rd year of Kangxi reign (1684), after the opening of the sea ban, with the expansion of foreign trade, the governor of Guangdong, Li Shizhen 李士桢 (1619-1695), issued a proclamation, making regulations on the import of foreign goods and the export of native goods. Based on this, the specific category of commodity *yanghuo* emerged in modern Chinese history, closely linked to the rise of Western industrial civilization. It primarily refers to various machine-made industrial products imported from capitalist countries in the West, including those produced by foreign-funded enterprises in China (or India and other colonies), as well as a range of daily consumer goods.¹¹⁴⁷

In Li Changli's article “Wan Qing ‘yanghuo’ xiaofei xingxiang ji fuhao yiyi de yanbian” 晚清“洋货”消费形象及符号意义的演变 (The Evolution of the Consumption Image and Symbolic Meaning of *yanghuo* in the Late Qing Dynasty), she made a detailed interpretation of the image of *yanghuo*, and analyses its social connotation and implication, as well as its symbolic meaning. She believes that the image of *yanghuo* has experienced a transformation from “luxury goods” or “high-end goods” (during the 1840s-60s) to “fashionable goods” (during 1870s-mid-1890s) and finally to “daily goods” (from the 1890s mid to 1911).¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁶ Prior to the mid-Ming dynasty, foreign commodities were referred to as *fanhuo* 番货. Sea imports primarily consisted of tribute goods from Southeast Asian countries, consisting mainly of raw natural luxury items such as rhinoceros horn, ivory, and pearls. With the expansion of foreign trade in the Qing dynasty, there was an increase in both the number and variety of imported foreign commodities via sea routes. These included natural and primitive luxury goods as well as items containing technical components from early colonists, such as firearms. See Li, “Wan Qing ‘yanghuo’ xiaofei xingxiang,” 12.

¹¹⁴⁷ See Guo Lizhen 郭立珍, *Zhongguo jindai yanghuo jinkou yu xiaofei zhuanxing yanjiu* 中国近代洋货进口与消费转型研究 (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2012), 112-130.

¹¹⁴⁸ See Li, “Wan Qing ‘yanghuo’ xiaofei xingxiang,” 3-12. However, it can be seen from the examples given by her that these three images correspond to different types of *yanghuo*. Therefore, this transformation cannot simply be divided into three periods. It only

Foreign goods imported before and in the early days of trade were mainly non-practical ornamentals such as highly-decorated clocks, delicate glass products, and woolen fabrics with intricate pattern. These items were not only novel but also crafted with exceptional artistry. This particular type of *yanghuo* has maintained its “luxury” or “high-end” status throughout history, while subsequent imports of similar items (clocks, glasses, or fabrics) produced in standard quality have never belonged to this category.

Following the Opium Wars, a diverse array of *xiyang qiqi* 西洋奇器 (rare Western artifacts) were gradually introduced. They were also novel and delicate but did not belong to the category of precious objects. For example, a Shanghainese in the 1850s wrote:

There are rare Western artifacts in the room [...] such as stargazing telescopes, microscopes, thermometers, vector-pluviometers, remote electrical machines, steam turbine machines, self-singing insects and birds that can walk, celestial and earth globes, and so on. All the things down to lamp bottles, bowls, and dishes are very exquisitely made, which cannot be found in other places.

间所陈西洋奇器……如观星镜、显微镜、寒暑针、风雨针、电气秘机、火轮机器、自鸣虫鸟能行，天地球之类，下至灯瓶盂碟一切玩具，制甚精巧，亦他地所无。¹¹⁴⁹

In *Songjiang fu xuzhi* 松江府续志 (the Extended Record of Songjiangfu, published in the 10th year of Guangxu reign, 1884), it was also written:

Shanghai is a gathering place for foreign business and crowded with foreign goods, [therefore] people are easily dazzled and tempted. The price of foreign goods was first high and then cheap. Business people easily make money from them, so they prefer to sell. From clothes, food, and utensils to playthings and toys, they are gradually popularized and cannot be contained.

上海番舶所聚，洋货充斥，民易炫惑。洋货率始贵而后贱，市商易于财利，喜为贩运，大而服食器用，小而戏耍玩物，渐推渐广，莫之能遏。¹¹⁵⁰

shows the chronicled characteristics because different kinds of *yanghuo* occupy the dominant position in different periods as time goes by. In order to present the image of different kinds of *yanghuo* in an unambiguous way, examples extracted from Li Changli’s article will be reorganized and summarized below.

¹¹⁴⁹ Wang Tao 王韬, *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖杂志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 22.

¹¹⁵⁰ Bo Run 博润, *Songjiangfu xuzhi* 松江府续志, vol. 5, in *Jindai Shanghai diqu fangzhi jingji shiliao xuanji, 1840-1949* 近代上海地区方志经济史料选辑 1840-1949, eds.

It can be seen that the price of this kind of *yanghuo* has undergone a transition from high to low, gradually transforming into a sought-after “trendy commodity” among the general public.

The most representative *yanghuo* of “daily goods” is foreign cloth. Intriguingly, it was initially unpopular due to its inferior quality. According to Michael Greenberg’s (1914-1992) *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800-42*: “As late as the 1830s, the market intelligence sent out by Jardine Matheson & Co., Canton, to their correspondents spoke of the superiority of the Chinese native ‘nankeen’ cotton cloth over Manchester cotton goods in point of quality and cost.”¹¹⁵¹ The same book also mentioned that in the 18th century, companies were deprived of the opportunity to make money from Indian textile imports for the benefit of domestic manufacturers. Greenberg wrote:

During the early 18th century British textile manufacturers fought successfully to secure Parliamentary protection against the East India Company’s imports of calicoes, wrought silks, muslins and other fabrics, with which they were not yet able to compete. There were a whole series of protective Acts passed in the reigns of William III, Anne, and George I against the imports of Eastern fabrics, and culminating in the prohibition of certain categories, especially calicoes.¹¹⁵²

However, with the continuous updating of spinning machine technology, the quality of foreign cloth has improved while the production cost has dropped significantly. In addition, the foreign cloth exhibits vibrant colors and diverse patterns, rendering it highly sought-after among both urban and rural populations. At the beginning of the 20th century, many foreign “daily goods” were imported into China, severely squeezing the market for homespun cloth and other local products. For example, according to the survey conducted by the Japanese in Beijing in 1905-1906, there were only a small number of local products for daily-use groceries in the Beijing market. Most commodities were machine-made products transported from Shanghai, Guangdong, and Tianjin, commonly known as *yanghuo*. There were a wide variety of foreign daily necessities such as matches, foreign lamps, clocks, cotton cloth, clothes, hats, towels, handkerchiefs, buttons, foreign pins, paints, cigarettes, candles, soap, perfume, glass mirrors, foreign umbrellas, paper, stationery, machinery, leather bags, etc.¹¹⁵³

Huang Wei 黄苇 and Xia Lingen 夏林根 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1984), 342.

¹¹⁵¹ Greenberg also pointed out that the same opinion was also expressed in *Chinese Repository*, February 1834. See, Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800-1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge at the University Press, 1951), 1.

¹¹⁵² Ibid.

¹¹⁵³ Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉, *Qingmo Beijing zhi ziliao* 清末北京志资料, trans. Zhang Zongping 张宗平 and Lü Yonghe 吕永和 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 1994), 353-356.

The diverse attitudes of different periods and users have contributed to the multifaceted nature of *yanghuo*, extending beyond their role as consumer goods.

Wealthy merchants and aristocrats often used “luxury goods” as a symbol of status and “fashionable goods” to show their extensive knowledge. *Shen bao* 申报 once recorded the pursuit of this kind of *yanghuo* in this way:

Since the fourth year of Daoguang reign (1824), after the Sino-foreign trade, the westerners transported goods to China, which is so bizarre that it is almost impossible to say. [...] Initially, [*yanghuo*] was only spread in various commercial ports. However, as time passed, people in all provinces and inland areas also rushed to enjoy and considered it a luxury to turn to use *yanghuo*.

道光季年（1824），中外通商而后，凡西人之以货物运至中国者，陆离光怪，几于莫可名言。……初祇行于通商各口岸，久之而各省内地亦皆争相爱慕，无不以改用洋货为奢豪。¹¹⁵⁴

The average households in big cities have also begun to develop a habit of using *yanghuo* following the price reduction and popularization of “fashionable” *yanghuo*. There is a record in the *Jinan bao* 济南报 on February 1st, 1905:

From the big public cities and towns to the inland poor and remote villages, from the wealthy businessmen to the poor people, only three meals a day may be kept to their old customs, [because] they are not all fond of Westerners’ food. However, the rest, which they wear and use daily, all depend on *yanghuo*. [...] I believe recent people’s habit of using *yanghuo* is so popular that it cannot be retrieved. In addition, *yanghuo* indeed has its reasons to sell well, so it cannot be suppressed by human power.

大约外自各城巨镇，内至穷乡僻壤，上自豪商巨贾，下自穷户小民，惟一日三餐或犹守其旧俗，不尽喜食西人之物，其余则身之所衣，手之所用，殆无一不于洋货是赖。……窃谓近人喜用洋货之习业已滔滔皆是，不可复挽，而洋货亦实有可以畅销之理，更非人力所能禁遏。¹¹⁵⁵

The *Qingbai leichao* 清稗类钞 published in 1917 also wrote: “People who live in urban commercial ports use none but *yanghuo* in clothes, food, and all daily necessities and luxuries.

¹¹⁵⁴ “Zhongguo yi fangzao yanghuo yi” 中国宜仿造洋货议, *Shen bao* 申报, January 18, 1892, in *Shen bao zhaoshangju shiliao xuanji: Wan Qing juan* 《申报》招商局史料选辑：晚清卷, vol. 3, ed. Li Yu 李玉 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2017), 1224.

¹¹⁵⁵ “Lun Shanghai sucheng nügong shifan chuanxisuo” 论上海速成女工师范传习所, *Jinan bao* 济南报, February 1, 1905, in (*Qingmo*) *Shishi caixin huibian* (清末) 时事采新汇编, comp. Guojia tushuguan fenguan 国家图书馆分馆 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003), vol. 20, 6020.

In their mind, none is applicable except the imported product” 家居都会商埠者，则起居衣服饮食及一切日用品奢侈品，更无一而非洋货，其心目中，固以为非舶来之品，无一适用也。¹¹⁵⁶

Under these circumstances, *yang* 洋 (foreign) has gradually referred to concepts of fashion, trendy, high-end, precious, and exquisite. For example, someone in the late Qing dynasty recorded this:

During the Daoguang period, all things of great value were called *yang*: the storied house was called *yanglou*, the colorful sedan chair was called *yangjiao*, the crepe clothes were called *yangzhou*, the top hat was called *yangtong*, and the hanging lamp was called *yangdeng*, and the hot pot was called *yangguo*. Even the best soy sauce was called *yangqiuyou*; the painting pigments with bright colors like magenta and absinthium were also called *yanghong* and *yanglv*. In the north and south of the river, no one did not see *yang* as fashionable.

道光年间，凡物之极贵重者，皆谓之洋：重楼曰洋楼，彩轿曰洋轿，衣有洋绉，帽有洋筒，挂灯名为洋灯，火锅名为洋锅，细而至于酱油之佳者，亦呼洋秋油；颜料之鲜明者，亦呼洋红、洋绿。大江南北，莫不以洋为尚。¹¹⁵⁷

However, the “living practical goods” of *yanghuo* have aroused more contradictory attitudes. On the one hand, ordinary people began to use cheap clothes made of foreign cloth, durable foreign needles, handy matches, etc. On the other hand, the influx of high-quality and affordable foreign textiles posed a significant threat to merchants involved in the textile industry; peasants relying on weaving for their livelihoods struggled to compete with foreign fabrics, resulting in a profound resistance towards *yanghuo*.

Moreover, because *yanghuo* came from the foreign powers trying to carve up China, a symbol of national humiliation congealed on top of it. The Boxers, among other radical civil groups, exhibited a strong aversion towards and actively sought to dismantle anything associated with *yang*. They use the same pronunciation, *yang* 羊 (sheep) for *yang* 洋 (foreign), comparable to *zhu* 猪 (hog) for *zhu* 主 (lord), and drew various images of slaughtering hogs and sheep to promote their purpose of *mieyang* 灭洋 (exterminating the foreigners and foreign things).

The cultural elites not only observed *yanghuo* from the perspective of users, but also demonstrated an elevated level of rationality towards it. Their attitude towards *yanghuo* was often diverged from that of ordinary people. In this regard, Zheng Guanying 郑观应 (1842-1921), who wrote *Shengshi weiyang* 盛世危言, once commented:

¹¹⁵⁶ Xu Ke, “Zhuanyong yanghuo zhe fei guoren” 专用洋货者非国人, in *Qingbai leichao*, vol. 4, 1690.

¹¹⁵⁷ Chen Zuolin 陈作霖, “Yangzi xianzhao” 洋字先兆, in *Bingzhu litan* 炳烛里谈, vol. 1, see Chen Zuolin and Chen Yifu, *Jinling suozhi jiuzhong*, vol. 2, 307.

Those prevail in China today, apart from steamboats and guns, those such as clocks, music boxes, and toys, are all harmful and useless, but Chinese love to buy; while those such as electric wires, trains, farming and weaving, and mining equipment are all beneficial and harmless, but the Chinese hate and condemn them. Therefore, it is hopeless to rally, and the loophole that allows national interests to spill over cannot be filled, which makes the men of insight heart-broken.

今行于中国者，轮船、枪炮之外，如钟表、音盒、玩好等物皆有损无益者，而华人爱之购之；如电线、火车、耕织、开矿诸器械，皆有益无损者，而华人恶之诋之。以故振作难期，漏卮莫塞，识者伤之。¹¹⁵⁸

The elites regard “luxury goods” and “fashionable goods” of *yanghuo* as *qiji yinqiao* 奇技淫巧 (curious skills and wicked crafts). Guan Tong 管同 (d. 1831) was a well-known literate who cared about the national economy and people’s livelihood. He once wrote an article, “Jinyong *yanghuo* yi” 禁用洋货议 (Discussion on Prohibition of Foreign Goods), pointing out that *yanghuo* “are all so-called wicked craft and useless” 皆所谓奇巧而无用者也 and should be banned.¹¹⁵⁹ Apart from the negative assessment of those “luxury and fashionable goods,” the cultural elites were concerned about the potential depletion of national wealth if it was spent on these “daily goods.” Since the 1870s, this kind of foreign goods sales market that caused the outflow of wealth has been called *louzhi* 漏卮 (the leaky wine container, a metaphor for the loophole that spills national interests). In 1892, the article in *Shen bao* wrote: “As a result, the *louzhi* is hard to fill, resulting in a significant outflow of silver. [...] Year after year, this cycle persists; when will it cease? Will it not gradually erode China’s limited fat (resources) and blood (vitality)” 以至漏卮难塞，银钱之流出良多。……似此年复一年，将何底止？岂不令中国有限之膏血，渐至衰败不堪耶？¹¹⁶⁰ Therefore, they try to re-develop national industry and commerce, win the “commercial war,” and fight for the Chinese’s own *liquan* 利权 (economic rights).¹¹⁶¹

Among all kinds of *yanghuo*, those represented by steamboats, symbolizing advanced machine technology and closely related to the success or failure of war, became a special category.

According to H. B. Morse, the first steamboat in Chinese waters was the steamer *Forbes*, 302 tons, which arrived from Calcutta on April 26th, towing the opium ship *Jamesina*, and

¹¹⁵⁸ See Zheng Guanying, “Lun jiqi” 论机器, in *Zheng Guanying ji* 郑观应集, comp. Xia Dongyuan 夏东元 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), 89.

¹¹⁵⁹ See Guan Tong, “Jinyong *yanghuo* yi,” cited in Wei Yuan 魏源, *Wei Yuan quanji* 魏源全集, vol. 14, *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* 皇朝经世文编 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2004), vol. 15-33, 537.

¹¹⁶⁰ “Zhongguo yi fangzao *yanghuo* yi,” *Shen bao*.

¹¹⁶¹ See Zheng Guanying, *Shengshi weiyan: Shangzhan* 盛世危言·商战, in *Zheng Guanying ji*, 586-589.

sailed for Calcutta on May 8th, 1830.¹¹⁶² With more detailed documents, Chinese scholar Zheng Cheng 郑诚 corrected the date as April 19th and May 9th.¹¹⁶³ The second steamboat that came to China was *Jardine* in 1835. *Jardine* was a small schooner made at Aberdeen Alexander Hall shipyard in Scotland, equipped with paddle wheels and a 26-horsepower steam engine built by J. Duffus.¹¹⁶⁴

As a kind of *yanghuo*, the foreign steamboat was once classified as *xiyang qiqi*. Nevertheless, following the two Opium Wars, the Chinese gained a heightened awareness of the steamboats' significance and their representation of naval power. Compared with Guan Tong, who completely denied *yanghuo*, Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857), who wrote *Haiguo tuzhi* 海国图志 (The Illustrated Annals of Overseas Countries), distinguished imported artifacts based on whether they were beneficial to enrich the country and increase its military force. Steamboats, guns, and firearms were regarded as beneficial, so they are *qiqi* 奇技 (curious skills) rather than *yinqiao* 淫巧 (wicked crafts).¹¹⁶⁵ Wang Tao, known for his understanding of western knowledge, also fully affirmed the advancement of western machine technology. Although he expressed concerns regarding the potential impact of local industrial and agricultural production and dismissed the significance of Western industrial and agricultural machinery, he nevertheless advocated for the adoption of Western artillery, ships, and other formidable weaponry. He once wrote in a letter to a friend: “Westerners have strong ships, powerful guns, and excellent institutions. The steamboats and cars they make are easy to travel long distances, and weaving utensils and field tools can get twice the result with half the effort. The promoters said that if China could imitate to do this, then prosperity could be achieved” 西人船坚炮利，制度精良，所造火轮舟车，便于行远，织器田具，事半功倍。说者谓苟能仿此而行，则富强可致。¹¹⁶⁶

Compared with other foreign goods, foreign steamboats entered China quite late. The positive role it played in the Opium War, however, elevated its status from that of a mere *yanghuo* to a strategic tool for facilitating the opening of the market to *yanghuo*.

During the First Opium War, Britain used four steamers in its fleet. Although far fewer than the sailing ships in the fleet, they still played a crucial role. At that time, the Qing army,

¹¹⁶² See H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. IV, 223.

¹¹⁶³ See Zheng Cheng, “Steamships in China before the First Opium War,” *Maritime Research*, no. 2 (2018), 136.

¹¹⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, 140.

¹¹⁶⁵ See Wei Yuan, *Haiguo tuzhi* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2021), 39: 古之圣人，剡舟剡楫，以济不通，弦弧剡矢以威天下，亦岂非形器之末？而《睽》、《涣》取诸《易·象》，射御登诸六艺，岂火轮、火器不等于射御乎？指南制自周公，掣壶创自《周礼》，有用之物，即奇技而非淫巧。今西洋器械，借风力、水力、火力，夺造化，通神明，无非竭耳目心思之力，以前民用。因其所长而用之，即因其所长而制之。

¹¹⁶⁶ Wang Tao, “Yu Zhou Taofu zhengjun” 与周弢甫徵君, in *Taoyuan chidu* 弢园尺牍 (Hongkong: Tiannan tunku, 1880), vol. 4, 5a.

such as Humen 虎门 (Bogue) and Zhoushan 舟山 coastal forts, were located in the estuary: the movement of old-styled sailing boats upstream posed logistical challenges, prompting the British Army to employ steamboats as tugboats. These vessels were capable of maneuvering capital ships into strategic positions for attacks or towing a convoy of approximately 20 junks end-to-end during landing operations. In addition, the steamers also caused a blow to the morale of the Chinese soldiers because of their peculiar appearance and incomprehensible operating principles. A record in *The Chinese Repository* mentioned: “The steamer *Madagascar*, came in from sea at 8 A.M., causing some unnecessary excitement.”¹¹⁶⁷ This steamboat, *Madagascar*, did not participate in direct combat. It was attached to the China Squadron of the British Army, serving as a troop transport and supply ship. When the British fleet approached Peking to negotiate with the Chinese government, this shallow-drafted (a feature that allowed the ship to cross sandbars in the shallow Yellow Sea) steamer was used as a meeting site between British and Qing officials.¹¹⁶⁸ According to the documents, foreign steamboats further demonstrated their terrifying power during the Second Opium War: “The [Qing] river armies and the *hongdan chuan* (red-list boat, a kind of Chinese sailboat) preparing to go to Shandong and Jiangnan fought against them (Anglo-French allied force), and they were burnt to death by steamboats without a blink of an eye” 河面水师及备赴山东、江南各红单船，与之交仗，曾不转瞬，即被轮船焚毁殆尽。¹¹⁶⁹

In addition to their effect in wars, foreign steamboats also accelerated the process of the West entering China in other aspects such as economy, culture, technology, system, and people’s livelihood.

For example, steamboats gradually replaced China’s native *shachuan* 沙船 (large junk) in waterway transportation.¹¹⁷⁰ After the first Opium War, the Qing government ceded Hong Kong Island to Britain and opened Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai to the outside world. Later, in addition to ocean transportation by steamboats, Western steamboat companies also began to open routes between these cities. For example, Jardine Matheson used the *Corsair* to travel regularly between Hong Kong and Guangzhou in the 24th year of Daoguang reign (1844). In the 30th year of Daoguang reign (1850), the British Steamship Company opened the route between Hong Kong and Shanghai with the *Lady Marrywood*. In the era when railway and road transportation were immature, water transportation was an essential condition for inter-regional trade. American scholar Fairbank (John King Fairbank,

¹¹⁶⁷ “*Journal of Occurrences*: arrival of steamer *Madagascar* and *Wellesley*, 74, with transports,” cited in Elijah Coleman Bridgman, ed., *The Chinese Repository*, vol. 9, June, 1840, no. 2 (Canton, 1840, original from Harvard University, digitized by Google Books on 23. August 2007), 107.

¹¹⁶⁸ See “PS *Madagascar* (1838 ship),” last modified November 26, 2022, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PS_Madagascar_\(1838_ship\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PS_Madagascar_(1838_ship)).

¹¹⁶⁹ Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, ed., *Haifang dang* 海防档, vol. 1 (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1957 photocopy), 134.

¹¹⁷⁰ See Su Shengwen 苏生文, *Wan Qing yi jiang: Xili chongji xia de shehui bianqian* 晚清以降：西力冲击下的社会变迁 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2017), 33-48.

1907-1991) pointed out in his book that “This carrying trade on China’s water routes was to prove the Westerner’s main point of ingress into the Chinese economy, for here the introduction of the steamship could quickly alter the inherited technology.”¹¹⁷¹

Moreover, steamboats also accelerated the process of western culture, technology, and systems entering China.

On the one hand, with the defeat of the two Opium Wars, the Chinese of insight have reached a consensus on the crucial role of western steamboats and armament, which prompted officials such as Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885), Zeng Guofan 曾国藩 (1811-1872), and Li Hongzhang 李鸿章 (1823-1901) to advocate the introduction of western steamboat technology strongly. In the fourth lunar month of the first year of Tongzhi reign (1862), a research team led by Xu Shou 徐寿 (1818-1884) and Hua Hengfang 华衡芳 (1833-1902) began to develop a steamboat by Chinese entirely at the Anqing Nei Junxiesuo 安庆内军械所 (Anqing Inner Ordnance Institute). In the fifth lunar month of the fourth year of Tongzhi reign, the wooden paddle steamer *Huanghu* 黄鹄 was successfully trial-produced at Jinling Jiqi Zhizaoju 金陵机器制造局 (Nanjing Machinery Manufacturing Bureau) and officially launched. After the *Huanghu* unveiled the development of China’s modern shipbuilding industry, Zuo Zongtang established the Fujian Chuanzhengju in 1866 and hired Frenchmen (Prosper Marie Giquel, 1835-1886 and Paul-Alexandre Neveue d’Aiguebelle, 1831-1875) as consultants. This institute’s aim was “to make the Chinese study from [the westerners] and learn from their advantages to establish the foundation of the navy” 使国人就而学焉，师其所长，即以立海军之基础。¹¹⁷² Later, the bureau also set up a school to teach English and French languages and arithmetic.¹¹⁷³ These moves have accelerated the acceptance and popularization of western culture and technologies represented by steam engines in China.

On the other hand, the rapid development of foreign shipping companies in China gradually squeezed out the local coastal trade and transportation industry. As a result, the water transportation of grain to the capital from south to north was threatened. Thus, Li Hongzhang decided to develop the domestic steamboat transportation industry. The Luchuan Zhaoshangju 轮船招商局 (China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company) initiated by him opened up a new enterprise model called *guandu-shangban* 官督商办 (government-supervised and merchant-managed). This enterprise model broke the pattern of purely government-run westernization enterprises in the late Qing dynasty and adopted the joint-stock system as the first. Although it eventually failed for various reasons, this new form of economic organization once led the folks to shift their monetary resources from investing in land to the modern industry in the early days of its establishment. Thus, it deepened the change in China’s social

¹¹⁷¹ See, Fairbank and Reischauer, *China*, 262.

¹¹⁷² “Fuzhou Chuanzheng changwu moxing shuomingshu” 福州船政厂坞模型说明书, cited in He Xiaozhou 贺晓舟, *Wan Qing xuetao yishu jiaoyu he gongke daxuetang de fasheng yu yanjin: Yishuxue yu gongxue de hundun qi* 晚清学堂艺术教育和工科大学堂的发生与演进: 艺术学与工学的混沌期 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2019), 31.

¹¹⁷³ Zhongguo shixuehui 中国史学会, ed., *Yangwu yundong* 洋务运动, vol. 5 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2000), 24.

and economic structure. In this process, the western economic system and the corresponding productive relations inevitably received further attention and consideration from Chinese intellectuals.

Finally, as steamboats became more and more common in China, people's daily life changed accordingly. By the early 20th century, passenger steamboats had become one of the daily options for people to travel. In addition, the prosperity of steamboat transportation not only promoted the prosperity of important port cities on routes but also gradually changed people's impression of urban ports. Steamboats can be seen in many images depicting the Pearl River and the port of Shanghai (see Fig. 3.3.3-9). The foreign steamboats moored in the port were even regarded as one of the scenic spots of the port city. For example, in the *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* 申江名胜图说 (Illustrations of Famous Scenes in Shanghai), published in the 10th year of Guangxu (1884), "Lunchuan tingbo" 轮船停泊 (the Berthed Steamboat) was described as the 22nd scene at the end of the first volume (Fig. 4.3.1-1). The accompanying text reads:

At the beginning, the steamboats of the western countries only sailed in various seaports. Since Tongzhi reign, they were allowed to sail into the Yangtze River. Nearby, they travel from Guangdong and Fujian in the south to Henan and Hubei in the north. There are piers all over the coast along the river. Although the waves crash and roll on it, [the steamboat] still goes fast without getting stagnated.

西国轮船初惟行于各海口，同治朝始准驶入长江。近则南至粤闽，北至豫鄂，沿江沿海遍立埠头，而浪击涛翻，益觉飞行无滞矣。¹¹⁷⁴

During the epoch, when the late Qing Empire burnt out, foreign steamboats not only gathered images of *yanghuo* such as "novelty," "advanced," and "powerful" of *yanghuo* but also represented the humiliation of defeat in the war and the efforts to reverse the defeat. Within a few decades, foreign steamboats had developed from sporadically to commonly sailing on the seas and rivers in China. Chinese people's recognition of foreign steamboats had also gone through a process from unfamiliarity to relative understanding. In order to better demonstrate the significance of foreign steamboats in terms of cultural symbols, the following part will present the description and understanding of early foreign steamers (mid and late 19th century) by the Chinese in the late Qing dynasty.

¹¹⁷⁴ Guan Sijun 管斯骏, *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (Shanghai: Guankeshou Zhai, 1884), vol. 1, 44a.

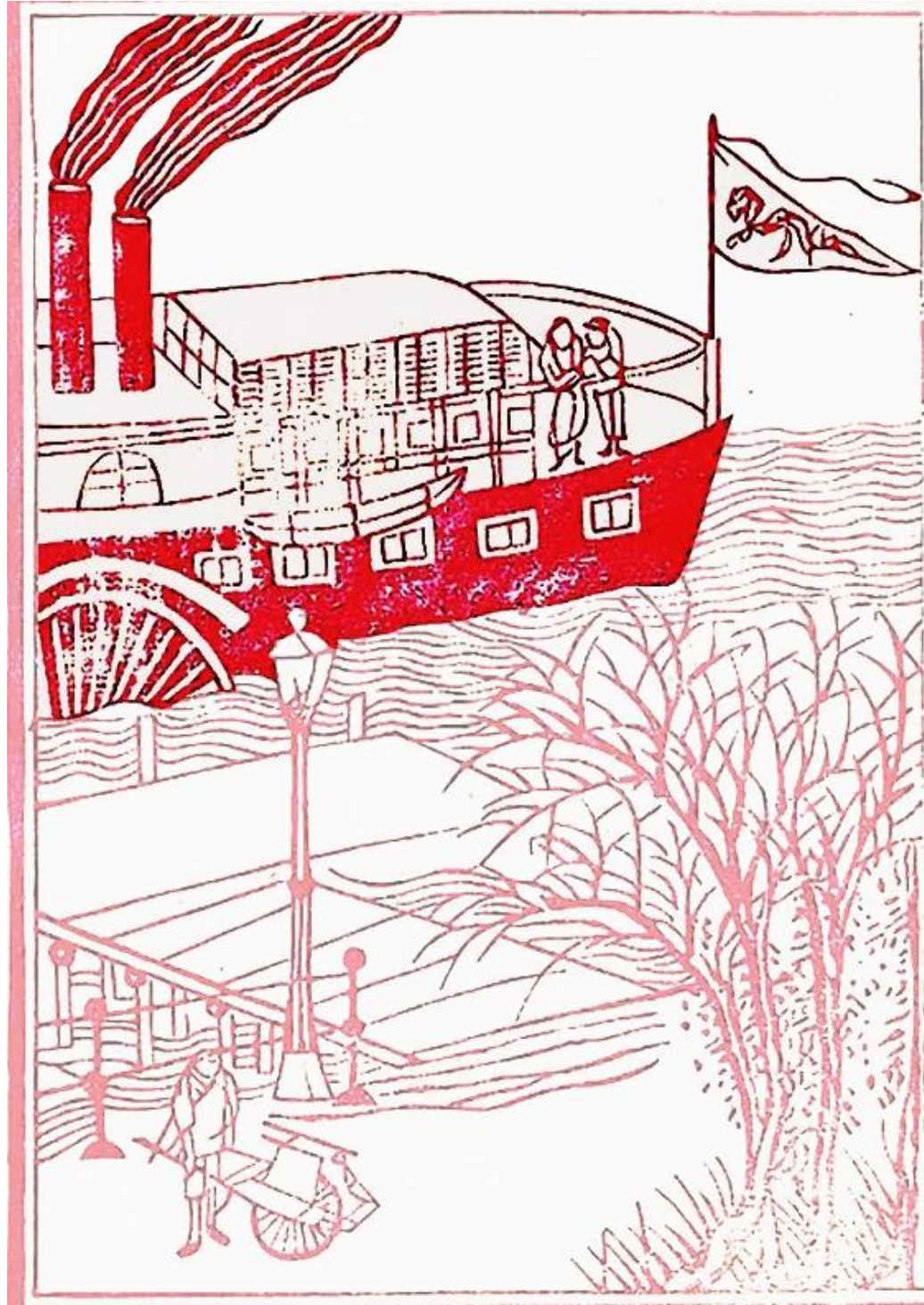


Fig. 4.3.1-1 "Lunchuan tingbo" 轮船停泊, *Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushuo* 申江名胜图说.

4.3.2 Early Foreign Steamboat in Chinese Eyes

A late Qing story will be offered before an analytical discussion of historical texts and images describing foreign steamboats in Qing China is presented. The topic of the announced story is not related to foreign steamboats, and the description of foreign steamboats in it is not the earliest or the most detailed. However, due to its concise coverage of various aspects regarding Chinese people's perception of foreign steamboats, it is fitting to employ this narrative as a captivating introduction for this section.

This story is named after its female protagonist “Yan Shouzhu” 严寿珠 and is recorded in Wang Tao’s collection of short stories, *Songbin suohua* (1887). The content is about a love story between a renowned Qinhuai courtesan, Yan Shouzhu, and a famous scholar Luan Da in Nanjing. It shares a similar structure to the late Ming stories about courtesans in pleasure quarters mentioned in Chapter 2: At first, Yan Shouzhu’s beauty was compared to that of a water goddess through Luan Da’s mouth (the character *zhu* 珠 in the name “Shouzhu” implies a metaphor of water goddess, see Chapter 2). In the middle, it uses several scenes to demonstrate that she has the character of *xia* 侠 (chivalrous) and *ya* 雅 (elegant). In the end, it is written that she died standing up in front of a stone pagoda of the Lingyin Temple 灵隐寺 by the West Lake when she suddenly remembered her previous life as an eminent monk in the Ming dynasty. After her death, she became a figure behind a water goddess and reappeared in front of Luan Da, intriguing his suicide.¹¹⁷⁵

However, a careful analysis reveals its difference to the late Ming stories on courtesans: although this story seemed to have the traditional core of the “water goddess,” in fact, the author used it to transport a message. Counting on people’s enthusiasm for it, the story on “talented literati – famous courtesan” camouflages his message to promote the communication between China and the West, as well as publicize the reform idea of learning advanced technology from the West.

Similar to the stories in Chapter 2, there is a passage in this novel that focuses on boats. However, in this late Qing story, the boat on which the protagonist focuses, is a foreign steamboat.

In one passage, Luan Da’s relatives, officials in Hangzhou, invited him to visit West Lake. Yan Shouzhu asked to go with him after hearing about it. Yan Shouzhu presented her reason:

I heard that the mountains and rivers of West Lake are the best in the world, and there are several historical sites among the six bridges and three Tianzhu hills. I grew up in the Qinhuai pleasure quarter and always lived in a water pavilion. What I have seen are delicate willows and enchanting peach blossoms. What I have experienced are green waves and red railings. It is quite boring. I want to glimpse the world’s vastness and

¹¹⁷⁵ See Wang Tao, “Yan Shouzhu,” in *Songbin suohua*, 61-71.

know that there is a universe beyond the world. Wouldn't it be great!

闻西湖山水甲天下，六桥三竺间，颇多名迹。妾生长秦淮，恒居水阁，所见者弱柳夭桃，所历者绿波红槛，殊闷人意。妾欲一观天下之大，知世界之外别有乾坤，岂不快哉！¹¹⁷⁶

Here, the author hid his true meaning behind a prostitute from the Qinhuai pleasure quarter, using the character “west” in the topographical term “West Lake” as a metaphor for “Western,” attempting to appeal to readers to turn their attention beyond China in order to learn more about the Western world. In addition, the author also ridiculed those cultural elites of the Qing dynasty who were still immersed in the once prosperous illusion represented by the dreamlike Qinhuai pleasure quarter: even a prostitute is willing to see the world, but what they see and crave to experience is indulging in old-time pleasure and enjoyment, no matter the imminent collapse of the country.

After the two protagonists arrived at West Lake, the article describes that they “hired a huge boat and rented a steamboat to drag it. [The steamboat] paddled the water with two wheels, and it went like flying” 雇巨舶，赁轮船，曳之行，双轮激水，其去如飞。¹¹⁷⁷ Shouzhu was very interested in this scene, so she questioned Luan Da whether he knew how this steamboat worked. Then, through Luan Da's answer, the author explained the principle of the steam engine that he had learned through extensive Western knowledge in an easy-to-understand manner and added his evaluation through Shouzhu's reply: “With this, the distance can be turned into nearness, and the benefits are endless” 有此，能化远而为近，其利不綦溥哉！¹¹⁷⁸ Through the dialogue between Luan Da and Yan Shouzhu, the author completed the popularization of foreign steamboats to the general public. Nevertheless, not yet convinced to have expressed clearly enough his message, the author put into Shouzhu's mouth his discontent: “If there are steamboats, the sailboats can be abolished. I wonder why we Chinese do not make [steamboats] by ourselves but still must hand it over to others” 既有轮船，则帆船可尽废。妾意中国何不自行制造，乃犹必假手于人哉！¹¹⁷⁹

However, perhaps considering the reader's preferences and acceptance, the author did not allow the protagonists to continue to delve into this issue. After Luan Da heard Shouzhu's words, he just praised her as “the female Zhuge (Liang) of today, [who] has extraordinary insights in talking” 可谓当今之女诸葛，谈言微中，识见不凡矣，¹¹⁸⁰ but did not start planning to build a steamboat together with her. At this point, the story returns to the framework of the original “water goddess” story about courtesans. Just like the famous courtesan stories that were prevalent in the late Ming dynasty, this story created in the late Qing dynasty was

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 69.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 70.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

added with a layer of the tragic color of the doomed dynasty – in the end, Luan Da saw the already dead Shouzhu (standing behind a water goddess) in his reflection in the water and out of sorrow, he jumped into the water to commit suicide.

Taking the story of “Yan Shouzhu” as an introduction, three aspects of people’s attitudes towards foreign steamboats can be derived from it. The starting of these aspects will be marked as A, B, and C, in order to facilitate the perception of their separation.

A.

The first aspect shows the foreign steamboat as *yanghuo*, an imported product from the West. Foreign steamboats and all western objects and knowledge were entirely novel for the Qing dynasty Chinese. Although some cultural elites who were willing to understand the West, such as Luan Da in the story (or the author himself), had gradually accumulated a certain understanding of foreign steamboats and described them through words and images. However, at the same time, ordinary people like Yan Shouzhu had an incomprehensible but fresh and curious attitude toward foreign steamboats.

As early as 1820, before steamboats appeared in Chinese waters, a Chinese named Yang Bingnan 杨炳南 recorded steamboats in his book *Hai Lu* 海录. This book resulted from a written down report given by Xie Qinggao 谢清高, a Cantonese sailor. Xie was a seaman on a foreign merchant ship and had seen steamboats early. It is recorded in the book:

The *huolun* 火轮 (fire wheel, referring to the steamboat) often used mechanical wheels in the boat, which were turned with the operation of gears. [People] burned fire and collected the smoke. The smoke was used to turn the wheel. When the smoke accumulated, the air was stimulated, and the wheel was turned like flying, stroking the water to move forward. There is no need to use sails or oars, no need for wind, but fear of side-turning. There are often two people to manage the fire and one to steer the rudder. [The steamboat] can reach any destination no matter how far away.

火轮者，于船中多作机轮，使递相绞转，烧火而收其烟，以烟发轮。烟积气激，转轮如飞，拨水而前。不用帆桨，不借风，畏侧覆。常司二人司火，一人把舵，无远弗界。¹¹⁸¹

Apparently, sailor Xie could not explain steam power from the perspective of scientific principles, but his description of the steamboat is undoubtedly very detailed.

The earliest introduction written in Chinese to the principle and structure of the steam engine was an article in *Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan* 东西洋考每月统记传 (Eastern Western Monthly Magazine, 1833.7-1838.9) Jiawu Year (1834) 5th Issue (June in Gregorian calendar) by German missionary Karl Gutzlaff (Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff, 1803-1851). Although the steam engine was described in detail with pictures in this article, there was not enough information to understand the reaction of Chinese readers at that time. Xiao Lingyu 萧

¹¹⁸¹ Yang Bingnan, *Hai Lu*, cited in Xi Longfei, *Zhongguo zaochuan tongshi* 中国造船通史 (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 2013), 454-455.

令裕 (1793-1848) once wrote the article “Ji gangjiao huolunchuan” 记港脚火轮船 (Recording Steamboats in Hong Kong) between 1836 and 1839, which can be regarded as his after-reading of Gutzlaff’s article. According to Zheng Cheng’s 郑诚 textual research of Xiao Lingyu’s articles,¹¹⁸² we know that he not only read *Hai Lu* and *Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan* but also learned about steamboats directly or indirectly from the British people. However, as Zheng Cheng suggested, “It is evident that Xiao Lingyu interprets the steam engine described in *Tongji zhuan* solely as a propulsive mechanism employed by steamships, without demonstrating a clear understanding of distinct types of steam engines” 可见萧令裕将《统记传》中的蒸汽机直接理解为火轮船使用的推进装置，对于不同类型的蒸汽机尚无明确概念。¹¹⁸³

At the end of Xiao Lingyu’s article, he mentioned Yang Yao’s 杨么 (1108-1135) “paddle-wheeled boat” in the Southern Song dynasty. Although he said that “Yang Yao’s boat was no match for the steamer,” it still showed that he had established an association between them. Yang Yao’s “paddle-wheeled boat” was also called *chelunchuan* 车轮船 (paddle-wheeled boat) or *cheshuan* 车船 (wheeled boat). It is recorded in the Song dynasty literature *Yangyao shiji kaozheng* 杨么事迹考证 (The Textual Research Yang Yao’s Deeds):

By chance, a soldier, Gao Xuan, who was once the project director of the Yellow River Sweeping Sailors, White Water Transportation Office, Water Supervision Department, offered a model of wheel boat. [...] A boat with eight wheels was built in a few days with multiple workers. Men were sent to drive the boat up and down the river, which traveled quickly. There are baffle plates on each side of the boat, so the wheels cannot be seen from outside. People can only see the boat race like a dragon and be amazed. Therefore, builders are ordered to increase the number of wheels of each boat to 20 to 23. This kind of boat can carry 200-300 soldiers.

偶得一军人，原是都水监白波犂运司黄河扫岸水手都料高宣者，献车船样……打造八车船样一只，数日并工而成。令人夫踏车于江流上下，往来极为快利。船两边有护车板，不见其车，但见船行如龙，观者以为神奇，乃渐增广车数，至造二十至二十三车大船，能载战士二三百人。¹¹⁸⁴

¹¹⁸² The rare document was obtained by the library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and has not been made available to the public. Zheng Cheng is a scholar affiliated with this institution and thereby had a chance to study it. The contents of this document and his textual analysis thereof were documented by him and published on his personal blog hosted on the douban website on December 11, 2018. See “Xiao Lingyu yu ‘Ji Gangjiao huolunchuan’” 萧令裕与《记港脚火轮船》, last modified December 11, 2018, https://www.douban.com/note/699791518/?_i=0452687gOEzwKD.

¹¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁴ Dingli yimin 鼎澧逸民, *Yang Yao shiji kaozheng* 杨么事迹考证, researched by Zhu Xizu 朱希祖 through textual analysis (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 21.

Before the Song dynasty, at the latest in the *Jiu tangshu* 旧唐书 (Old Book of Tang), there was a description similar to Yang Yao's *chelunchuan*: “[Li Gao 李皋 (733-792)] always put his mind on things. He made a warship with two wheels on its sides and let men operate within the wheels with their feet to make the wheels run. It moved like being pushed by wind and waves, as fast as using sails” 常运心巧思，为战船，挟二轮蹈之，翔风鼓浪，疾若挂帆席.¹¹⁸⁵ After the Song dynasty, Mao Yuanyi's 茅元仪 (1594-1640) *Wubei zhi* 武备志 (The Record of Armaments) mentioned an entry of *chelunge* 车轮舸 (paddle-wheeled boat) in volume 117.¹¹⁸⁶ The military book *Jintang jiezhu shi'er chou* 金汤借箸十二筹 (Twelve Plans of Attack and Defense) published in the late Ming dynasty (published in the 11th year of Chongzhen period, 1683) recorded a brief text description and pictures of this type of warship in the entry of *lunzhou* 轮舟 (wheeled boat) (Fig. 4.3.2-1).¹¹⁸⁷

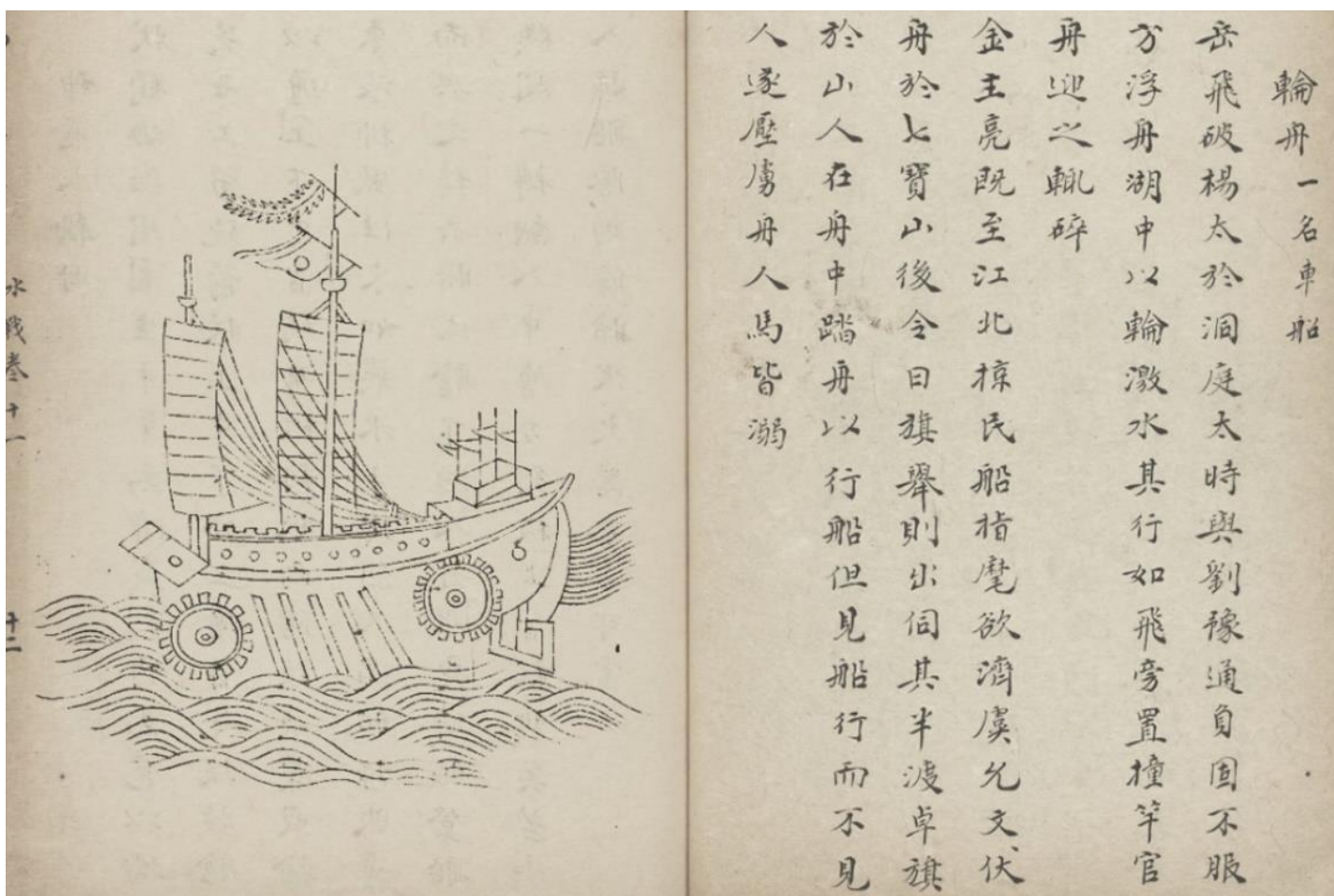


Fig. 4.3.2-1 *Lunzhou*, *Jintang jiezhu shi'er chou*.

Judging the outer appearance, the ancient Chinese *chelunchuan* is similar to the early steamboat because they both have “wheels” on the side. Precisely because of this similarity, during the First Opium War in 1840, Lin Zexu 林则徐 (1785-1850) used the term *chelunchuan* to refer to British steamboats when he reported to Emperor Daoguang: “On the 23rd of the fifth lunar month, other three *chelunchuan* had come one after another. The shafts are motivated by

¹¹⁸⁵ Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu*, vol. 131, 11a. See *SKQSHY*.

¹¹⁸⁶ Mao Yuanyi, *Wubei zhi* (Hangzhou: Lianxi Caotang, revised and reprinted by Wang Yunwen 汪允文 in the Qing dynasty, based on the Ming dynasty edition in Nanjing, 1621), vol. 117, 17a-b.

¹¹⁸⁷ Li Pan 李盘, Zhou Jian 周鉴 and Han Lin 韩霖, *Jintang jiezhu shi'er chou* 金汤借箸十二筹 (Handwritten copy in 1638), vol. 11, 11b-12a.

flames so that they can be driven more quickly” 五月二十三日又先后来有车轮船三只，以火焰激动机轴，驾驶较捷。¹¹⁸⁸

It can be seen from Lin Zexu's report that he did not understand steam power but intuitively believed that the flame provided the power to turn the wheels. Although some intellectuals had learned about the principles of steam engines from missionaries before the Opium War, Lin Zexu's view reflected most Chinese people's understanding of foreign steamboats during Daoguang period.

The appearance of steamboats, particularly when observed from a distance, often leads to the assumption that these vessels are propelled by “fire” or “smoke,” as they can be seen operating without sails and emitting burning smoke from their chimneys. It is the reason why steamboats were also called *huolunchuan* 火轮船 (fire-wheeled-boat, *huo* refers to “fire”) in the early days, rather than *qichuan* 汽船 (steamboat, *qi* refers to “steam”) that was commonly used later.

B.

The second aspect shows the foreign steamboat as a means of transportation. In this aspect, foreign steamboats were regarded as superior in technology and thus were admired. Like Yan Shouzhu in the story, most people believe steamboats were far superior to sailing ships in terms of capabilities and could even wholly replace sailboats. It can be seen from the literature records that the advantages of foreign steamboats are mainly reflected in three aspects: high applicability, speed, and sturdiness.

High applicability means that the steamboat has extremely high environmental adaptability – most Chinese sailboats then needed to be manipulated according to the water current and wind direction. Therefore, under countercurrent, undercurrent, no wind, strong wind, and other conditions, they could only rely on human towing or wait for better situation. In contrast, steamboats depended less on ocean currents and wind because they could rely on steam power to drive paddle wheels without sails. Qishan 琦善 (孛儿只斤·琦善 1786-1854) once recorded in his memorial: “Even if there is no wind and no tide, and with the current or against the current, [the steamboat] can still go quickly. If the wind bucket is removed, the wheel will stop accordingly” 无风无潮，顺水逆水，皆能飞渡。撤去风斗，轮即停止。¹¹⁸⁹ It can be seen that the high applicability was the most profound impression of the foreign steamboat in the Qing dynasty.

Although the fastest ships at the time were the clipper rather than the early steamer, the latter was still much faster than the Chinese sailboats. When the *Forbes* sailed from India to Canton province, a Chinese witness wrote down his impressions, which Wei Yuan later recorded in the book *Haiguo tuzhi*:

At the beginning of March, a *huolunchuan* came from Bengal. [...] As for the

¹¹⁸⁸ *Lin Zexu quanji bianji weiyuanhui* 林则徐全集编辑委员会, ed., *Lin Zexu quanji* 林则徐全集 3, *Zouzhe juan* 奏折卷 (Fuzhou: Haixia wenyi chubanshe, 2002), 391.

¹¹⁸⁹ *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan* 中国第一历史档案馆, ed., *Yapian zhanzheng dang'an shiliao* 2 鸦片战争档案史料, vol. 2 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1992), 290.

huolunchuan, on its center set a hollow copper column, and coal was burnt in it. Above is a mechanism that is driven by the rising flame. On each side of the boat is a wheel that turns independently and makes the boat move. Every day and night, it can go a thousand *li*. It only took 37 days from Bengal to Guangdong province. According to foreigners, it was first created in the first year of Daoguang reign (1821). It cannot be loaded with goods and can only be used for urgent correspondence. What an amazing thing it is!

三月初间，忽有火轮船自孟甲喇来……火轮船者，中立铜柱，空其内烧煤，上设机关，火焰上即自运动，两旁悉以车轮自转以行，每一昼夜可行千里，自该处至粤，仅三十七日。据夷人云，道光初年始创造，不能装货，以通紧急书信而已，斯一奇也！¹¹⁹⁰

According to Zheng Cheng, the steamer described in this article was the *Forbes* on its first trip to China. The *Forbes* was equipped with two Boulton & Watt Company's 60-horsepower steam engines and a copper boiler. Its average speed during the trip to China was about 5-5.5 knots per hour. At a speed of 5 knots per hour, it will sail 120 nautical miles (about 22 kilometers) in 24 hours or about 400 *li*. Obviously, it was an exaggeration to say that it can sail a thousand *li* in a day and night. Nevertheless, this reflects the Chinese people's recognition of foreign steamboats' speed at that time.

Especially after the combination of the high applicability and speed of the steamboat, its transportation efficiency is awe-inspiring. The article "Huolunchuan jizhi shulue" 火船机制述略 (A Brief Introduction to the Mechanism of Fireboats) in a Hong Kong Chinese-language newspaper, *Xia'er guanzhen* 遐迩贯珍 (Chinese Serial) no. 2 in 1853 had the following records:

Fireboats can reach everywhere in the world. [...] Chinese ocean sailboats can only go up to 25 *li* per hour even if the wind and current are good. If it is against the wind and the current, the sailboat cannot move an inch, and it is urgent to plan to anchor. [...] However, the big American steamboat can carry hundreds of passengers. From the United Kingdom to America, it travels through the ocean for more than ten thousand miles; whether the wind and water are good or bad, the waves are fast and slow, and it will reach the destination within ten days. The steamboat can hold 15,000 to 30,000 loads. When the wind and the waves are calm, it can travel 30 to 45 *li* in one hour. Even against the wind and the waves, it can go 15 to 30 *li* per hour.

火船于天下，无处不到……中土海船，风水皆顺，至速一时辰行不逾五十里。若风水俱逆，则咫尺难移，而急谋下碇矣……惟西邦大火船能附客数百人。由英国诣花旗国，经大洋计万余里，无论风水顺逆，波涛急缓，行十日即抵其境，其船堪装一万五千至三万担。当风恬浪静，一时辰可行六十里至九十里。即逆

¹¹⁹⁰ Wei Yuan, *Haiguo tuzhi*, 1454.

风巨浪，亦行三十至六十里。¹¹⁹¹

Another advantage of foreign steamboats recognized by the Chinese was their sturdiness. The sturdiness mentioned here is not limited to the hardness of the hull but broadly expresses the toughness of the material, structure, furnishing, and even military equipment. In the 12th volume of *Chouban yiwu shimo: Daoguang chao* 筹办夷务始末：道光朝, Qishan said after inspecting the foreign steamboat: “The hull is decorated with foreign paint, the inside is covered with iron sheets, and the cabin is covered with lacquer boards. It is as flat as a house. There are iron fences on both sides” 船身外饰洋漆，内包铁片，舱中皆铺设漆板，其平坦一如房屋之中，而光亮过之，两傍皆系铁栅栏。¹¹⁹² He mentioned that the hull is covered with iron sheets and emphasized the flatness and brightness of the board panels in the interior space, which is unmatched by Chinese sailboats. The 63rd volume of the identical book recorded that Guangdong governor Yiliang 怡良 (瓜尔佳·怡良, 1791-1867) inspected and recorded the structure of the steamboat and said: “The shape of the steamboat is long, large, robust and thick, very different from that of the Chinese army’s boat” 其长大坚厚之状，与师船迥不相同。¹¹⁹³ The so-called shape of *chang da jian hou* 长大坚厚 (long, large, robust, and thick) roughly summarized the sturdiness of foreign steamboats. Because of this feature, steamboats were sometimes used as escorts. Dong Pei 董沛 (1828-1895), a scholar in Ningbo city in the late Qing dynasty, recorded in “*Shu Baoshun lun shimo*” 书宝顺轮始末 (Records of the History of the Steamer *Baoshun*) that the ocean sailboats that transported grains were “at the turn of spring and summer, sailing northward. Although escorted by military boats, they were not intimidating to robbers” 春夏之交，联帆北上，虽有兵船护行，盗不之畏也。Therefore, in the fourth year of Xianfeng (1854), the grain transporters “purchased a large steamboat from foreign merchants in eastern Guangdong, priced at 70,000 silver coins, and named it *Baoshun*” 遂向粤东夷商购买大轮船一艘，定价银七万饼，名曰宝顺。¹¹⁹⁴ It can be seen that bandits also had heard about the sturdiness of the steamboat, so they no longer harassed the grain-transporting boats.

The Chinese generally recognized these advantages of foreign steamboats at that time. Therefore, in the second half of the 19th century, in addition to some private shipping companies jointly established with foreigners, the Qing government also established

¹¹⁹¹ “Huolunchuan jizhi shulue,” in *Xia'er guanzhen*, no. 2 (1853), cited in Matsuura Akira 松浦章, Uchida Keiichi 内田庆市 and Shen Guowei 沈国威, eds., *Chinese Serials no kenkyu* 遐迩贯珍の研究 (Ōsaka: Kansai University Press, 2004), 703.

¹¹⁹² Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan, ed., *Yapian zhanzheng dang'an shiliao* 2, 290.

¹¹⁹³ Feimo Wenqing 费莫·文庆, *Chouban yiwu shimo* 筹办夷务始末 (photocopy of the Qing dynasty transcript collected in Beijing Palace Museum), vol. 63, 38b.

¹¹⁹⁴ Dong Pei, “*Shu Baoshun lun shimo*,” cited in Ningboshi Yinzhouqu zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 宁波市鄞州区政协文史资料委员会, ed., *Fengwu binfen: Siming wenlu, Yinzhou wenshi jingxuan* 风物缤纷：四明文录 《鄞州文史》精选 (Ningbo: Ningbo chubanshe, 2017), 142.

institutions that first purchased and then began building steamboats one after another, successively opening several near-sea and inland water routes.

C.

Admittedly, as a means of transportation, the foreign steamer had an advantage over the Chinese junk; it is worth noting the third aspect implicit in this story. This aspect can be discovered only based on the perspective that the “boat” perceived and treated as a symbol in this study is not a pure concept of transportation but a cultural symbol directly related to human psychology, which leads to the scrutiny of the use of onboard space and its relationship to the bodies of those who use it.

Looking at the story from this angle, we will find that the steamboat Yan Shouzhu saw for the first time was not used as a space for accommodating tourists but only as a traction power machine to tow a massive Chinese-style cruise boat. This easily overlooked fact reflects that these wealthy customers distanced themselves from the steamboat by choosing to remain within the confines of traditional architectural spaces such as pleasure boats. Consequently, the steamer became isolated from this spatial context and detached from the physical presence of its customers.

Based on this point of view, the third side of the story shows that as a space, especially as a space for people to relax, foreign steamboats were regarded as far inferior to Chinese cruise boats. Of course, this gradually changed in later periods, but at least in the early days, the traditional conservative elite of the Qing dynasty still regarded steamers as secondary in cultural terms of view – the more conservative these people were, the later they changed their minds.

This phenomenon may be related to the so-called “ethnocentrism.” As John Fairbank pointed out, this attitude had much in common with modern nationalism. However, the difference is that modern nationalism, such as the “common culture of Western Christendom,” “seems closely tied to a general feeling of competition and insecurity.” At the same time, “Chinese xenophobia was combined with a complete confidence in cultural superiority. China reacted not as a cultural subunit, but as a large ethnocentric universe which remained quite sure of its cultural superiority even when relatively inferior in military power to fringe elements of its universe.”¹¹⁹⁵

It has been introduced in detail in the first three chapters that, for users, the boat-architectures constitute not only the material space but also a spiritual space constructed by culture. The previous chapters show how the cultural elites occupying a higher class in society were accustomed to integrating their emotions and thoughts into the Chinese boat-architecture space. Thus, the separation of the steamboat from the body suggests that this group is unable or unwilling to connect emotionally with the steamboat’s space. Not only that, but they denied the spatial properties of the steamers by comparing them to the oxen and horses and treating them as mere tractive power. This denial is tinged with cultural contempt. Just as the Chinese in the Qing dynasty called the Westerners *manyi* 蛮夷 (barbarians) or *yang guizi* (see 2.4.2), no matter what technological or military superiority the West demonstrated, the Chinese elites

¹¹⁹⁵ Fairbank and Reischauer, *China*, 178.

always had a way of culturally belittling it as inferior.

If this point is too obscure in Yan Shouzhu's story, Empress Dowager Cixi's attitude towards foreign steamboats made it obvious. Chapter 3 mentioned that Empress Dowager Cixi once ordered the *Xiangfeng* and three other steamboats (*Pengri*, *Xiangyun*, and *Hengchun*) from abroad. However, she disliked the *Xiangfeng* for being *yangqi taizhong* 洋气太重 (too foreign) and abandoned it after only one ride. The latter three also underwent a thorough transformation of their appearance before being sent to the Summer Palace. Later, in the Summer Palace, Japan presented another steamboat, the *Yonghe* 永和 (Forever Peace), to the Qing court in the 31st year of Guangxu reign (1905). However, despite the great expense of purchasing these steamers, Empress Dowager Cixi was reluctant to travel on them. Undoubtedly, safety concerns played a pivotal role in her decision-making process. It is worth noting that the steamer *Yonghe* experienced a boiler explosion incident during its initial trial run.

Nevertheless, Cixi's aversion to the western style was also critical. The picture files and old photos show that the structures above these steamboats have been transformed into Chinese architectural style as much as possible, but they are still entirely incomparable with those gorgeous and exquisite traditional imperial boats. Except for the rudder at the stern, those royal boats are almost garden buildings floating on the water – since all masts and sails had been removed, tugboats were required to tow them. Thus, these steamboats took the role of tugboats, while kept up the “seriousness” of the “Navy Academy” in the Summer Palace.



Fig. 4.3.2-2 An old photo of the steamboat (used as a tugboat) and Emperor Guangxu's imperial boat, *Shuiyunxiang* 水云乡.

The old photo showed the steamboat (used as a tugboat) and Emperor Guangxu's imperial boat, *Shuiyunxiang* 水云乡, side by side (Fig. 4.3.2-2). In comparison, the overall size of the steamboat is much smaller than the imperial boat. Above the hull of the *Shuiyunxiang*,

one can see three double-slope tile roofs connected back and forth, giving it a solid sense of mass and suggesting a more ample space below. As can be seen from another photo of this imperial boat (Fig. 4.3.2-3), there is an open front porch under the double-sloped roof of the prow, while the rear two-bay space is relatively private. From another photo of the steamboat (Fig. 4.3.2-4), however, it can be seen that although it uses Chinese-style windows on the facade to simulate architecture, its shape – the paddle wheels on both sides and the surrounding metal frame – still make it more like a cold, stuffless “traction machine.”



Fig. 4.3.2-3 An old photo of the *Shuiyunxiang*.



Fig. 4.3.2-4 An old photo of the same steamboat.

Moreover, the height contrast between the two boats suggests that the space inside the steamboat is almost unusable. In the photos of *Shuiyunxiang*, using the people standing on the boat as a reference can reveal that its architecture was reduced proportionally, so its internal height, even counting the downward height difference of the cabin, is relatively lower than traditional palace buildings. It means that the interior space of the steamboat, which is much lower than *Shuiyunxiang*, will be extremely shallow and cramped. Assumably, the steamboat's interior space should allow operators or maintenance personnel to enter, but Empress Dowager Cixi or Emperor Guangxu obviously would not consider sightseeing Kunming Lake in such a space. Their bodies and spirits could only be relaxed in a traditional Chinese imperial boat, which is familiar and safe, like a "water palace." Space on a steamboat was unimportant to them, if not non-existent.

Expressing the negation of space on the foreign steamboats and using them as a tool to tow traditional royal or luxury cruise boats only, this novel, expensive, and tech-advanced foreign product seems to have been doomed to submit to an arrogant higher position assumed to have been created by China's long history and profound culture. And this holds true for all represented by the steamboat: technology, power, and the system represented by the West.

Indeed, Cixi or those social elites did not necessarily have a clear awareness, be it their motivation or actions, but effectively they tried to disenchant foreign steamboats and likewise western technologies and all perceived as belonging systemically to it. For the upper classes and rulers of a conservative feudal society, this disenchantment appears to have been necessary psychologically to maintain their social class distinction and the feudal social system, especially when the officials of the Westernizationists and the Reformists all regarded steamboats as one of the symbols of new technology and even the new political system.

4.3.3 Foreign Steamboat vs. Chinese Boat: The Symbol of Power and Counter-Power

The previous comprehensive exposition of the historical backdrop of Western penetration into China during the late Qing dynasty and the Chinese populace's disposition towards foreign commodities, particularly early steamboats, signifies that the "foreign steamboat" served as a pivotal symbol on the cusp of the times. The following will further explain how this symbol embodies the projection of power (counter-power) in this era of contradiction and conflict between China and the West.

Until the end of the 15th century, Chinese ocean-going boats still ranked among the best in the world's shipping industry. A case in point is Zheng He's 郑和 (1371-1433) huge ocean-going fleet in the Ming dynasty. However, since the 16th century, under the deliberate suppression of the feudal autocratic regime, Chinese sea boats have embarked on a relatively backward road, both in technology and quality.

In the 23rd year of Kangxi reign (1684), he ordered that:

If there are those who build an illegal two-mast boat (brigantine) with size over 25 tons

to go out to sea, regardless of officials, soldiers, or civilians, they will be sent out frontiers to fill the army. The officials in charge of civil and military affairs and the chief of the local government, the conspirators and builders, will be exiled for three years; those who knew about the shipbuilding affairs but did not report it, officials will be dismissed, civilian and military men will be beaten by a stick for a hundred times.

如有打造双桅五百石以上违式船只出海者，不论官兵民人，俱发边卫充军。该管文武官员及地方甲长，同谋打造者，徒三年；明知打造不行举首者，官革职，兵民杖一百。¹¹⁹⁶

In the 42nd year of Kangxi reign (1703), despite the permission to construct a brigantine, strict regulations were imposed on commercial sea boats:

The head beam [of the prow] shall not exceed one *zhang* and eight *chi* (about 630 cm), and the number of the sailers shall not exceed 28. The boat with a head beam of one *zhang* and six or seven *chi* (about 560-595 cm), may have no more than 24 sailers. The boat with a head beam of one *zhang* and four or five *chi* (about 490-525 cm), may have no more than 16 sailers. The boat with a head beam of one *zhang* and two or three *chi* (about 420-455 cm), may have no more than 14 sailers.

其梁头不得过一丈八尺，舵水人等不得过二十八名。其一丈六七尺梁头者，不得过二十四名，一丈四五尺梁头者，不得过十六名，一丈二三尺梁头者，不得过十四名。¹¹⁹⁷

The implementation of these rules and regulations caused a historic reversal in the Chinese wooden sailing boat manufacturing industry. At the same time, the shipbuilding industry in the West had been developing rapidly with the government's full support and advanced technology.

Especially after the industrial revolution in Britain in the mid-18th century, with the advent of ships that used steel as their hulls and steam machines as their engines, the world's maritime industry opened a new epoch. Before the Opium War, China's small and medium-sized traditional wooden sailing boats had considerable strength in terms of the total number and gross tonnage, and they were still developed compared to the Ming dynasty. However, the "strength" or "development" of Chinese navigation power has become obsolete in light of the growth of Western navigation capabilities. In the 1850s, Westerners no longer viewed Chinese sailing boats as breathtaking masterpieces of centuries past, but rather as "unwieldy"¹¹⁹⁸ and outdated junks in terms of their construction and equipment.

¹¹⁹⁶ Aixin-Jueluo Kungang, ed., *Qinding da Qing huidian shili*, vol 776, 14a.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid., vol. 120 4b-5a.

¹¹⁹⁸ See Davidson, *Trade and Travel in the Far East*, 53.

On January 7th, 1841, in the Second Battle of Chuenpi, the *HEICS Nemesis*, an iron-hulled paddle-wheeled steamship belonging to the East India Company, launched Congreve rockets towards a Qing navy sailboat. This resulted in the detonation of the vessel's powder keg and subsequent destruction. First published in the illustrated London news in November 1842, the scene of "a steamship blowing up a Chinese sailboat" entered the public eye of the west, became the subject of a commemorative oil painting the following year, and is still the iconic historical image of the First Opium War (Fig. 4.3.3-1&2&3).



Fig. 4.3.3-1&2&3 Paintings depicted the destruction of Chinese junks by the *Nemesis*.

From these paintings on the theme of the *Nemesis* sinking a Qing dynasty warship, we can see that the steamboat's power was deeply rooted in the public's hearts at the time. Especially for those Western conquerors who knocked on China's door, the steamboat symbolized military strength, a higher level of technology, and even civilization. It can be said that the steamboat represented a commanding inquiry into the Eastern world by those who came from the far West. This point is clearly shown in a cartoon created by American cartoonist Louis Dalrymple (1866-1905) in 1898 (Fig. 4.3.3-4). The painting was titled "Commerce vs. Conquest." China, Britain, the United States, Germany, France, and Russia were personified in the painting. This artistic expression technique was quite common in war propaganda posters then. Representing Qing China is an elderly male official crouching above a supposed to be Chinese building or a throne. The three men representing Germany, France, and Russia are dressed in military uniforms, respectively holding a sword, a rifle, and two pistols in their hands, standing from a distance. Two men representing the United Kingdom and the United States, dressed in sailor suits, each hold a model of an ironclad ship in their hands and talk in low voices as they walk toward the Chinese official. According to the note in the picture, Uncle Sam (the United States) is saying to John Bull (Britain): "Don't scare him, John, the way those other fellows are doing. Tell him all we want is to have him open his harbors and markets to everybody!"¹¹⁹⁹



Fig. 4.3.3-4 The western cartoon, "Commerce vs. Conquest."

¹¹⁹⁹ See Louis Dalrymple (1866-1905), "Commerce vs. Conquest," *Puck*, vol. 42, no. 1091, February, 1898.

The painting makes an interesting contrast between the steamboat and the weapons, such as guns and swords. The accompanying text, “Uncle Sam’s words to John Bull,” implied that the boat they held in their hands represented “commerce,” while the weapons in the hands of the three in the distance represented “conquest.” However, China’s ports opening was precisely the result of being suppressed by force, and the market opened to the West was not a transaction under fair competition. In fact, the symbol of the steamboat itself stood for both “commerce” and “conquest” – the latter was clearly expressed in those commemorative oil paintings about the Opium Wars.

The image of steamboats used to represent power was not only widely produced in Western countries. The following examples show that in China, although sometimes from a completely different perspective, steamboats also represented power/counter-power in the eyes of the Chinese.

First to be shown are works of literature in which authors wherein authors employed steamboat imagery to subtly convey power symbolism.

Lin Xu 林旭 (1875-1898) was a Reformist literati in Fuzhou city in the late Qing dynasty. He promoted the reform movement and actively participated in the New Policy. He was arrested after the failure of the *bairi weixin* 百日维新 (Hundred Days Reform) and was killed in Caishikou 菜市口, Beijing, together with Tan Sitong 谭嗣同 (1865-1898) and four other people (known in history as the *wuxu liu junzi* 戊戌六君子, which means “the six gentlemen of 1898”) on September 28th. He once wrote a poem called “Mafang gou” 马房沟 to describe what he saw and felt after seeing a foreign steamboat passing while boating on Gaoyou Lake:

[...] How to kill the scenery, the fire steamboat gallops. What is the difference between (this steamboat and) an iron *ruyi*¹²⁰⁰ that smashes the crimson glaze? It is like the knives lacerating Zhinü’s brocade and the carts tearing Wenjun’s skin. The mud was dug out and broke the roots of duckweed; the ashes were blown off and tarnished the willow branches. [...]

……如何杀风景，火轮裹而驰。何殊铁如意，打碎赤琉璃。刀剺织女锦，车裂文君肌。扣泥断萍根，吹灰黏柳须……¹²⁰¹

In the poem, Lin Xu used various violent vocabulary symbols such as *sha* 杀 (kill), *dasui* 打碎 (smash), *dao* 刀 (knife), *li* 剺 (lacerate), *cheli* 车裂 (an ancient punishment that tears a person asunder by five carts), to emphasize the power associated with the image of “foreign steamboat” and its connotation as intention to destroy. He created a harsh opposition between the beautiful but fragile lake water and the tainting foreign steamboat. *Chi liuli* 赤琉

¹²⁰⁰ *Ruyi* is an auspiciously named art object, originally designed for scratching on the back by oneself.

¹²⁰¹ Lin Xu, “Mafang gou,” in *Wuxu sizi ji* 戊戌四子集, ed. Zhang Yuliang 张玉亮 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2019), 47.

璃 (crimson glaze), *Zhinü jin*¹²⁰² 织女锦 (Zhinü's brocade), *Wenjun ji*¹²⁰³ 文君肌 (Wenjun's skin) are all metaphors for the "lake water," suffering from violence, as do "duckweed" and "willow branches." In describing how the steamboat "cruelly" destroys the beautiful scenery of Gaoyou Lake, the author implies that the West destroyed the splendid culture of China.

As a person who gave his life for the reformist cause, Lin Xu must have been supportive of Western natural science and social theories. The *wuxu bianfa* 戊戌变法 (Reform Movement of 1898, also known as the Hundred Days Reform) in which he participated disseminated modern political theory and natural science knowledge and played an enlightening role in Chinese society's ideology. Nevertheless, in this poem, he still exhibited evident aversion towards the image of the foreign steamboat. This is because the poet perceives the "foreign steamboat" as a vessel projecting the dominance of Western colonizers, thereby inciting intense animosity from the colonized party.

Another different example comes from *Huayushan lou suibi* 花雨山楼随笔. It records a story about a villager named Li Zhengben 李正本 in Shunde 顺德 county in eastern Guangdong. In the narrative, Li Zhengben embarked on a foreign vessel at the age of 16 and was subsequently rescued by foreigners following a shipwreck. He spent many years leading an itinerant existence in foreign lands, where his exceptional intellect enabled him to acquire fluency in various foreign languages and master the construction of Western steamers and all fire attack equipment. Although foreigners recognized his talents, they harbored concerns that he might attempt to flee; as such, they imposed permanent restrictions on his movements and kept him under close surveillance whenever he ventured outside. Afterward, during the First Opium War, foreigners often sought Li's expertise in firearms manufacturing, boat construction, and even military recruitment. Li Zhengben seized an opportunity to escape when he was utilized as a guide by invaders penetrating the interior regions. He endured countless hardships to dispel suspicions from the Qing government and successfully attained the esteemed honor of the sixth-rank *dingdai*. Subsequently, Li presented meticulous drawings and exquisite models of foreign steamboats and firearms to the emperor, resulting in his appointment as a sixth-rank official¹²⁰⁴

This story borrows the template of "overseas adventures" widely spread among the folk: The protagonist obtains "rare treasures" after being exiled to a foreign land and improves his life through the items obtained abroad after returning to his motherland. Western steamer, among other bits of knowledge, are the "treasures" acquired by the protagonist Li Zhengben in this version of the story. However, unlike other treasures such as gold or coral, since the story emphasizes the relationship between ships, guns, and war aggression, the foreign steamboat here not only represents the "value" of other treasures in this motif but also represents "power."

¹²⁰² Zhinü is a goddess associated with weaving, is symbolized by her brocade which represents an exquisite and delicate fabric.

¹²⁰³ Wenjun is a historical beauty, and her skin boasts an incredibly smooth texture.

¹²⁰⁴ See the story of Li Zhengben in *Huayushan lou suibi*, cited in Wang Guoping, comp. *Hangzhou wenxian jicheng* 26. *Wulin fangxiang zhi* 武林坊巷志, vol. 4 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubenshe, 2014), 34-35.

Moreover, when it was “dedicated” to the Qing court by Li Zhengben, the author constructed a transfer of power from the Western colonists to the Qing government through narrative, albeit in a purely literary sense.

The last literary work on display is even more intriguing than the former two. This case is another story of an adventure overseas, which comes from Wang Tao’s *Songyin manlu* 淞隐漫录 (1885) and is called “Haiwai meiren” 海外美人 (The Overseas Beauties). The focus of the following discussion, however, lies on the preparation of the story’s protagonist Lu Meifang 陆梅舫, before embarking on his maritime adventure – constructing a boat.

The story wrote that in the choice of boat, Lu Meifang raised his requirement: “sturdy, fast and convenient, and can sail in front of the waves” 坚捷便利，冲涉波涛。¹²⁰⁵ So the helmsmen suggested: “It is better to use a western boat than to take a Chinese boat; it is better to buy a steamer than to use a tween decker. If so, [we] can circle the earth and enjoy the world’s great view” 与乘华船，不如用西船；与用夹板，不如购轮舟，如此可绕地球一周而极天下之大观矣。¹²⁰⁶ Here, the author first uses the words of the helmspersons to establish a powerful image of the steamboat. However, the author immediately objects to this image in the mouth of Lu Meifang: “Before the arrival of Westerners in China, my family had been engaged in maritime trade for generations. Why should we now rely on the propulsion of two paddle wheels to cover thousands of miles” 自西人未入中土，我家已世代航海为业，何必恃双轮之迅驶，而始能作万里之环行哉？¹²⁰⁷ The author launched a round of wrestling between “China” and “the West” with the image of a steamboat.

Although in the real world, steamboats were indisputably superior in comparison, in the story the author conceived an unprecedented boat that surpassed steamboats. It is worth noting that the author of this story is the same as in the previous “Yan Shouzhu” story. We pointed out that he had a rather deep understanding of Western scientific knowledge. Yet he was still more a literato than a scientist. His knowledge was insufficient to create a boat that surpassed a steamship, even from a theoretical standpoint. We can state this when reading Wang Tao’s description:

[It is] 28 *zhang* in length, according to the 28 *xiu*; The bottom of the boat also uses the wheel shafts [similar to those used in Western steamboats], which operate in accordance with the 24 *qi*; The boat’s prow and stern are equipped with two air cylinders [symbolizing] the sun, moon, and five planets. Their up and down movements are [propelled] by the air resistance, eliminating the necessity for coal combustion [as required by steamboats].

船身长二十八丈，按二十八宿之方位；船底亦用轮轴，依二十四气而运行；船

¹²⁰⁵ Wang Tao, “Haiwai meiren,” in *Songyin manlu*, 193.

¹²⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁷ Ibid.

之首尾设有日月五星二气筒，上下皆用空气阻力，而无藉煤火。¹²⁰⁸

Wang Tao wanted to sell us a concept based on traditional culture as a scientific guideline for constructing boats. The concept is based on the 28 *xiu* 宿 (the constellations divided by ancient Chinese) and the 24 *qi* 气 (the divisions of the solar year in the traditional Chinese calendar). He proposed a hull length of 28 *zhang* based on the *xiu*'s number. He suggested that the wheel shaft's rotation followed the 24 *qi*'s movement. Additionally, he asserted that the power came from the "air resistance" produced by the inflator of the sun, moon, and five planets.

It is difficult to understand, even more to accept, that an individual well-versed in steam engine technology would expend energy defending a cultural heritage that has proven to be "obsolete." Equally intriguing is the revelation that he is not alone. In the 1880s, a group of Chinese scholars tried to find the basis for Westernization in China's tradition. According to Fairbank, this is "a variant of the customary practice of 'finding in antiquity the sanction for present changes.'"¹²⁰⁹ In his book, Fairbank mentioned that the legitimacy of Tongwenguan 同文馆 (School of Combined Learning) learning from the West in the 1860s was justified by alleging that "Western science borrows their roots from ancient Chinese mathematics," and in the 1880s, "a vulgar apologetics for Westernization" developed a similar logic, that is, "tracing the origin of chemistry to the ancient theory of the 'five elements' so as to make chemistry part of China's cultural heritage."¹²¹⁰

This story by Wang Tao was first published in 1885. We are unsure if Wang Tao was part of the "vulgar apologetics for Westernization" because this statement was expressed in a novel he wrote – and he knew it was not valid. When he fully indulged his imagination in the text and attempted to supersede the original power symbol of the steamboat with a fantastical vessel that defied natural science, it is possible that he intended to satirize the aforementioned scholars. Alternatively, perhaps he was only to satisfy his pure wish that China could win in this wrestling. Therefore, Wang Tao's boat, whose production rooted in the traditional Chinese "ancient theory," constructed a kind of "counter-power" against the "power" symbol represented in the Western steamboats.

The following cases will turn to folk visual arts. In these works, the steamboat is often depicted as the party being opposed. Therefore, "power" (the steamboat) and "counter-power" (the party against the steamboat) always coexist.

One type of work depicts the scene of relying on fortifications against foreign steamboats. The painters expressed the military power of the Chinese side with the victory against enemy ships. This kind of image is essentially not very different from the Western propaganda posters with the theme of the sinking of the Qing dynasty warship by the *Nemesis* – only the steamers turn out to be the one that was sunk in these paintings (Fig. 4.3.3-5).

¹²⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁹ Fairbank and Reischauer, *China*, 372.

¹²¹⁰ Ibid.

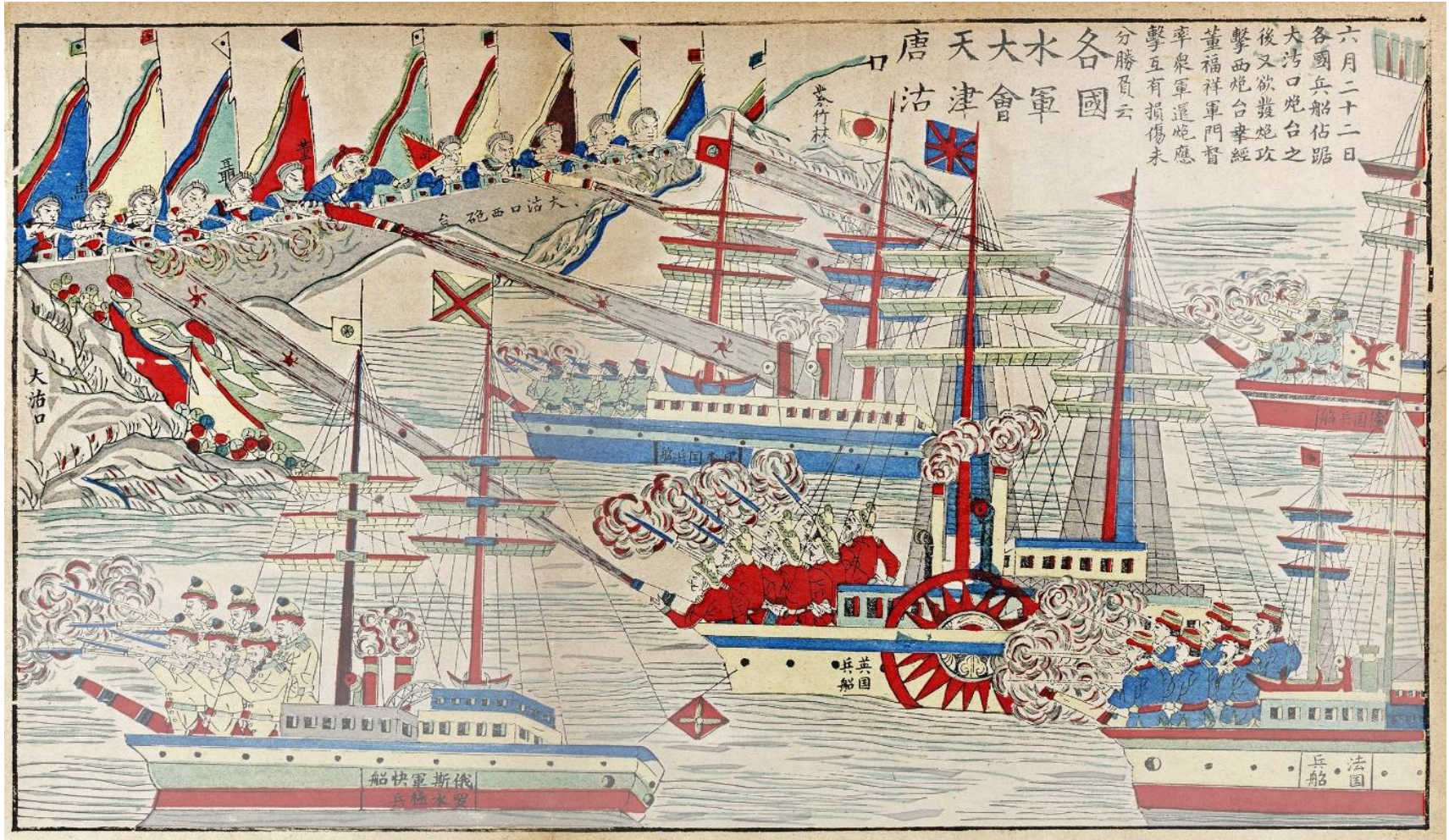


Fig. 4.3.3-5 The picture depicts the scene of relying on fortifications against foreign steamboats.



Fig. 4.3.3-6 The picture shows a steamer image painted by a Chinese folk artist.

The other kind of work is quite fascinating. The picture shows a steamer image painted by a Chinese folk artist (Fig. 4.3.3-6). There is a “doggerel” written in the blank space. It says:

The English foreigners raising revolt, 英夷作乱
 Rebelling against the laws of Heaven. 悖逆天理
 On the third day of the fourth moon, 四月初三
 Assailed as rebels the city of Yang (Canton). 逆犯羊城
 The holy gods of the Emerald Space, 玉虚神圣
 Stranded their ships on the Dragon Rock. 石龙浅船

And when they entered the Ne-Ching, 又入坭城
 Their vessels of war went all aground. 战船沙[?]
 The devil soldiers were routed there, 鬼兵大败
 And so delayed till the sixth of the moon. 追至初六
 They shot at the city with arrows of fire, 火箭射城
 But ere their cannon had sounded thrice. 一炮三声
 There came from Heaven a red-colored rain, 天降红雨
 And utterly quenched the fire of their guns. 炮火尽灭
 The men of the villages north of the town, 城北乡人
 Took courage at once and advanced in pursuit. 忽勇追前
 On the summit then of the white cloud hill, 白云山上
 The masters of Heaven sent down the rain. 天公降雨
 The foreign devils in hundreds then, 数百鬼夷
 Were put to death and they punished all. 皆被杀死
 The head of their chief was cut off and shown, 头目梟首
 The name of that chief was called Pik-mik (Bremer?). 名曰百麦
 The foreigners' livers and hearts grew cold, 夷胆心寒
 Routed they threw off their clothes and fled. 败脱衣走
 Our people rousing their valour up, 我民鼓勇
 On all sides cut them to pieces small. 四祭截剿
 All, all were punished and quite cut off, 并皆诛灭
 The foreign ships to afar withdrew. 夷船尽退
 And went to beyond the Tiger's Gates (Bocca Tigris), 远出虎门
 How vain to contend gainst the laws of Heaven! 难容天理
 By water and land these man fell sick, 水土时症
 By fierce disease they died of themselves. 瘟瘴自死
 Give thanks for this to the gods of Heaven, 激神为之
 A general peace will follow on this. 太平从此
 In quiet and glory each one will live, 各安荣生
 The men of the procinve will have much joy. 郡民大喜

The fire ship is of a war-ship's make, 大船战船式
 Its length is three hundred cubits and more, 长三十余丈
 Its height and breadth are thirty and more. 高阔三十余
 Through its iron case it is strong and firm, 用铁包坚固
 Its body is colored all round with black, 周身油黑色
 It is like a shuttle that weaves the cloth. 如织布梭样
 On each of its sides it had fixed a wheel, 两边加车轮
 Which is moved by the use of burning coal, 用煤炭烧起
 And turns around like a galloping horse. 旋转如走马
 It has sails of white cloth of two different kinds, 白布阴阳里
 If the wind befor or against, it can go. 顺逆风能走

At the ship's head is the god of the waves, 船头是浪神
 From head to sail it is girt with guns, 船尾周身炮
 Its shape and fashion astonish mankind. 形样实惊人
 The holy gods of the Emerald space, 玉虚神显圣
 On the rocky Dragon grounded the ships, 石龙浅火船
 And showed the strength of the laws of Heaven. 具见真天理

These foreigners' having no success, 夷人无所施
 Greatly delighted the hearts of all. 大悦众人心¹²¹¹

The existence of multiple such images during that period was documented. Another depiction was recorded in William C. Hunter's book, *Bits of China*. According to him, the picture "represented H.M.'s ships Sulphur and Nemesis, stationed in front of a temple near Pwan's country house at Pun-Tong. A ship's boat is also included, full of 'redcoats'. On asking a Chinaman in pigeon English who the person was in a three-cornered hat and long coat, with pockets and wide cuffs, standing on the royal *yard-arm* and surveying the country with a telescope, he replied, 'he belong chief mate.'¹²¹²

William C. Hunter also recorded in his book: "this picture was 'The representation of a *fighting* ship and a *fire* ship, with explanations', thus:

Their length is more than three hundred feet,
 Their height and breadth more than thirty feet,
 They use iron guns of great size and strength,
 They are painted all over of a black colour,
 Having the look of being covered with iron garments.
 The fire ship has wheels on both sides
 Which are made to revolve by fire made of coal.
 She runs with the swiftness of a fleet horse,
 While sails made of white cloth cover her masts above and below.
 She heeds neither a fair wind nor a contrary wind,
 At the prow she carries the figure of the demon of destruction,
 On all sides are seen rows of cannon;
 Truly the figures of these vessels cause one to shudder.
 But the just gods manifested their wrath,
 At Shek-lung the fire ship grounded and was lost.

¹²¹¹ The British Library categorizes the verse on the scroll as "doggerel." The English translation is also provided on the right attachment to the original painting. See "The First Opium War: Image Gallery / scrl_nemesis_D40019-320F1," https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/opium_wars_01/ow1_gallery/pages/scrl_nemesis_ID40019-04_bl.html.

¹²¹² William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co, 1885), 191.

These demons in creating war and confusion
 Rebelled against Heaven!
 On the third sun of the fourth moon,
 They attacked the City of Rams;
 The righteous gods interfered.
 But they landed at Nae-Shing.
 The demon soldiers were entirely defeated
 And driven to the end of the river,
 Darts and arrows flew like hail,
 Each gun trebly shotted dealt destruction.
 The gods caused a great rain to descend,
 Rendering their cannon and guns useless.
 The brave villagers north of the city
 Enraged rushed upon the enemy,
 From the summit of the White Cloud Mountain
 Rain descended in overwhelming torrents.
 Vast numbers of the demons
 Were slaughtered and their heads cut off,
 Several of their leaders were slain,
 Amongst them one named Pak-ma,
 The hearts of the barbarians became frozen
 They scattered and fled in every direction,
 The ships then retired, sailing beyond the Bogue,
 Unable to endure the just vengeance of the gods!
 Then the earth being wet and soft, many sunk down and were lost.
 Our gods granted us protection,
 Peace was established from this moment,
 All people now returned to their work.
 While joy once more appears and fills the breasts of all.¹²¹³

From the description William C. Hunter gave, this picture he mentioned is not the same as the one mentioned above. However, they shared the same motif and narrative. They were both about English men-of-war and their steamship in the first Opium War. The Chinese civilians were extraordinarily curious about these “monsters” and their vessels. Therefore, the steamboat’s image was “cut on blocks of wood, innumerable copies struck off, and sold about the city and suburbs for less than a halfpenny.”¹²¹⁴ In some images, “the steamers were supplied with enormous wheels everywhere – astern, under the bows, and in duplicate on the sides.”¹²¹⁵

¹²¹³ Ibid., 191-193.

¹²¹⁴ Ibid., 190.

¹²¹⁵ Ibid., 191.

Judging from the picture, this type of work differs from the former type because it does not depict the fighting situation. If the doggerel on the picture is removed, it looks more like a popular scientific picture of a steamboat. Even in these doggerels, a considerable part is devoted to forging the strong image of the steamboat. After the powerful image was created, folk artists used easy-to-understand words to construct a supernatural-related counter-power to overwhelm it.

Unlike the superstitious intentions that Wang Tao selected from traditional Chinese culture in the “Haiwai meiren” story, folk expressions were often pointed directly to the gods. Some folk gods and supernatural powers were used against the steamboat and won handily. However, the irony is that although there was an incident in history where the people of Sanyuanli 三元里 in Guangzhou rebelled against the British, it was utterly inconsistent with the great victory described in the poem. These doggerels were no records of authentic historical events but curses in the sense of witchcraft. This kind of supernatural-related anti-power was often very influential among the folk and, therefore, popular. The means of “increasing” individual combat power, such as *qingshen futi* 请神附体 (inviting gods to possess one’s body) in the Boxers who advocated “eliminating the foreigners,” were precisely similar to it.

Similar to this image is another painting called “The Boat and Fan United in Heart” (Fig. 4.3.3-7). It depicts two Chinese warships attacking a foreign ship and setting it on fire. Although the foreign ship in it may not be a steamboat, the picture is still worth mentioning.



Fig. 4.3.3-7 “The Boat and Fan United in Heart.”

The two Chinese warships in the picture are led by Zhuge Liang 诸葛亮 (181-234) and Yue Fei 岳飞 (1103-1142), the famous military strategists in history. Nevertheless, the transcription reveals that their method of vanquishing the enemy vessel involves igniting it through an inexplicable supernatural means. Consequently, these two military strategists assume the roles akin to military deities.

What adds further intrigue is that both individuals have historically achieved remarkable triumphs in ship battles. Zhuge Liang's burning of the warships of Cao Cao's 曹操 (155-220) army in the Battle of Chibi 赤壁之战 was one of the most famous battles in the Three Kingdoms period. In this war, the people regarded Zhuge Liang's prediction of the weather (wind direction) as a manifestation of his sorcery. Thus, in this depiction, Zhuge Liang employed his fan to direct an eastward wind and propel the flames towards the enemy vessel. Yue Fei's presence here is an ingenious stroke. Yue Fei once suppressed Yang Yao's peasant uprising. As mentioned in 4.3.2, Yang Yao's navy was famous for the paddle-wheeled boat – the *chewan*. During the battle, Yue Fei strategically scattered numerous weeds on the water's surface, effectively impeding the rotation of Yang Yao's *chewan* wheels and ultimately securing a triumphant victory. The aforementioned analogy, which draws parallels between early Western paddled steamboats and historical *chewan*, clearly reveals the occult reasons for Yue Fei's presence here.

In general, these images depict the steamboat initially as a formidable symbol and subsequently emphasize the triumph over this powerful force. Due to the Qing dynasty's naval defeat and military capabilities, artists promptly turned to divine entities in order to acquire this counter-power.

The provided examples enabled us to recognize that the images of the “foreign steamboat” and the “Chinese boat” gradually evolved into symbolic expressions of “power” and “counter-power,” as they fiercely clashed within the context of late Qing dynasty. The subsequent discussion will review the case of Yangchuan Wu, focusing specifically on the manifestation and portrayal of power within the discourse surrounding boat-architecture that this chapter aims to present.

4.3.4 A New Look at the Formation and Acceptance of the Discourse in the Case of Yangchuan Wu

In the era when the West penetrated China, the symbol of the “foreign steamboat” embodies takeover of foreign culture as well as arising awareness of and self-conscious pride in local culture. Architecture serves as a manifestation of culture and the social environment. Upon examining the Yangchuan Wu case within China's significant wave of social and cultural transformations, we can identify various aspects embodied in the representation of the “foreign steamboat” as a cultural symbol, which were not explicitly conveyed through folk customs communication. These aspects also played a pivotal role in shaping and disseminating the architectural discourse surrounding Yangchuan Wu.

The previous research on the Yangchuan Wu and its story show that this architectural

discourse's social and cultural factors are of non-negligible importance. The local folklore downplayed the “foreign” attribute of this building as if the steamboat was only a novel thing that aroused the curiosity of a woman in Huangtian village. Yet, in the light of the historical background of Daoguang reign, it retained significant importance in shaping the discourse among villagers. Considering the emphasis on “foreign steamboats” in forming this architectural discourse, combined with the social background and international situation in the last years of Daoguang reign, it is conceivable that the construction of such a building in a mountain village must have had some unique connotations beyond those in the traditional context (as discussed in 4.2.1).

Firstly, whether it is the imitation of a foreign steamboat in terms of architectural outlines or the emphasis on foreign steamboats in folklore, the Yangchuan Wu can be regarded as a space created by the discourse of *yanghuo* at the architectural level. Zhu Zonghuai, the builder of the Yangchuan Wu, obviously belonged to the class of wealthy businessmen among the users of *yanghuo* mentioned above. His choice of building a family house imitating a “foreign steamboat” not only reflected his experience of foreign trade but also expressed a status higher than other local villagers in terms of both material and spiritual life. This superiority was also implicitly reflected in the folklore of the Yangchuan Wu. The narrative portrays an attitude of both envy and curiosity among the local villagers, who had never before witnessed a steamboat, by utilizing Zhu Zonghuai's mother as their representative. However, by attributing this attitude to the builder's mother, the story transforms this sense of superiority into one that no longer necessitates evoking feelings of envy. By fulfilling his mother's wish, the image of Zhu Zonghuai also turned from a showing-off businessman into a filial son in keeping with the traditional morals of the country. In this discourse, we can observe how the power associated with the adoption of Westernization was localized to better serve the interests of the builder's family.

Secondly, designing and publicizing one's family house with the image of a steamboat, which symbolizes Western technology (and even culture and system), may express Zhu family's support for learning from the West. Although there are very few historical records of Zhu Zonghuai, there are documented records showing that his cousin Zhu Zongpan's family was associated closely with Zeng Guofan. Zeng Guofan once personally handwrote a seven-character couplet for Zhu Zongpan. Presented in Shanghai Daoming's 2015 Spring Auction, it reads: “It is no need to read the *yuhan baofang* (the rare and powerful remedy for health); let us just chat to each other with the new poems and some fine wine” 玉函宝方何用读，新诗美酒聊相温。¹²¹⁶ It is indicated that the item was gifted to Zidian *sixiong* 四兄 (the fourth brother), specifically referring to Zhu Zidian 朱子典, the fourth son of Zhu Zongpan.¹²¹⁷

¹²¹⁶ See “Zeng Guofan xingshu qiyan” 曾国藩行书七言, the item 106 in Shanghai Dowmin's 2015 Spring Auction, <http://www.zhuokearts.com/auction/art/28637719.shtml>.

¹²¹⁷ See *ibid.* Although the family genealogy recorded Zhu Zongpan's fourth son as Zhu Shoumo 朱守谟, Zhu Yongpang (the great-grandson of Zhu Shoumo) remembered that he was also known as Zhu Zidian. Moreover, it was recorded in a historical document that Zhu Zidian was also known as Zhu Shoumo. See *Jingzhou laoren nianpu* 泾舟老人年谱, in Beijing tushuguan chubanshe yingyinshi 北京图书馆出版社影印室, comp., *Wan Qing*

The auction house believes the couplet to have been made around 1864,¹²¹⁸ in which a historical event happened: In the seventh lunar month of the third year of the Tongzhi reign (1864), Zeng Guoquan 曾国荃 (Zeng Guofan's brother, 1824-1890) led the Qing army to capture Nanjing, which had been occupied by the Taiping Army, and put an end to the 14-year turmoil of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Later, Zeng Guofan also came to Nanjing. In the same year's winter, the famous poet, He Shaoji 何绍基 (1799-1873), traveled to Nanjing by steamboat. During his journey, he created the "Jinling zashu sishi jueju" 金陵杂述四十绝句 (Forty Quatrains on Nanjing Miscellany). In the second poem, he wrote about drinking with Zhu Zidian:

On Ezhou, I took on a steamboat; the sound of wind and waves shook my ears, and I cannot eat and sleep. The time of two days and one night flew like a horse; [I] gladly met [friends] in Zhongguan and [drank so much] wine like a spring. The steamboat departed on the dawn of the 24th of November and arrived in Jinling Zhongguan on the dawn of the 26th, and [I] got drunk at Zhang Xianfang's place with the fellows on the same boat, Zhu Lexian, Wu Zhisheng, and Zhu Zidian, to get rid of the cold. The steamboat's name is *Flying Like A Seahorse*.

鄂州试上火轮船，震耳风涛废食眠。两昼一宵飞似马，中关欣遇酒如泉。十一月廿四日卯刻开船，廿六日卯刻抵金陵中关，至张仙舫处，与同船朱乐贤、吴芷生、朱子典一醉解寒，船名“飞似海马”。¹²¹⁹

Zeng Guofan and his second son, Zeng Jize 曾纪泽 (1839-1890), recorded several times of meeting with Zhu Zidian in their diaries.¹²²⁰ It can be seen that Zhu Zidian had a close interpersonal relationship with Zeng Guofan in the early Tongzhi reign (the 1860s).¹²²¹

mingru nianpu 晚清名儒年谱, vol. 9 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2006), 293: 因延朱子典观察 (守谟) …….

¹²¹⁸ See "Zeng Guofan xingshu qiyan."

¹²¹⁹ He Shaoji, He Shaoji shiwen ji 何绍基诗文集, collated and punctuated by Long Zhenqiu 龙震球 and He Shuzhi 何书置 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1992), 605.

¹²²⁰ See Zeng Guofan 曾国藩, *Zeng Guofan quanji* 曾国藩全集, *Riji* 日记, vol. 3 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2016), 138 (the diary on the fourth day of the fourth lunar month in the fourth year of Tongzhi reign, 1865.04.28), 144 (the diary on the 29th day of the fourth lunar month in the fourth year of Tongzhi reign, 1865. 05.23). And see Zeng Jize 曾纪泽, *Chushi Ying, Fa, E guo riji* 出使英法俄国日记, in *Zouxiang shijie congshu* 走向世界丛书, vol. 1, no. 5, comp. Zhong Shuhe 钟叔河 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2008), 66 (the diary on the sixth day of the third lunar month in the fourth year of Guangxu reign, 1878. 04.08), 69 (the diary on the 17th day of the third lunar month in the fourth year of Guangxu reign, 1878. 04.19), 71 (the diary on the 23rd day of the third lunar month in the fourth year of Guangxu reign, 1878. 04.25).

¹²²¹ According to the genealogy kept by his descendants, Zhu Zidian was born in 1837. This also means that Zeng Guofan (b. 1811), He Shaoji (b. 1799) and others were actually

Considering the close relationship between Zhu Zonghuai and Zhu Zongpan,¹²²² and the fact that relatives with the same surname in the local clan society often expand the family influence by sharing human relations, it is very reasonable to think that Zhu Zonghuai's family also participated in this social circle.

We know that Zeng Guofan was one of the main initiators of the *yangwu yundong* 洋务运动 (the Westernization Movement) that began in the 1860s. The Zhu family, a prosperous foreign trade merchant dynasty, evidently aligned themselves with the ideology of westernization. The time when Zhu Zidian had the closest contact with Zeng Guofan also happened in the 1960s when the Westernization Movement was officially launched. Although the construction of the Yangchuan Wu likely predates the Westernization Movement by several decades,¹²²³ the Zhu family's foreign trade activities and their attitude towards Western technology remained unchanged during this period. Furthermore, the narrative of their family house imitating a "foreign boat" persisted uninterrupted. Consequently, it can be argued that the architectural discourse consistently conveyed by descendants of the Zhu family serves as both propaganda for and practical implementation of the Westernization Movement.

Finally, it is imperative to concurrently consider the Chinese cultural tradition of utilizing boat-shaped settlements to convey auspicious meanings (see 4.2.2) and the perception that "foreign steamboats" symbolized power during that era (see 4.3.3). It can be envisioned that if the designer aimed to bestow blessings upon the family by constructing their dwelling in the likeness of a boat, why not emulate a steamboat which holds greater potency in the eyes of the family? The projection of a steamboat image onto residential structures instills a heightened sense of security among residents, surpassing even the already propitious Chinese association with water and boats. This enables them to envision a more promising future and exert greater control over familial development.

In general, besides "filial piety" and "auspiciousness" against the traditional background, as mentioned in 4.2.1, the foreign steamboat's symbol discussed in this section played an essential role in the formation and reception of the architectural discourse of the Yangchuan Wu. Even if the designer himself did not consciously emphasize these intentions – even if the building itself did not try to imitate a steamboat at all – the three elements: 1) identity

about 20 to 30 years older than Zhu Zidian, and about ten years younger than Zhu Zongpan (b. 1789) and Zhu Zonghuai (b. 1786). In this case, compared with Zhu Zidian's direct acquaintance with Zeng Guofan, it is more likely that he met Zeng Guofan through the introduction of his elder family members. After gaining the appreciation of Zeng Guofan, Zhu Zidian actually joined the social circle of Zeng Guofan as a representative of his family.

¹²²² Zhu Zonghuai is three years older than Zhu Zongpan, while Zhu Zongyu, another brother of Zhu Zongpan, is nine years younger than Zhu Zongpan and 12 years younger than Zhu Zonghuai. This shows that in childhood, Zhu Zonghuai and Zhu Zongpan belonged to the playmates of the similar age, while Zhu Zongyu was too far behind the two in age. That means, although Zhu Zongpan and Zhu Zongyu are blood brothers, he might be closer to his cousin Zhu Zonghuai.

¹²²³ The construction time of the Yangchuan Wu was speculated upon in section 4.1.2.

of *yanghuo*, 2) the epitome of Western culture and technology, and 3) the symbol of power, which converged on the steamboat emblem, at least contributed to the popularity of the folklore about the Yangchuan Wu.

Obtaining concrete evidence that confirms the building was intentionally designed to resemble a steamboat in the past is unattainable. In the eyes of Huangtian people who have passed on the Yangchuan Wu's name and stories from generation to generation, the architectural discourse on "imitating a foreign steamboat" has already taken on a life of its own. The replacement of its original formal name, "Ducheng Tang," with the nickname "Yangchuan Wu" reflects this perception. Whether or not the building was originally intended to imitate a foreign steamboat is no longer relevant; what matters is that it is perceived and embraced as a *wu* (house) symbolizing *yangchuan* (the foreign steamboat) within the architectural narrative passed down orally.

When the government designated Yangchuan Wu and other ancient vernacular architectures in Huangtian village a provincial cultural relic protection unit in 1998, the architectural discourse surrounding the "foreign steamboat" within local folklore emerged as a distinctive and significant aspect of this village. The unique combination of Huizhou vernacular architecture bestows the "foreign steamboat" image with renewed recognition as a captivating peculiarity after a century.

Simultaneously, the concept of "filial piety" provides a strong cultural foundation for this discourse on boat-architecture within traditional morality. It can be argued that this is the pivotal point in promoting Huangtian village. When it was opened as a tourist attraction under the name "steamboat of filial piety," visitors quickly became enthralled by the extraordinary fusion of Western and Chinese elements against a specific historical backdrop. As stories about this building's distinctive shape, name, and narrative spread through social networks, the local government also gained authority over its cultural development discourse. In 2006, Huangtian was officially designated as Anhui Province's Historical and Cultural Village, elevating the protection level of its vernacular architecture group from provincial to national.

Another case similar to the Yangchuan Wu, although on a smaller scale, is the Lunchuan Cuo 轮船厝 in Fujian province. This historic building was built almost a century later than the Yangchuan Wu, in Banling 半岭 village, Zhuqi 竹岐 town, Minhou 闽侯 county. On the north bank of the stream, it faces southeast, and the water flows on the north and south sides. Because it looks like a steamboat, it is called "Lunchuan (steamboat) Cuo" by the locals (Fig. 4.3.4-1).

According to the information published by the Financial Media Center of Minhou county, Lunchuan Cuo was built in 1937 by the squire Yue Song 岳嵩. The original name of the building was Song Ting 嵩艇, which literally translates to "Yue Song's Boat." Its outer wall is decorated with several round cake-shaped white ash coatings, on which the characters of *song* 嵩 and *ting* 艇 were written in ink. Only a few are still visible (Fig. 4.3.4-2).



Fig. 4.3.4-1 Lunchuan Cuo.



Fig. 4.3.4-2 The round cake-shaped white ash coatings with characters on them.

Although the outlook is bizarre, the structure is relatively simple: the lower foundation is made of pebble masonry that gradually shrinks in pebble size from bottom to top; the middle part is a two-floor structure with brick walls on the outside, and wooden frames inside, that were inserted into the brick walls to support the wooden floor and the roof. The upper part is a tiled three-sided sloping roof – the extra sloping top faces the direction of the water flow (Fig. 4.3.4-3). As can be seen from the photos, the main body of the building above the foundation apparently imitates the shape of a boat. The east side facing the water flow is an arc-shaped “prow” with a width of 1.8 meters (Fig. 4.3.4-4). The “cabin” on the north and south sides presents a slightly bulging curve, with a width of 4.2 meters at its widest point and narrows to 2.8 meters towards the west. The “stern” part on the west side is relatively flat, but the connection with the north and south sides has also been turned to filleted corners (Fig. 4.3.4-5).



Fig. 4.3.4-3 The three-sided sloping roof. (left)

Fig. 4.3.4-4 The “Bow” of Lunchuan Cuo. (middle)

Fig. 4.3.4-5 The “Stern” of Lunchuan Cuo. (right)

The foundation of the building appears in the photo to be very high, mainly due to the low water level during the season. The comparison with the surrounding buildings shows that the building has not been deliberately elevated – the foundation on the west side is only a few tens of centimeters higher than the road, while the other three sides appear very high because they extend down to the riverbed (Fig. 4.3.4-6). This building also divides the flowing water into two, like the Yangchuan Wu (see Fig. 4.1.1-6). When the streams on both sides rise, this building perfectly resembles a boat in the water. However, this shape also makes the boat’s prow face the current’s impact. The Yangchuan Wu treats this “prow” part as a sharp corner to deal with this problem, while the Lunchuan Cuo practices another method through the particular pebble foundation – the junction of its east, south, and north sides as well as the connection with the ground all present a smooth transition (Fig. 4.3.4-7, also see Fig. 4.3.4-1).



Fig. 4.3.4-6 Comparison of the height of the platform with the road and the water surface. (left)

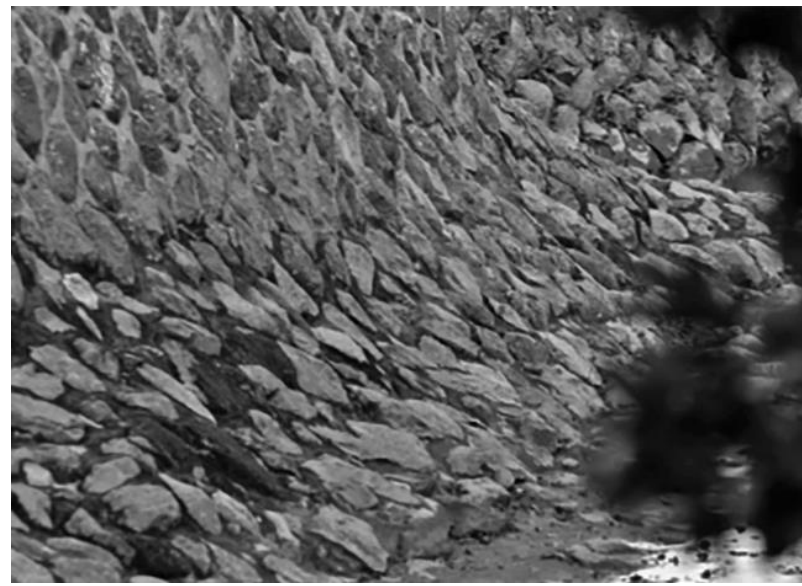


Fig. 4.3.4-7 Details of the pebble foundation. (right)

Moreover, it can be seen from the photos that the facade of this building is very different from that of ordinary *fang* architecture. Firstly, the openness of the ground and upper floors is clearly distinguished on the facade; the former is closed, and the latter is open (Fig. 4.3.4-8). The windows on the ground floor are tiny square or round openings; besides, there is a door on the west side for access. The brick walls on the north and south sides of the second floor are considerably cut open: except for a small section of brick walls at the east and west ends, serving as a structural column in the middle, the other parts are replaced by light wood panels with windows.



Fig. 4.3.4-8 Contrast between upper and lower elevations.

As seen in the interior photos, the lower part of these panels is a hollow railing, while the upper part is divided by thin posts (Fig. 4.3.4-9). Between every two posts, a window panel can be pushed up. The difference hints at the design intention of trying to simulate a steamboat's bilge space with the ground floor and the space above the deck with the upper floor. This design is rarely seen in traditional *fang* architecture but coincides with the “steamboat” shape implied by its name.



Fig. 4.3.4-9 Inner space of the upper floor.

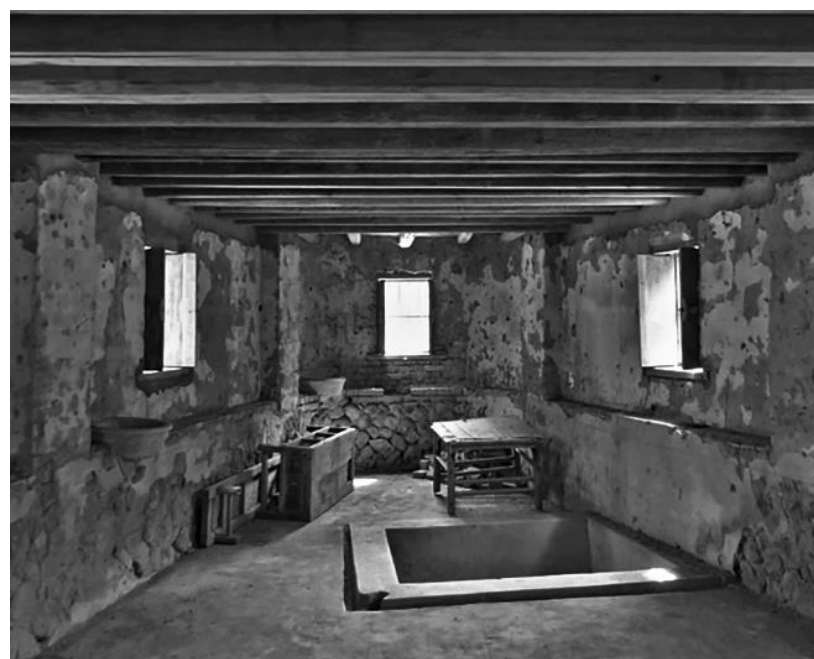


Fig. 4.3.4-10 Bathing pool of the lower floor.

Of course, this design is also closely related to the utilization of its interior space. The upper floor was specifically designated for hosting tea parties and accommodating guests. Equipped with operable windows, the hall benefits from exceptional lighting conditions, allowing for flexible control over the room's brightness. Near the “prow” on the ground floor, there is a bathing pool about the size of one or two adults (Fig. 4.3.4-10), which means that this ground floor was designed as a place to take a bath to relax. There are two water outlets next to the pool – suggested by the two plaster decorations in the shape of carps on the facade. According to the information on the web page of “Fuzhou laojianzhu baike” 福州老建筑百科

(The Old Architecture Encyclopedia of Fuzhou City), there was once a door on the south side of the upper floor of the Lanchuan Cuo, and a wooden bridge corridor was built outside the door as the main entrance.¹²²⁴ Although the bridge corridor has been destroyed and disappeared, this design is functionally more reasonable from the perspective of public and private functional divisions.

According to the *Fuzhou wanbao* 福州晚报 (Fuzhou Evening News) reporter's interview with Yue Qishou 岳其寿, the son of the builder of the Lanchuan Cuo, it is known that his grandfather, Yue Yuancun 岳元存, was a successful merchant who operated boats and engaged in foreign trade with destinations including Hong Kong, ultimately amassing great wealth. His father, Yue Shiqin 岳世钦 (another name for Yue Song), graduated from the Whampoa Military Academy 黄埔军校.¹²²⁵ Then he served as the head of the local *baoantuan* 保安团 (guard regiment).¹²²⁶ In September 1941, during the first Fuzhou recovery campaign, Yue Shiqin led the local troops to defeat the Japanese army in today's Hongshan 洪山 Bridge area, contributing to Fuzhou's recovery. Yue Qishou said that his father once received Fuzhou Mayor He Zhen 何震 (1897-1970) and other country gentlemen and celebrities in Lanchuan Cuo, and the report of *Fuzhou wanbao* also called this building a "high-end clubhouse" during the Republic of China.¹²²⁷

From the local information above, several key points related to why the building imitated the image of a "steamboat" can be extracted: 1) The Yue family had rich experience in the waterway trade and had been in contact with steamboats earlier than ordinary villagers, which is the basis for Yue Shiqin to imitate the steamboat through the architectural space design. 2) The learning experience in the military academy and the identity of the head of the local guard team make Yue Shiqin more sensitive to power than ordinary people. As a symbol of power, the steamboat would undoubtedly meet his need in this aspect; 3) As an imitation of a more advanced technological product – the foreign steamboat, the Lanchuan Cuo showed a superior status while continuing the traditional literati culture of using *fang* architecture as a

¹²²⁴ "Minhou Zhuqi 'Song Ting' Lanchuan Cuo" 闽侯竹岐 "嵩艇" 轮船厝, last modified April 06, 2021, <https://www.fzcuo.com/index.php?doc-view-1585.html>.

¹²²⁵ It is noteworthy that neither "Yue Shiqin" nor "Yue Song" appear in the graduate directory of Whampoa Military Academy (1st to 23rd). Assuming the information is not entirely fabricated, it is most likely that Yue Shiqin was admitted to the academy but failed to complete his studies, and Yue Qishou concealed this disgraceful part of the truth.

¹²²⁶ In July 1929, the national government of Nanjing enacted the "Xian baoweituan fa" 县保卫团法 (County Guard Regiment Law), which reformed the guard regiment system and mandated compulsory training for adult men aged 20 to 40. In the later period of the Republic of China, the local *baoantuan* gradually degraded, and its responsibilities were mainly limited to cooperating with the Kuomintang regular army forces in attacking armed groups led by the Communist Party of China and suppressing resistance from local populations.

¹²²⁷ "Xiangcun sanzuo 'dibiao' jianzheng 80 nian bianqian" 乡村三座 "地标" 见证 80 年变迁, last modified February 28, 2015, <https://www.mhnews.com.cn/html/11/2015-02-28/11075237352.shtml>.

leisure space, which both provided convenience for Yue Shiqin's interpersonal communication.

Nowadays, as the policy of *jianshe meili xiangcun* 建设美丽乡村 (constructing beautiful countryside)¹²²⁸ is constantly being emphasized, Minhou county has begun to pay attention to the development of rural tourism. Lunchuan Cuo has also gradually gained attention and publicity. In the discourse system guided by the local government, the Yue family from Yue Yuancun to Yue Qishou, and even Yue Qishou's son Yue Xiaowei 岳孝伟 are all gentlemen caring about public welfare and repaying their hometown.¹²²⁹ However, an interestingly paradoxical narrative, which also came from the local government, implied another side of history. This narrative came from an old book *Fenghuo suiyue* 烽火岁月 (The Years of the Beacon Fire), which was compiled by the Zhonggong Minqing Xianwei Laoganbu Ju 中共闽清县委老干部局 (the Bureau of Veteran Cadres of the Minqing County Committee of the Communist Party of China) and published in 1996. In the book, a narrator, Wang Sihai 王斯海, recalled being given orders to suppress bandits in Minhou county in 1949, and recorded: "Pursued and wiped out the bandit leader Yue Shiqin in Minhou county (formerly the head of the county's s guard regiment), and confiscated more than 300 rifles, 2 heavy machine guns as well as several submachine guns, Burke guns and other weapons, all were handed over to the headquarters of the Tenth Corps of our army" 追歼闽侯县匪首岳世钦 (原系该县保安大队长), 收缴步枪 300 多支、重机枪 2 挺及冲锋枪、卜克枪等武器, 全数上交我军十兵团司令部.¹²³⁰

The "Yue Shiqin" mentioned here, the bandit leader who possessed a mass of weapons and was annihilated by the armed forces led by the ruling party in the future, is precisely the designer of our Lunchuan Cuo. When the image of the squire who purchased the generator, provided complimentary electricity to the local populace, socialized with renowned individuals, and valiantly battled against the Japanese army coincided with that of the bandit leader, we will gain a novel comprehension of historical complexity – akin to the tale of Yangchuan Wu. Here, veracity yields to narratives and discourse that interpret history.

In conclusion, this chapter examines the boat-architecture present in folklore and legends, with a specific focus on the case study of the Yangchuan Wu in Jing county. By

¹²²⁸ The policy of *jianshe meili xiangcun* refers to the requirements set forth by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee regarding the important historical task of constructing a new socialist countryside. The preservation and protection of historical relics has become an essential component in this endeavor.

¹²²⁹ During the period of the Republic of China, Yue Shiqin constructed the first hydraulic power plant in the Minhou region, providing complimentary electricity to local villagers. During the early stages of China's reform and opening up, Yue Qishou achieved financial success through diligent efforts and generously donated funds towards constructing temples in his hometown. As part of the Beautiful Countryside Construction, Yue Xiaowei returned to his roots after achieving business success, developing rural tourism and leading fellow villagers towards prosperity.

¹²³⁰ Zhonggong Minqing xianwei laoganbujū 中共闽清县委老干部局, ed., *Fenghuo suiyue* 烽火岁月 (Minqing County, 1996), 213-214.

considering other cases and historical social context, this chapter analyzes the symbolic representation and dissemination of boat-architecture discourse within folk narratives. Through two perspectives – Chinese traditional customs and contemporary Western influences – this chapter reveals the symbols of power and counter-power, as well as the evolution of discourse surrounding boat-architecture in folk culture.

Firstly, the Yangchuan Wu is analyzed and interpreted from two perspectives: the tangible manifestation of vernacular architecture and the intangible embodiment of folklore. Through the analysis of the first aspect, the similarity between the building and the boat is examined within a specific design context. It can be observed that while creating a traditional architectural space, the designer intentionally crafted a shape reminiscent of a boat by incorporating elements from the surrounding terrain. The second aspect of the study situates the building within a particular historical context, examining intricate details in local legends which assert that its builders constructed it to resemble a *yangchuan* as an act of filial piety.

The second section starts from the Yangchuan Wu, delving into the reception and propagation of discourse on boat-architecture through the lenses of filial piety and auspicious symbolism inherent in it within a traditional context. The research in this section is subsequently expanded to encompass additional cases, thereby further illustrating the development of boat-architecture discourse within traditional Chinese culture through a broader range of folk legends featuring boat-shaped settlements.

In the final section of this chapter, which also serves as the concluding section of the entire study, the perspective is situated within the historical context of Western penetration into China. First, the concept of *yanghuo* is introduced, followed by an examination of *yangchuan*. Subsequently, a comprehensive investigation is conducted on Chinese descriptions and attitudes regarding early Western steamboats during that period. Then, through analyzing their depiction in literature and artwork, the symbolic representation of power and counter-power associated with these vessels is uncovered. Ultimately, this perspective enables a reassessment of both the case of Yangchuan Wu and another building related to steamboat (Lunchuan Cuo), revealing how folk discourse on boat-architecture is also influenced by ideological choices.

So far, the cultural phenomenon of boat-architecture has been vividly showcased through four distinct groups in four chapters, thus signifying the conclusion of this study. Despite its focus on only four user groups, this research topic on “the production of space in symbol” effectively portrays highly sophisticated characteristics. It is precisely this intricate level of nuanced detail and connotation that renders the exploration of boat-architecture as a cultural phenomenon truly captivating.

Epilogue

This is an exploratory study on the history of architecture, aiming to present the intricate and nuanced cultural phenomenon of “boat-architecture” from various perspectives.

Throughout this process, my perspective and research methods have not yet attained a theoretical level. Firstly, the primary objective of this research is not yet to propose a theoretical framework. Secondly, the learning process for writing a PhD dissertation is filled with challenges and advancements, often requiring thorough contemplation to identify an appropriate method when faced with specific issues. While four years provide ample time for completing the thesis, it falls short in allowing for comprehensive self-reflection.

In the epilogue of this volume, my main focus lies in presenting three fragmented summaries, each considering two aspects: firstly, further contemplating upon the core questions of the entire research objectives; secondly, laying down prospective guidelines for future refinement of research methodologies.

E.1 What is (the cultural phenomenon of) “boat-architecture”?

In light of the primary core question, I would like to further contemplate on the distinctiveness of this study. An outstanding characteristic has to be seen in the fact that a significant portion of the research objects no longer exist. This predicament diverges this study from common architectural research focused on specific existing buildings.

However, the study of architectural history itself falls within both architecture and history disciplines. While the former examines existing designed objects, the latter’s fundamental elements of study are intangible events in the past. Architectural history resides somewhere in between these two disciplines. My research precisely aims to establish a reciprocal connection between them.

In many instances, the objects I discussed may not be physically observable due to historical circumstances that have resulted in their destruction. However, this absence of physical evidence does not diminish their significance for two reasons. Firstly, thanks to the written accounts of former individuals these architectural entities have been transformed into symbolic representations within the cultural phenomenon of “boat-architecture.” Secondly, extensive written records allow us to reconstruct the spatial characteristics of “boat-architecture” with reasonable accuracy based on existing cases. This is why Liu Shilong asserted in “The Story of the Non-existent Garden” (see 1.4.3), even a garden as resplendent as Golden Valley would eventually succumb to the ravages of time. However, he firmly believed in the enduring power of words, which possess the ability to evoke and create that which does not physically exist. Therefore, he regarded the vivid scenes born from his emotions and captured by his pen as his own personal garden.

This study’s classification within the discipline of architectural history is less determined by the mere existence of its research object, but rather by its unique perspective and systematic approach to problem identification and analysis. I offer easy-to-understandable

examples. Despite the absence of surviving cases or visual representations of the boat-architectures in the Song dynasty discussed in the first chapter, my focus has consistently lied on comprehending individuals' perceptions of spatial characteristics as documented in textual sources. When exploring the symbolic significance of “entering/escaping the world,” my research has always revolved around architectural structures and construction practices. This approach ensures that this study remains firmly rooted within the discipline of “architecture” when exploring historical contexts.

Based on this premise, this study delves deep into the interconnectedness and transformation between materiality and textuality within Chinese architectural culture.

When Ouyang Xiu transformed the architectural space of Huafangzhai into a textual representation of boats as symbols and metaphors for “entering/escaping the world,” this type of architecture became inseparable from its narrative and served as a means for literati to express their spiritual lives through daily built environments – an integral component thereof. Meanwhile, the name “Huafang Zhai” was actualized through Cai Xiang's calligraphy, and the inscription “Huafang Zhai ji” was also engraved, thus imbuing this text with materiality. This materiality is seamlessly integrated into the architectural space through strategic display arrangements such as “hanging on the beam” and “putting on the wall.” The aesthetic experience of this architectural space relies on the user's interpretation of this text.

On one hand, architectural structures as “tangible entities” have the ability to reflect past individuals and events without their physical presence. For example, the first chapter mentions that Mei Zhi utilized the space of Ouyang Xiu's previously constructed Huafang Zhai to experience the company of his absent friend. Despite the complete destruction and disappearance of the authentic architectural remains, as well as the changes in both appearance and location of the reconstructed Huafang Zhai, local officials remained deeply immersed in the spirits of ancient sage through this space.

On the other hand, historical records once again offer layers of information for the vanished buildings. Without comprehending the pertinent historical context surrounding the Huafangzhai in Huazhou, a comprehensive understanding of this architecture's significance becomes unattainable. Devoid of an analysis of the social relationships and life experiences of other literati who constructed the *fang* architectures, it would be impossible to grasp how Ouyang Xiu's creation served as a prototype in establishing the cultural phenomenon of “boat-architecture.”

The mention of Ouyang Xiu's Huafang Zhai here serves as a mere exemplification, while such relationships are abundant throughout the study. When a symbol of cultural significance is incorporated into the architectural activities of literati, it becomes an integral part of the entire space production. Furthermore, when this building is once again referenced in the writings of literati, both the symbol and the building entity as a whole swiftly acquire a profound sense of “textuality.” Here, “text” refers to the process of producing and consuming cultural environments, wherein audiences obtain and construct their own cultural meanings. Consequently, when architecture stimulates discussions about culture, it assumes the role of an information carrier.

Compared to the vociferous nature of words in poetry and prose, architecture stands as

a reserved entity, silently conveying its message. It can be interpreted from diverse perspectives, evoking varied emotions depending on one's state of mind upon entering. The words derived from space perceptions and individual interpretations further imbue the architecture with layers and layers of cultural symbolism.

Building upon this comprehension, delving into more efficient methodologies for unraveling the interplay between the materiality and textuality of architecture, and conducting a more comprehensive investigation of architectural culture through their mutual complementarity would be worth further exploration.

E.2 How has the space production of “boat-architecture” been executed throughout history?

With regard to the second core question, my intention is to retrospectively examine the research framework and the utilization of the thick-description method.

The framework of the four chapters of this study was established early on and remained unchanged throughout, with minimal alterations. The primary factor behind this decision stems from my personal interests and writing style. I excel in discovering and correlating intricate details, while macro-level analysis does not align with my preferences. Consequently, the micro-historical perspective of the thick-description naturally suits my approach.

In the meantime, however, this study cannot be considered sufficient if it is based on a single event or object, as is typically the case with other micro-history research. To the very opposite, the phenomenon of “boat-architecture” is highly complex and it encompasses a significant temporal scope. Consequently, I had to meticulously arrange the structure, a task that evidently cannot be accomplished through a singular focal point.

The initial decision to conduct the research based on four actors' identities was a result of an eureka moment, that was – albeit unconsciously – influenced by my knowledge background and educational experience. Fortunately, the superiority of this framework has become increasingly evident as the preliminary research advanced.

The most immediate advantage of basing my work on this method lies in the ease of targeted collection and organization of materials. When confronted with an abundance of diverse and trivial content, categorizing based on four actor identities significantly alleviates the initial burden of handling such loads of material. This eliminates the need to establish numerous pre-existing rules and regulations for classification, coinciding with the essence of the phenomenon – presenting itself in its own way regardless of imposed will.

However, the application of a simpler classification system inevitably leads to the tricky situation: a single case can potentially fall under different categories. This “delimma” is particularly evident in the cases presented in Chapters 1 and 2. Initially, I had concerns about this despite being fully aware that the four identities are not mutually exclusive but rather exhibit certain degrees of overlap. Yet soon enough, I discovered that this overlap does not necessarily make research cumbersome; instead, it can be skillfully managed to present a progressive and cross-referencing structure.

The examination commences with the first group, referred to as the “literati/officials,”

enabling this study to systematically present the establishment of symbolism embedded within the “boat-architecture,” ultimately contributing to the genesis of this cultural phenomenon. The significant influence exerted by this group in shaping the cultural phenomenon becomes evident when considering the inherent superior logical cognitive abilities possessed by literati in ancient China. While it is acknowledged that certain cultural phenomena were also established by other social classes, it is apparent that literati groups played a more prominent role in shaping various cultural phenomena.

Regarding the phenomenon of “boat-architecture,” it was Ouyang Xiu, a famous scholar of the Song dynasty, recognized by many researchers as the peak of Chinese history and culture, who incorporated the cultural symbol of the “boat” into the architectural discourse. When he established the prototype Huafang Zhai, he astutely considered two perspectives: that of literati who live a poetic lifestyle and officials who navigate the complexities of officialdom. Only by delving into these contrasting yet intertwined mindsets in meticulous detail can readers truly grasp the inherent characteristics of “boat-architecture,” namely its inherent contradiction and complexity.

Through the introduction of the first chapter, readers will acquire a comprehensive understanding of how the literati group expanded, subverted, and reinterpreted the ideas of their predecessors through spatial production in a multifaceted cultural symbol (boat), thereby facilitating self-expression. Following its emergence, this phenomenon permeated all strata of society through diverse literary genres such as poetry, prose, and novels due to the inherent richness and complexity associated with boats as symbols. Different social groups assimilated their own symbolic interpretations of boats, resulting in an exceedingly intricate and nuanced phenomenon. Building upon this foundation, it becomes evident that while distinct from one another, the groups discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4 are closely interconnected with those presented in Chapter 1.

The specific relationships between chapters have been repeatedly summarized in the main body, rendering a detailed discussion unnecessary at this juncture. In fact, the diverse interactions among these four chapters showcase power dynamics prevalent in various aspects of society, between genders, rulers and their subjects, Han and non-Han nations, elites versus folks, Chinese and Western influences, traditions and modern changes, and so forth. The study of these four chapters transcends the mere juxtaposition of different groups of studies, thanks to its flexible comparisons and references. Moreover, each chapter’s content surpasses itself by merging into a comprehensive, more vivid, and richer study.

However, it is regrettable that the reference relationship primarily resides within the author’s consciousness and proves challenging to convey to readers through a linear textual narrative. Despite my utmost efforts to incorporate repeated cross-references throughout the dissertation, it remains arduous for individuals new to this study’s topic to consistently connect with previous content while reading. Even for the author, many of these associations remain superficially addressed and have not undergone thorough analysis. Therefore, exploring ways to further enhance the research potential stimulated by this structure will also be an upcoming consideration.

E.3 What insights can be derived from the space production of “boat-architecture,” in relation to both historical individuals and societies?

The third core question prompted me to reconsider the interpretation of cultural symbolism.

The origin of this thinking can be traced back to the moment when I encountered Wu Qingzhou’s discussion on the so-called “characteristics of Chinese culture” in relation to *fangsheng-xiangwu* (see I.2) when writing the research proposal. While this explanation may be stereotypical, its lack of evidence or depth does not necessarily render it incorrect – from an objective standpoint, China’s architectural culture indeed exhibits the relationships concluded by Wu Qingzhou, such as the veneration of reproduction, totem worship practices, and *fengshui* belief.¹²³¹ However, this raises the question of how we, as researchers of architectural history, can approach this proposition from a historical perspective.

This research responds to this question by consistently acknowledging that meaning is not inherent, but rather a product of culture. It prompts individuals to contemplate the origins of the meaning they often take for granted and how symbols are shaped within society. With this understanding, if the relationship between architecture and its historical and social context can be thoroughly documented and analyzed, it can reflect the status and background of a society in a certain era. As Erwin Panofsky stated when discussing the third strata in its subject matter or meaning of works of art: “It is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.”¹²³²

My deep interest in this specific part of my research is no longer the objectively existing architectural entity itself, nor even the direct expression of intention. Instead, it delves into the realm of false imaginations and contradictory attitudes, concealed desires and power pursuits, self-comfort and reconciliation – intricate and circuitous thoughts that resonate harmoniously with the essence of “boat-architecture” in both its physical form and symbolic representation.

The Huafang Zhai courtyard of Emperor Qianlong, for instance, can be directly interpreted as a manifestation of his political pursuit of *neisheng-waiwang*, while the Shi Fang constructed by him can straightforwardly symbolize the warning of *zaizhou-fuzhou*. However, such “authoritative” interpretations not only hinder further exploration into his design intentions but also impede access to the deeper historical significance embedded within this architecture. It may be argued that researchers in architectural history should find satisfaction in considering the architecture itself and avoid delving too deeply into literature or psychology. But doesn’t just this research illustrate that it is only through envisioning Emperor Qianlong’s inner struggles and contradictions, empathizing with his indulgence and restraint, that we can uncover previously unnoticed architectural details? I address just one example. The alteration in the orientation of the old and new Shi Fang is an undiscovered fact despite its presence right

¹²³¹ See Wu Qingzhou, “*Fangsheng-xiangwu*,” 45.

¹²³² Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 30.

before us.

This study reveals numerous other such novel discoveries that not only pertain closely to the discourse on architectural space but also deepen our comprehension of people's conceptualizations within specific social contexts and historical periods. It is conceivable that further details overlooked by previous studies can be unearthed following this research path.

All in all, reflecting on these facets has afforded me the opportunity to thoroughly contemplate the connection of architectural and historical research. How can we transcend the examination of "historic buildings" and embrace a more comprehensive understanding of "history interwoven with architecture"? This is a query that I will further delve into in the future.

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Character List

* The Chinese names mentioned in this research are presented in the traditional order, with the family name preceding the given name. The courtesy name is denoted by “*zi*,” while the style name is denoted by “*hao*.”

* Entries in this list are alphabetized letter by letter, ignoring word and syllable breaks.

Ai-gong of the Lu Kingdom 鲁哀公 (Ji Jiang 姬将, d. 468 BCE, r. 494-468 BCE)

Ailian Zhou 爱莲舟 (The Boat of Affection for Lotus)

Aixinjueluo Baoting 爱新觉罗·宝廷 (1840-1890)

Aixin-Jueluo Hongshi 爱新觉罗·弘时 (1704-1727)

Anhang Zhai 安航斋 (the Study of Safe Sailing)

Anhui 安徽

Anlan Garden 安澜园

Anqing Nei Junxie Suo 安庆内军械所 (Anqing Inner Ordnance Institute)

Anqing 安庆

Anyang 安阳

Ao Guofu 敖国辅

Aokuang Shi 奥旷室 (The Room of Deep and Broad)

Ba Jin 巴金 (Li Yaotang 李尧棠, 1904-2005)

bagu 八股 (eight-legged)

Bai Hua 百花

Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846)

Baifu Spring 白浮泉

Baihu 白虎

bairi weixin 百日维新 (Hundred Days Reform)

Baisu Ge 白苏阁 (Pavilion of Bai Juyi and Su Shi)

Baiyue 百越

bangyan 榜眼

Banling 半岭 village

Bao Hansuo 包涵所 (also known as Bao Yingdeng 包应登)

Bao Sheng 宝胜

Bao Si 褒姒

bao 'antuan 保安团 (guard regiment)

Baohui Tang 宝绘堂 (the Hall of Treasuring Paintings)
Baojin Zhai 宝晋斋 (the Studio of Treasuring Jin (Masterpieces))

Baolian Hang 宝莲航

Baomi Xuan 宝米轩 (the Pavilion of Treasuring Mi's [Masterpieces])

baosha 抱厦 (the auxiliary part attached to the main building, like the portico)

Baoshun 宝顺

baoyou wokan 饱游沃看 (engaged in extensive travel and fully immersed in sightseeing)

Baozhang 保障 River (later known as the Slender West Lake 瘦西湖)

Battle of Chibi 赤壁之战

Battle of Dingchuanzhai 定川寨

Battle of Haoshuichuan 好水川

Battle of Sanchuankou 三川口

Bei Qiong 贝琼 (1312-1379)

Beigu 北固 Mountain

Beihai 北海

Beijing 北京

beilong 背弄 (back lane)

beiwei 北闾 (Township Exam of the northern region)

Beiyang Navy 北洋水师

bennü 奔女 (women who elope for love)

Bian 汴 River

Bianjing 汴京

bibu yuanwailang 比部员外郎 (the vice director of the Ministry of Justice)

biejia 别驾 (*biejia congshishi* 别驾从事史, an official title in the Han dynasty, referred to *tongpan* in the Ming dynasty)

Biyoudongtian 别有洞天

binbu shilang 兵部侍郎 (the vice director of the Ministry of War)

binlangting 槟榔艇 (betel nut boat)

bixuan tingzheng 避喧听政 (avoid disturbance and focus on government affairs)

Bohai 渤海 Bay

Boyang 波阳 county

bozhou zhi jie 柏舟之节 (the integrity of *bozhou*)

bozhou zhi tong 柏舟之痛 (the pain of *bozhou*)

- bozhou* 柏舟
 Bushui Tan 步水潭 (Step-across Pool)
 Buxi Yuan 不系园 (The Garden Without Constraints)
buxi zhi zhou 不系之舟 (a boat without constraints)
- Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1126)
 Cai Tao 蔡條 (1096-1162)
 Cai Xiang 蔡襄 (1012-1067)
 Cai You 蔡攸 (1077-1126)
 Caishiji 采石矶 (in nowadays Ma'anshan city, Anhui province)
 Caishikou 菜市口
caizi-jiaren 才子佳人 (talented literati - famous courtesans)
can 驂 (the horses that pull the cart)
 Cangchi 苍螭
canghai sangtian 沧海桑田 (the sea [turns into] the farmlands)
 Cangjiang Hongyue 沧江虹月 (the rainbow-hued boat on the river)
canglang qingzhuo 沧浪清浊 (the clarity and turbidity of the Canglang River)
 Canglang Ting 沧浪亭
 Cangzhou He 藏舟壑
 Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220)
 Cao Dazhang 曹大章 (1521-1575)
 Cao Xun 曹勋 (1098-1174)
 Cao Yao 曹药
 Cao Zhi 曹植
 Cao River (the river for transporting grains)
 Cao'e 曹娥 River
cha 槎 (raft)
chang da jian hou 长大坚厚 (long, large, robust, and thick)
 Chang Gate 阊门
 Chang River 长河
 Changchun Garden 畅春园
 Changchun Garden 长春园
 Changdi 长堤
 Changsha 长沙
 Changshan 常山
 Changshu 常熟
- Changting 长汀 county
 Changzhou 常州
 Chaozhou 潮州
 Chaozhou 潮州 (Tew Chew)
 Chashan 茶山 River
chечuan 车船 (wheeled boat)
chелie 车裂 (an ancient punishment that tears a person asunder by five carts)
chelunchuan 车轮船 (paddle-wheeled boat)
chelunge 车轮舸 (paddle-wheeled boat)
 Chen Bangzhan 陈邦瞻 (1557-1623)
 Chen Baochen 陈宝琛 (1848-1935)
 Chen Feng 陈丰 (1110-1165)
 Chen Gongxu 陈公叙
 Chen Guan 陈瓘 (1057-1124)
 Chen Hao 陈浩 (1695-1772)
 Chen Hongshou 陈洪绶 (1598-1652)
 Chen Jiru 陈继儒 (1558-1639)
 Chen Suzhi 陈素芝
 Chen Youliang 陈友谅 (1320-1363)
 Chen Yuanyuan 陈圆圆 (1623-1689)
 Chen Yuanzhao 陈元昭
 Chen Yun 陈芸 (1763-1803)
 Chen Yun 陈筠
 Chen Zilong 陈子龙 (1608-1647)
chen 陈 (display or exhibit)
cheng fu 乘桴 (joining logs to sail)
 Cheng Jian 程鉴 (1490-1556)
 Cheng Wen 程文 (1289-1359)
 Chengnan Shuyuan 城南书院 (Chengnan Academy)
 Chengxu 澄虚
 Chenliu 陈留 county
 Chennianguan 沉酿堰
chentang 沉塘 (sink sb. Into the ponds)
chi liuli 赤琉璃 (crimson glaze)
chibi 赤壁
chitou fang 螭头舫 (boat decorated with the chi-dragon's head)
 Chongwen Shuyuan 崇文书院 (Chongwen Academy)
 Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596-659)
 Chuan Fang 船房 (Boat House)
 Chuan Zhai 船斋 (the Boat Studio)

- chuanjian paoli* 船坚炮利 (strong ships and armament)
- chuanniang* 船娘 (“boat girl” or “boatman’s daughter”)
- chuanpeng xuan* 船篷轩 (the ceiling looks like the mat roofing of a boat)
- chuanpeng* 船篷 (the mat roofing of a boat)
- chuanting* 船厅 (boat-hall)
- Chunshui Zhai 春水宅
- Chunyu Lintang 春雨林塘 (spring rain forest pond)
- chushi* 出世 (escaping the world)
- ci* 词 (a type of lyric poetry)
- cihang* 慈航 (the boat of mercy)
- Cining Palace 慈宁宫
- Confucius 孔子 (Kong Qiu 孔丘, *zi* Zhongni 仲尼, 551-479 BCE)
- Da Baoen Yanshou Si 大报恩延寿寺 (Great Repayment of Grace and Extension Longevity Temple)
- Da Ji 妲己
- Da Lü 大绿
- Dadu 大都 (the Great Capital of the Yuan dynasty)
- Dafu 大阜 village
- Dagang 大港 town
- dai fangzhai* 待放闸 (waiting for the sluice gate to be opened to release the water)
- Dai Fugu 戴复古 (1167-1248)
- Dai Kui 戴逵 (*zi* Andao 安道, 326-396)
- Danghe Chuan 荡河船
- danhu* 蚕户
- Dantu 丹徒 county
- dao* 刀 (knife)
- dasui* 打碎 (smash)
- datingting* 大厅艇 (hall boat)
- Deng Chengxiu 邓承修 (1841-1892)
- Deng Su 邓肃 (1091-1132)
- Deqing 德清 county
- Dexing Xuan 得性轩 (The Pavillion of Grasping the Law of Nature)
- dian panshi zhi an* 奠磐石之安 (laying the safety of the regime as stable as the stone)
- dianjiao nü* 殿脚女 (the feet-of-the-palace lady)
- dianjiao* 殿脚 (feet of the palace)
- dianzhong shiyushi* 殿中侍御史 (Attendant Censor in the Palace)
- dianzhuan furen* 殿撰夫人 (Madam dianzhuan)
- Diaoyu Lane 钓鱼巷
- Ding Fang 定舫 (The Boat of Tranquility)
- Ding Zhai 叮斋
- Ding’s Waterside Pavilion 丁家水榭
- dingdai* 顶戴 (an official cap showing various ranks with a button of precious stone on top)
- Dinghai 定海 county
- Dingxiang Bridge 定香桥
- dingyou* 丁忧 (the mourning period after the parent died)
- Dong Bangda 董邦达 (1696-1769)
- Dong Gongmen 东宫门 (East Palace Gate)
- dong guantou* 东关头
- Dong Pei 董沛 (1828-1895)
- Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636)
- dong shuiguan* 东水关 (East Water Pass)
- Dong Xiaowan 董小宛
- Dong Ying 董颖 (1124 *jinshi*)
- Dong Yuan 董源 (fl. the 10th c.)
- Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179-104 BCE)
- Dongguan 东莞
- dongnan sanxian* 东南三贤 (Three Sages of the Southeast)
- Dongting 洞庭 Lake
- dongxiao* 洞箫 (a kind of vertical bamboo flute)
- Du Bao 杜宝 (Tang dynasty)
- Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770)
- Du Lanxiang 杜兰香
- Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852)
- Du Shibai 杜世柏 (*zi* Jiakuan 葭轩)
- duburushu* 堵不如疏 (blocking is not as good as draining)
- Ducheng Tang 笃诚堂 (the hall of faith and honesty)
- Dui’ou Fang 对鸥舫
- Dushu Chuan 读书船 (boat for study)
- Dushu Jing 读书径 (Path of Acquiring Knowledge)
- Dushu Lin 读书林 (Forest of Acquiring Knowledge)

- Dushu Zhai 读书斋 (the Study of Reading)
- E lühua 萼绿华
- Ehuang 娥皇
- Emperor Cheng of the Ming dynasty 明成祖 (Zhu Di 朱棣, 1360-1424, r. 1402-1424)
- Emperor Chi 赤 (i.e., Emperor Yan 炎, Emperor of the Southern Heaven)
- Emperor Gaozong of the Song dynasty 宋高宗 (Zhao Gou 赵构, 1107-1187, r. 1127-1162)
- Emperor Huan of the Han dynasty 汉桓帝 (Liu Zhi 刘志, 132-168)
- Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty 宋徽宗 (赵佶 Zhao Ji, 1082-1135, r. 1100-1126)
- Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (Aixin-Jueluo Xuanye 爱新觉罗·玄烨, 1654-1722, r. 1661-1722)
- Emperor Ku 瞽 (Ji Jun 姬俊, 23rd century BCE)
- Emperor Ling of the Han dynasty 汉灵帝 (Liu Hong 刘宏, 157-189)
- Emperor Ming of the Wei 魏明帝 (Cao Rui 曹叡 ca. 206-239, r. 226-239)
- Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (Aixin-Jueluo Hongli 爱新觉罗·弘历, 1711-1799, r. 1736-1796)
- Emperor Renzong of the Song dynasty 宋仁宗 (Zhao Zhen 赵祯, 1010-1063, r. 1022-1063)
- Emperor Shengzong of the Liao dynasty 辽圣宗 (Yelu Longxu 耶律隆绪, 972-1031, r. 983-1031)
- Emperor Shizong of the Jin dynasty 金世宗 (Wanyan Yong 完颜雍, 1123-1189, r. 1161-1189)
- Emperor Shun of the Yuan dynasty 元顺帝 (孛儿只斤·妥懽帖睦尔 Borjigidai Toghon Temür, 1320-1370, r. 1333-1370)
- Emperor Shundi of the Han dynasty 汉顺帝 (Liu Bao 刘保, 115-144, r. 125-144)
- Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty 唐太宗 (Li Shimin 李世民, 599-649, r. 626-649)
- Emperor Taizu of the Ming dynasty 明太祖 (Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, 1328-1398, r. 1368-1398, the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty)
- Emperor Tongzhi 同治 (爱新觉罗·载淳 Aixin-Jueluo Zaichun, 1856-1875, r. 1861-1875)
- Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty 汉武帝 (Liu Che 刘彻, 156-87 BCE, r. 141-87 BCE)
- Emperor Xiaozong of the Ming dynasty 明孝宗 (朱祐樞 Zhu Youcheng, 1470-1505, r. 1487-1505)
- Emperor Xiaozong of the Song dynasty 宋孝宗 (Zhao Shen 赵昚, 1127-1194, r. 1162-1189)
- Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty 唐玄宗 (Li Longji 李隆基, 685-762, r. 172-756)
- Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty 隋炀帝 (Yang Guang 杨广, 569-618, r. 604-618)
- Emperor Yingzong of the Song dynasty 宋英宗 (Zhao Shu 赵曙, 1032-1067, r. 1063-1067)
- Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (Aixin-Jueluo Yinzhen 爱新觉罗·胤禛, 1678-1735, r. 1722-1735)
- Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty 金章宗 (Wanyan Jing 完颜璟, 1168-1208, r. 1190-1208)
- Emperor Zhi of Han 汉质帝 (Liu Zuan 刘缵, 138-146)
- Emperor Zhongzong of the Tang dynasty 唐中宗 (Li Xian 李显, 656-710, r. 683-684, 705-710)
- Empress Dowager Chongqing 崇庆 (1693-1777)
- Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908)
- Empress Dowager Liang (Liang Rui 梁妠, 116-150)
- Empress Xuanren 宣仁 (Gao Taotao 高滔滔, 1032-1093)
- ershiba xiu* 宿 (the twenty-eight constellations divided by ancient Chinese)
- ershisi qi* 气 (the twenty-four divisions of the solar year in the traditional Chinese calendar)
- Ezhou 鄂州
- Ezhu 鄂渚 (the part of the Yangtze River near the Wuchang county)
- Fan Li 范蠡 (ca. 6th c. BCE)
- Fan Yunqian 范允谦 (*zi* Muzhi 牧之, 1549-1577)
- Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052)
- fan* 泛 (drifting on water)
- Fanbi Zhai 泛碧斋
- fang lei jianzhu* 舫类建筑 (boat-shaped architectures)
- Fang Shi 舫室 (the Boat-like Room)
- Fang Zhai 舫斋
- fang zhou* 方舟 (combining two boats)
- Fang 房 county
- fang* 舫

- Fanghe Ting 放鹤亭 (Fanghe Pavilion)
fanghui 舫会 (boat gatherings)
fangke 舫课 (Boat Class, refers to the classes conducted on boats)
- Fanglin Garden 芳林园
- Fangsheng Tai 放生台 (Release Platform, the platform that Buddhist used to set free captive animals like fishes and turtles)
- fangsheng-xiangwu* 仿生象物 (simulation of nature and representation of cultural schema)
- Fangzhang 方丈
- Fangzhou 房州 (Hubei province)
- Fanyu 番禺 county
- fanzhou* 泛舟 (boating)
- Fayun Si 发运司 (Dispatch Office)
- feige* 飞阁 (high pavilion)
- Feng Menglong 冯梦龙 (1574-1646)
- Feng Mengzhen 冯梦禛 (1548-1606)
- Feng Shike 冯时可 (1547-1617)
- fenghuo qiang* 封火墙 (fire-sealing gable)
- fengshui* 风水 (wind and water, which represent the geomantic omen)
- Fengshun 丰顺 county
- Fengyang 凤阳
- Fengyi 丰邑
- Foxiang Pavilion 佛香阁 (the Pavilion of the Fragrance of Buddha)
- Fu Bi 富弼 (1004-1083)
- Fu Fei 宓妃
- Fu Xi 伏羲
- Fu Xue 府学 (Government-run educational institutions in Hangzhou)
- fubi* 复壁 (two layers of walls for storing collections inside)
- Fucha Lirongbao 富察·李荣保 (1674-1723)
- Fuchai 夫差 (Ji Fuchai 姬夫差, King of Wu 吴, d. 473 BCE, r. 495-473 BCE)
- Fuchun River 富春江
- fuguo qiangbing* 富国强兵 (enrich the country and increase its military force)
- fujia fanzhai* 浮家泛宅 (floating abode and drifting residence)
- Fujian Chuanzhengju 福建船政局 (Fujian Shipping Affair Bureau)
- Fujian 福建
- Fujing 浮景
- Fuliang 浮梁 county
- Fumei Jian 浮梅槛
- fumu zhiming, meishuo zhiyan* 父母之命, 媒妁之言 (the decision of the parents and the introductions of the matchmaker)
- funa-asobi* 舟游び (boating tour)
- Furong Jian 芙蓉舰
- fuxi* 祓禊 (a ritual ceremony in that people fast and bathe in the water to remove ominous omen)
- Fuyang 富阳
- Fuyu 浮玉
- Fuzhou 福州
- Gan Garden 甘园
- Gang'er Lane 缸儿巷
- Gao Qizhuo 高其倬 (1676-1738)
- Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1704)
- Gaomei Temple 高禖庙 (the temple of blessing people with children)
- gaoseng* 高僧 (esteemed monks)
- gaoweiting* 高尾艇 (high-tailed boat)
- Gaoyang Bridge 高阳
- Gaoyou 高邮 Lake
- Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-363)
- Ge Lifang 葛立方 (d. 1164)
- Ge Tao 戈涛 (1717-1768)
- geisha* 芸者 (*gei* 芸, meaning “art” and *sha* 者, meaning “person”)
- Genyue 艮岳
- Gong Bu 工部 (Ministry of Industry)
- Gong Gu 共鼓
- gou* 姤
- goulan* 勾栏 or *jiaofang* 教坊 (both are the pleasure quarters with folk theatres)
- Gu Mei 顾湄 (1619-1664)
- Gu Ruopu 顾若璞 (1592-1681)
- Gu Ying 顾瑛 (1310-1369)
- Guan Ge 馆阁 (the general name of various

- institutions responsible for the administration of libraries, classical works, the compilation of national history, and other related matters in the Song dynasty)
- Guan Tong 管同 (d. 1831)
- Guan Ye 观叶
- guandu-shangban* 官督商办 (government-supervised and merchant-managed)
- Guangdong 广东
- Guanghua 光化 county
- Guangling 广陵
- Guangzhou 广州 (Canton)
- Guanli Liangdeng Xiaoxuetang 官立两等小学堂 (Official Second Class Primary School)
- Guanmiao 观妙 (meditating the secrets)
- Guanyue Xuan 贯月轩 (Guanyue Pavilion)
- Guazhou 瓜洲 (where the Grand Canal branches into the Yangtze River)
- Gubu 谷埠
- Gui Fan 归帆 (a sailing boat on its way home)
- guipeng wei* 鬼棚尾 (tail of the devil's shed)
- Guiyou zhi bian* 癸酉之变 (the Eight Trigrams uprising)
- Guizhou 贵州
- Guke Ting 古柯庭 (The Courtyard of Ancient Tree)
- Gun 鲟
- Guo Bi 郭昇 (ca.1280-1335)
- guo biechuan* 过别船 (boarding another boat)
- Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 (1231-1306)
- Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘 (1818-1891)
- Guo Xi 郭熙 (hailed from Heyang 河阳 county, ca. 1000-1090)
- Guo Zeyun 郭则沅 (1882-1946)
- guoxue sheng* 国学生 (a title that refers to the officials' offspring among the students of the taixue)
- Haidian 海淀
- haifu* 海桴 (a term derived from Confucius's word of "drifting on a raft in the sea")
- haishang sanshan* 海上三山 (three Mountains at Sea)
- Haitan Temple 海滩寺
- haiyan heqing* 海晏河清 ((when) the sea is quiet, and the river is clear)
- Haiyue An 海岳庵 (the Hut of Oceans and Mountains)
- Han Changli 韩昌黎 (Han Yu 韩愈, 768-842)
- Han Guzhou 韩古洲
- han hangchuan* 旱航船 (on-land sailing boats)
- Han Jing 韩敬
- Han Qi 韩琦 (1008-1075)
- Han Yu 韩愈 (768-824)
- Han 韩 River
- hanchuan* 旱船 (boat-on-land)
- Hanfeizi 韩非子 (Han Fei 韩非, ca. 280-233 BCE)
- Hang Zhai 航斋
- Hangjiahu 杭嘉湖 Plain (the area of Hangzhou, Jiaxing, and Huzhou)
- Hangzhou 杭州
- Hanlin Shuhua Yuan 翰林书画院 (Imperial Academy of Calligraphy and Painting)
- hanlinyuan bianxiu* 翰林院编修 (editor of the Hanlin Academy)
- Haopan Street 濠畔街
- He Gangde 何刚德 (1855-1936)
- He Huo'an 何夔庵
- He Liangjun 何良俊 (1506-1573)
- He Sanwei 何三畏
- He Shaoji 何绍基 (1799-1873)
- He Zhen 何震 (1897-1970)
- He Zhendai 何振岱
- He 和 county
- hebo* 河伯 (the male river god)
- hehe* 和合
- Henan 河南
- Hengchun 恒春
- henglou* 横楼
- Hengyang 衡阳 county
- heting* 河艇
- hezhou* 壑舟 (hiding the boat in a ravine)
- Hong Hao 洪皓 (1088-1155)
- Hong Kong 香港
- Hong Kuo 洪适 (1117-1184)
- Hong Mai 洪迈 (1123-1202)
- Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120-1174)
- hongdan chuan* 红单船 (red-list boat, a kind of

- Chinese sailboat)
- Hou Fangyu 侯方域 (1618-1654)
- Hou Kaiguo 侯开国 (fl. the latter half of the 17th c.)
- Hu Banzhen 胡班贞 (b. 1763)
- Hu Pu'an 胡朴安 (1878-1947)
- Hu Qianzhen 胡嵌贞 (b. 1765)
- Hu Shunling 胡顺龄
- Hu Tianpei 胡天培
- Hu Wenlian 胡问莲 (1736-1815)
- hu Yiding 朱一定 (b. 1763)
- Hu Yongdi 胡永迪
- Hua Fang 画舫
- Hua Hengfang 华衡芳 (1833-1902)
- hua juan* 花捐 (flower tax)
- Hua 滑 county
- hua'an* 花案 (the proposal of flowers)
- huabang* 花榜 (the announcement of flowers)
- huachuan* 花船 (flower boats)
- Huafang Shuyuan 画舫书院 (Pleasure Boat Academy)
- Huafang Zhai 画舫斋 (the Pleasure Boat Studio)
- huafang* 花舫 (flower boats, which refers to the brothel)
- huafang* 画舫 (refers to a painted pleasure boat)
- Huai 淮 River
- Huaiqing Bridge River House 淮清桥河房
- Huaiyang Army 淮阳军
- Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404)
- huandu zhishi* 环堵之室, *huandu* 环堵 (a chamber enclosed by four du)
- Huang Fei 黄斐
- Huang Gongwang 黄公望 (*hao Dachi daoren* 大痴道人, 1269-1354)
- Huang Huai 黄淮 (1367-1449)
- Huang Jiling 黄皆令 (Huang Yuanjie 黄媛介, d. ca. 1669)
- Huang Jun 黄濬 (1891-1937)
- Huang Pan 黄槃
- Huang Ruheng 黄汝亨 (1558-1626)
- Huang Tingjian 黄庭坚 (1045-1105)
- Huangchi 黄池 (Yellow Pond)
- Huangdui 黄峴 Hill
- Huangfu Gui 皇甫规 (104-174)
- Huanghu 黄鹄
- Huangpu 黄埔 (Whampoa)
- huangshan haoke* 黄衫豪客 (knight-errant in yellow coat)
- huangshan ke* 黄衫客 (man in yellow coat)
- Huangshan 黄山
- Huangtian Cen 黄田岑
- Huangtian 黄田 village
- Huangzi 黄子 Hill (also named Huangdui 黄峴 Hill)
- huashi gang* 花石纲 (transporting flowers and stones for imperial garden projects)
- huating* 花艇
- Huazhou 滑州
- huazi juan* 花子捐 (beggar tax)
- Hubei 湖北
- huben zhonglangjiang* 虎贲中郎将 (the most elite warriors who were entrusted with safeguarding the emperor's life)
- huben* 虎贲 (distinguished soldiers)
- hucuo* 护厝
- Huili 会理 city
- Hui-Ning 徽宁 (Huizhou and Ningguofu)
- Huizhou 徽州
- Huizhou 惠州
- Humen 虎门 (Bogue) town
- Hunan 湖南
- Huo Di 货狄
- Huo Huafang 活画舫 (the Lifelike Pleasure Boat)
- huolun* 火轮 (fire wheel, refers to the steamboat)
- huolunchuan* 火轮船 (fire-wheeled-boat, *huo* refers to "fire")
- huoshui* 祸水 (flood water, literally translated as "disaster water")
- huoxiang* 火巷 (fire lane)
- Huqiu 虎丘 Mountain
- hushan zhuren* 湖山主人 (Host of Lakes and Mountains)
- hutian* 壶天 (infinity in a bottle gourd)
- Huxin Ting 湖心亭 (Huxin Pavilion)
- huxuan* 胡旋 (Sogdian Whirl)
- Huzhou 湖州

- Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-1642)
- Ji Kang 嵇康 (224-263)
- ji* 屐 (refers to the *xiegong ji*, which is a special kind of clogs for climbing mountains invented by Xie An)
- ji* 楫 (oar)
- ji* 伎 (women with performing arts skills)
- ji* 妓 (female courtesan entertainers)
- Jiading 嘉定
- Jian Di 简狄
- Jian Lü 间绿
- jian* 檻 (referred to a type of boat enclosed by planks on all four sides)
- jiancha yushi* 监察御史 (Investigating Censor)
- Jiande 建德
- Jiang Anran 蒋安然
- Jianghuai fayunshi* 江淮发运使 (chief of the Dispatch Office of the Yangtze River and Huai River)
- Jiangningfu 江宁府
- Jiangsu 江苏
- Jiangxi 江西
- Jiangzhou 江州
- jianmin* 贱民 (debased people with a social status lower than ordinary people)
- Jianqiaowei 建桥围
- jiao'e* 蛟鳄, *jiaotuo* 蛟鼉 (flood dragons and alligators)
- Jiaofang Si 教坊司 (Imperial Office of Music)
- jiaoshu lang* 校书郎 (the book reviser, lang 郎, an ancient official title, which also has the meaning of “man”)
- jiaoyu* 教谕 (Confucian education promoter)
- jiashu* 家塾 (family school)
- Jiaxing 嘉兴
- Jichuan Pavilion 济川亭
- Jie Yuan 皆园
- Jie Zhou 芥舟
- jiefu* 节妇 (the virtuous women, especially refers to the widows who do not remarry after their husbands died)
- jin zhulong* 浸猪笼 (drown sb. in a wicker basket)
- jin* 罨 (a pair of gourd ladle)
- Jinan 济南
- Jing Shi 净室 (Room of Purity)
- Jing 泾 county
- Jingde 景德 Gate
- Jing-gong of the Qi Kingdom 齐景公 (Jiangng Chujiu 姜杵臼, d. 490 BCE)
- Jinglong Zhou 景龙舟
- Jingming Garden 静明园
- Jingshe 精舍 (the Teaching Room)
- Jingxian Xuetaang 景贤学堂 (School of Admiring the Sage)
- Jingxiang Garden 净香园
- Jingxiang 镜香 (perceiving the fragrance)
- Jingyi Garden 静宜园
- Jingzhong You 镜中游
- Jinhua 金华
- Jinlang Feifu 锦浪飞鳧
- Jinling Jiqi Zhizao Ju 金陵机器制造局 (Nanjing Machinery Manufacturing Bureau)
- Jinming Pool 金明池
- jinshi* 进士 (the successful candidate in the highest Imperial Examinations)
- Jinshui River 金水河
- jinzhen* 近真 (almost precise)
- jishi* 济世 (benefitting the world)
- jiu ji* 九忌 (nine tabooed things)
- Jiufeng Garden 九峰园 (rebuilt in 1761, formerly known as Jiamei Garden 葭湄园)
- jiufeng sanmao* 九峰三泖 (nine peaks and three lakes in the Songjiang area)
- Jixi 绩溪 county
- jixian jiaoli* 集贤校理 (collator of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies)
- jiyue* 妓乐 (female performers and musicians)
- Jizi Temple 季子庙
- Ju Ran 巨然
- ju* 菊 (chrysanthemums)
- juanpeng* 卷棚
- Juanshao Chuan 卷梢船
- jue'an* 觉岸 (the land of enlightenment)
- Juexi 爵溪 town
- junquan shenshou* 君权神授 (heaven grant the

- emperors' rights)
- Junzhou 均州
- junzhou-minshui* 君舟民水 (king as the boat and civilians as the water)
- juven* 举人 (a successful candidate in the township examination)
- Kaifeng 开封
- King Huai 怀 of Chu 楚 (Xiong Huai 熊槐, d. 296 BCE, r. 329-299 BCE)
- King Li of the Zhou dynasty 周厉王 (Ji Hu 姬胡, d. 828 BCE, r. 878-842 BCE)
- King Wei of the Qi 齐 (Tian Yinqi 田因齐, 378-320 BCE, r. 356-320 BCE)
- King Wen 文王 (Ji Chang 姬昌, 1152-1056 BCE)
- King Xuan of the Qi (Tian Pijiang 田辟疆, d. 301 BCE, r. 320-301 BCE)
- King Zhao of the Yan 燕 (Yan Zhi 燕职, d. 279 BCE, r. 311-279 BCE)
- kinsei* 近世 (early modern)
- Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648-1718)
- ku* 窟 (hole, cave, chamber)
- Kuahong Bridge 跨虹桥
- kuaihuo* 快活 (happiness)
- Kuaiji 会稽 county
- Kublai Khan 忽必烈汗 (1215-1294, r. 1260-1294)
- Kui Lou 奎楼 (Kui Tower)
- kuixing* 魁星 (the deity of literature who has the power to bless or curse literati's essays and articles)
- kun* 坤
- Kunming Chi 昆明池 (Kunming Pool)
- Kunming Hu Shuishi Xuetaang 昆明湖水师学堂 (Kunming Lake Naval Academy)
- Lailong 来龙 (dragon-coming) Hillock
- Laizhou 莱州
- Lan Ying 蓝瑛 (1585-1664)
- Lang Yi 郎顛
- Lanjing Fang 岚镜舫
- Lansheng Lou 揽胜楼 (Scenic Viewing Pavilion)
- Lanxi 兰溪
- Lepan Tang 乐泮堂 (the Hall of Enjoying the Academy)
- Li Bai 李白 (701-762)
- Li Chang 李常 (1027-1090)
- Li Ciming 李慈铭 (1830-1894)
- Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817)
- Li E 厉鹗 (1692-1752)
- Li Gang 李纲 (1083-1140)
- Li Gao 李皋, (733-792)
- Li Hongzhang 李鸿章 (1823-1901)
- Li Rihua 李日华 (1565-1635)
- Li Shizhen 李士桢 (1619-1695)
- Li Tiaoyuan 李调元 (1734-1803)
- Li Wei 李伟 (1510-1583)
- Li Xianghu 李象鹄 (1799 *jinshi*)
- Li Xiangjun 李香君 (1624-1654)
- Li Yan 李岩 (d. 1644)
- Li Yong 李邕 (678-747)
- Li Yunxiang 李云翔
- Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630)
- li* 剝 (lacerate)
- li* 礼 (etiquette)
- Liang Ji 梁冀 (d.159)
- liangmin* 良民 (respectable commoner)
- Liangxi Ju 梁溪居 (The Abode by the Liangxi River)
- Liangzhe 两浙 region
- Lianshui Army 涟水军
- Lianxilechu 濂溪乐处
- Lin Ji 林积 (1021-1091)
- lin jinni* 凜金柅
- Lin Tiansu 林天素
- Lin Xu 林旭 (1875-1898)
- Lin Youlin 林有麟 (1578-1647)
- lin zaizhou zhi jie* 凜载舟之戒 (awe the warning of "carrying the boat")
- Lin Zexu 林则徐 (1785-1850)
- Lin'an 临安 (Hangzhou)
- Lindun Li 临顿里
- Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580-1644)
- Lingyin Temple 灵隐寺
- Linjiang 临江 city
- Linnan 岭南 (south of the Five Ridges, which referd to the area covering Guangdong and Guangxi)

- Linqing 临清 county
- Lion Grove 狮子林
- liquan* 利权 (economic rights)
- Lishui 丽水 county
- Liu Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1897-1968)
- Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1618-1664)
- Liu Shixin 刘世馨 (1752-1837)
- Liu Shiyang 刘时颖 (1693 *juren*)
- Liu Shu 刘淑
- Liu Xiang 刘向 (77-6 BCE)
- Liu Xutang 刘叙堂 (late Qing dynasty)
- Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 (772-842)
- Liu* 柳 (willow, refers to the pleasure quarters)
- liudu* 留都 (the secondary capital)
- lixue* 理学 (the Neo-Confucian)
- Longchuan 龙川 village
- Longqing Pond 隆庆池
- Longquan 龙泉 (Dragon Spring)
- Longyan 龙眼 Bridge
- Longyang 龙阳 county
- Longyou 龙游 county
- Lord Mengchang 孟尝君 of the Qi 齐 State (Tian Wen 田文, later became the prime minister of Qi)
- Lord Xinling 信陵君 of the Wei 魏 State (Wei Wuji 魏无忌, d. 243 BCE)
- lou chuan* 楼船 (a kind of boat with architectural features)
- lou* 楼 (pavilion)
- louzhi* 漏卮 (the leaky wine container, a metaphor for the loophole that spills national interests)
- Lü Bangyao 吕邦耀 (1601 *jinshi*)
- Lü Benzhong 吕本中 (1084-1145)
- Lü Jiazhong 吕夹钟
- Lu Renlong 陆人龙 (the late Ming dynasty)
- Lü Wenguang 吕文光
- Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936)
- Lü Yijian 吕夷简 (978-1044)
- Lu You 陆游 (1125-1210)
- Lü Zuqian 吕祖谦 (1137-1181)
- Luan 滦 River
- Luhe 六合 county
- Lujin Temple 露筋庙 (The Temple of the Lady with Exposed Tendons)
- Lunchuan Cuo 轮船厝
- Lunchuan Zhaoshangju 轮船招商局 (China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company)
- lunzhou* 轮舟 (wheeled boat)
- Luo 洛 River
- Luocheng 罗城 town
- Luoshen 洛神
- Luoyang 洛阳
- lūpeng chuan* 绿蓬船 (green-mat boat)
- Lūwei Fang 绿帷舫
- Luxu 芦墟 town
- Lūyang Bridge 绿杨桥
- Lūyun Fang 绿云舫
- Luzhou 泸州
- Ma Chiman 马吃漫
- Ma Rong 马融 (79-166)
- Ma Xianglan 马湘兰
- Ma Xuanzhou 马玄洲
- Ma Yuelu 马曰璐 (1701-1761)
- Machong 马冲 (steed-galloping) River
- Maimai Jie 买卖街 (the street for buying and selling)
- Man Garden 漫园
- manyi* 蛮夷 (barbarians)
- Mao Bang 毛滂 (1056-1124)
- Mao Kun 茅坤 (1512-1601)
- Mao Weizhan 毛维瞻 (1011-1084)
- Mao Yuanyi 茅元仪 (1594-1640)
- Mao 洧 River
- maoci tujie* 茅茨土阶 (thatch roof and earthen base)
- Mei Yaochen 梅尧臣 (1002-1060)
- Mei Zhi 梅挚 (994-1059)
- meihua* 梅花 (literally means “plum blossom,” which refers to the quincuncial shape)
- meili xiangcun* 美丽乡村 (beautiful countryside)
- meiren* 美人 (beauties)
- Mencius 孟子 (Meng Ke 孟轲, 371-289 BCE)
- Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740)
- meng* 甍 (tile)
- Mi Fu 米芾 (*zi Yuanzhang* 元章, 1051-1107)
- Mi Lou 迷楼

- Mi Wanzhong 米万钟 (1570-1631)
- Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074-1151)
- Miaogao Mountain 妙高峰
- mieyang* 灭洋 (exterminating the foreigners and foreign things)
- Mijia Shuhua Chuan 米家书画船 (Mi family's boat that houses calligraphy and paintings);
- mijiao* 秘校, *mishusheng jiaoshulang* 秘书省校书郎 (the book reviser of the Secretarial)
- Ming Yu 明玉
- mingjia* 鸣笳 (a kind of wind instrument)
- mingliu* 名流 (distinguished celebrities)
- mingshi* 名士 (celebrity with a free and unruly character)
- Minhou 闽侯 county
- minshi* 名士 (celebrated scholar)
- minweibangben* 民为邦本 (the civilian people are the foundation of the state)
- minyuan* 民怨 (resentment of the civilians)
- Mishi yunshan* 米氏云山 (Mi family's unique way of depicting clouds and mountains)
- mu* 亩 (a hundred paces in its perimeter, which equates to ten paces squared)
- Mulan Huo 木兰麓
- Muramatsu Shōfu 村松梢風 (1889-1961)
- Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934)
- Nanjianzhou 南剑州
- Nanliu 南柳 county
- Nanping 南平
- nanwei* 南闾 (Jiangnan Township Exam)
- nanxun* 南巡 (the "Southern Tour" inspecting the Jiangnan region)
- Nanyang jinhai ling* 南洋禁海令 (the imperial decree that forbids inland merchants to carry out business activities in Southeast Asia and orders overseas Chinese there to return home)
- née Luo* 罗氏
- née Yan* 阎氏
- née Zhen* 甄氏
- nei* 内 (inner)
- neisheng-waiwang* 内圣外王 (sagacity inside and kingliness outside)
- Neiwu Fu 内务府 (Ministry of Internal Affairs)
- Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374)
- ni* 匿 (hide, retreat)
- ni* 溺 (indulging, originally meaning drowning)
- Ningbo 宁波
- Ningguofu 宁国府
- Niushe 牛舌
- nü jiaoshu* 女校书 ("female collator" or "female book reviser," *nü* 女, women or female; *jiaoshu* 校书, the book reviser)
- Nü'er guo 女儿国 (The country of women)
- Nüying 女英
- Nüzi guo 女子国 (The country of women)
- Ouyang Shuyuan 欧阳书院 (Ouyang Academy)
- Ouyang Wenzhong gong Shuyuan 欧阳文忠公书院 (Ouyang Wenzhong gong Academy)
- Ouyang Xian 欧阳宪
- Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 (1007-1072)
- Ouyang Xuetao 欧阳学堂 (Ouyang School)
- Ouyang Xuexiao 欧阳学校 (Ouyang School)
- Ouyang Ye 欧阳晔
- Paiyun Hall 排云殿 (the Hall of Dispelling the Clouds)
- Pan Shien 潘世恩 (1770-1854)
- Pan Zhiheng 潘之恒 (1556-1622)
- Pan Zhou 盘洲 (the Isle of Lingering)
- panchi* 泮池 (a semicircular pool)
- Pazhou Pagoda 琶洲塔
- Peng Guinian 彭龟年 (*hao Zhitang* 止堂, 1142-1206)
- Penghua Sheng 捧花生
- Penglai 蓬莱
- Pengri 捧日
- Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (838-883)
- pi* 癖 (mania, obsessiveness)
- piao hedeng* 漂河灯 (drift sb. on the rafter until she dies)
- Piling 毗陵 county
- Pinghu 平湖
- Pingshan Hall 平山堂
- pipa* 琵琶 (Chinese lute)

- pitiaoting* 皮条艇 (pimping boat)
 Prince Chun 醇亲王 Yixuan 奕譞 (1840-1891)
 Prince of E 鄂
 Pu Qilong 浦起龙 (1679-1762)
 Pu Shu Ting 曝书亭 (the Pavilion of Basking the Books)
 Pu Songling 蒲松龄 (1640-1715)
puzhai 朴斋 (house built of wood without fine finishing, means the plain building without ornament)
- Qi Biaoja 祁彪佳 (1603-1645)
 Qi 契 of the Yin 殷
 Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 (1582-1664)
qian 乾
 Qianchi Xue 千尺雪
Qianchun zhi zhi 乾淳之治 (Emperor Xiaozong's reign in the Qianchun 乾淳 period)
Qianjie ling 迁界令 (the imperial decree for the people of the coastal provinces of Southeast China to move inland about 30 to 50 *li*)
 Qianqiu Bridge 千秋桥
qianshan xiduan 前山西段 (west section of the front hill)
qianshu jiedu panguanting gongshi 签书节度判官厅公事 (a notary of the administrative assistant to the military commissioner)
 Qiantang River 钱塘江
 Qiantang 钱塘 county
 Qianwei 犍为 county
qichuan 汽船 (steamboat, *qi* refers to "steam")
qiji yinqiao 奇技淫巧 (curious skills and wicked crafts)
qijulang 起居郎 (the official in charge of recording the emperor's words and deeds and in his daily life)
 Qin Dunyuan 秦敦原 (1817 *jinshi*)
 Qin Hui 秦桧 (1090-1155)
 Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (Ying Zheng 嬴政, 259-210 BCE, the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, 221-207 BCE)
 Qin Shuying 覃树英 (a female poet in the late Qing dynasty)
- Qin Zhigong 秦致恭 (1568 *jinshi*)
qin 琴 (seven-string Chinese zither)
qing 情 (passion, feeling, sentiment, or sensitivity)
qingbai zhi shen 清白之身 (the body of *qingbai*)
qingbai 清白 (innocence, literally clear and white)
 Qinghua Garden 清华园
Qingli heyi 庆历和议 (the Peace Talks in the Qingli Period)
Qingli xinzheng 庆历新政 (Qingli New Deal)
 Qinglian Fang 青莲舫
qingling 蜻蛉 (literally translated as "dragonfly," referring to a type of boat that is extremely thin and small in size)
 Qinglong Bridge 青龙桥
 Qinglong Zhou 青龙舟 (Green Dragon Boat)
qinglou 青楼 (a metonym for the brothel)
qingmiao fa 青苗法 (Green Sprouts Law)
qingshen futi 请神附体 (inviting gods to possess one's body)
 Qingyan Fang 清晏舫 (the Marble Boat)
 Qingyi Garden 清漪园
 Qinhuai 秦淮 River
 Qinzheng Hall 勤政殿 (the Hall of Diligent Government)
 Qishan 琦善 (Boerzhijin Qishan 孛儿只斤·琦善, 1786-1854)
 Qiusheng Guan 秋声馆 (Pavilion of the Sound of Autumn)
 Qiusheng Lou 秋声楼 (Autumn Sound Pavilion)
 Qiusheng Shuyuan 秋声书院 (Autumn Sound Academy)
 Qixia Hill 栖霞岭 (in Hangzhou)
 Qixia 栖霞 Mountain (in Nanjing)
 Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630-1696)
 Qu Garden 曲园
 Qu Garden 趣园
 Qun An 困庵 (the Barn Hut)
qushui 曲水 (winding water, a landscape in the Sui palace)
 Quzhou 衢州

- Ren Yuan 任渊 (1090-1164)
- Rong 茸 city (nowadays Songjiang District of Shanghai)
- rongxi* 容膝 (literally translated as “accommodating the knees,” which exaggerate the narrowness of a space, which can only allow one person to sit in a kneeling position)
- Ru Garden 如园
- Ruan Dacheng 阮大铖 (1586-1646)
- rugang* 入港 (a boat entering the port)
- Runzhou 润州
- Ruo Ji 若济 (about to cross a river)
- Ruofan Zhi Ge 若帆之阁 (the Sail-like Pavilion)
- rushang* 儒商 (literatus-merchants)
- rushi* 入世 (entering the world)
- san malu* 三马路 (the Third Road)
- San Xia 三峡 (the Three Gorges)
- san zhou* 三舟 (three boats)
- sanbi wushi* 三弊五事 (three malpractices and five problems)
- Sanshan Street 三山街 (the original Imperial Street)
- Sanzhou 三洲 town
- se* 色 (refers to beautiful women)
- seyin* 色隐 (hidden in beauty)
- sha* 杀 (kill)
- Sha 沙 county
- shachuan* 沙船 (large junk)
- Shafei 沙飞
- Shaji 沙基
- Shan 剡 county
- Shandong 山东
- Shanghai 上海 (Sianghai)
- shangshu youcheng* 尚书右丞 (the senior councilor of the Department of State Affairs)
- shangsi* 上巳 (the third day of the third lunar month)
- shang-wu-fang* 上五房 (higher five branches)
- Shantang 山塘 River
- Shanyin 山阴 county
- Shao Garden 勺园 (40th-42nd year of Wanli, 1612-1614)
- Shaozhou 韶州
- shating* 沙艇 (sand boat)
- She Garden 涉园
- She 歙 county
- Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578-1642)
- Shen Deqian 沈德潜 (1673-1769)
- Shen Fu 沈复 (1763-1832)
- Shen Gou 沈遘 (1025-1067, 1049 *jinshi*)
- Shen Jiazhe 沈嘉辙 (fl. the early half of the 18th c.)
- shenxian ku* 神仙窟 (immortals' cave)
- Shi Fang 石舫 (the Stone Boat)
- Shi Pei 施沛 (1585-1661)
- Shi Shaoshen 施绍莘 (hao Fengmao Langxian 峰泖浪仙, 1581-1640)
- Shi Shijie 施士洁 (1856-1922)
- Shi Yunyu 石韞玉 (1756-1837)
- shi'er yi* 十二宜 (twelve appropriate things)
- Shifan Shi 石帆室
- shifang* 石舫 (stone boat)
- shili Qinhuai* 十里秦淮 (ten miles of Qinhuai)
- shiqi ling* 十七令 (Seventeen Inducements)
- Shiquan Jie 十全街 (The Street of Ten Perfectness)
- shiquan laoren* 十全老人 (the old man of ten perfectness)
- shiquan wugong* 十全武功 (ten great military achievements)
- Shiyang Jin 十样锦
- Shizhuang 石庄
- Shouzheng An 寿征庵
- shuanglu* 双路
- Shuangxi Tang 双溪堂 (the Hall of Two Streams)
- Shuhua Chuan Ting 书画船亭 (the Pavillion of Shuhua Chuan)
- Shuhua Fang 书画舫
- Shuicun Ju 水村居
- shuidian* 水殿 (waterside pavilion)
- shuige* 水阁 (waterside pavilion)
- shuiji* 水鸡 (literally, water chicken, refers to the prostitute on the water)
- Shuishi Xuetao 水师学堂 (Naval Academy)
- shuishi* 水饰 (literally translated as “water ornaments,” that is a puppet show in which wooden figures dressed as historical figures are installed on a

- boat to play historical stories related to water.
Some can also be pulled to make them move)
- Shuixianwang Temple 水仙王庙
shuixing 水性 (water nature)
Shuiyunxiang 水云乡
shuizhai 水斋 (waterside pavilions)
Shuizhu Ju 水竹居
shumi shi 枢密使 (the commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs)
Shun 舜
Shun'ao 舜岙 River
Shunde 顺德 county
Shuyang 沭阳 city
Shuyuan 书院 (the Academy)
Si 泗 county
Sichuan 四川
sijian 四谏 (Four expostulators)
Sima Guang 司马光 (1019-1086)
sishui guitang 四水归堂 (the practice of roofs sloping inward in each patio, which makes all the rainwater flowed into the courtyard)
sitiao jie 四条街 (four streets)
Sizhou Temple 泗州寺
sizhu dating 四柱大厅 (four-poster hall)
Song Luo 宋莘 (1634-1713)
Song Maodeng 宋懋澄 (ca. 1569-1620)
Song Ting 嵩艇
Song Xi 宋僖
Song Zhengyu 宋征舆 (1618-1667)
songdong 松栋 (literally translated as “pine beam,” means the magnificent residence)
Songjiangfu 松江府
Su Shi 苏轼 (1037-1101)
Su Wu 苏武 (140-60 BCE)
Su Xun 苏洵 (1009-1066)
Su Zhe 苏辙 (1039-1112)
Sui An 随庵 (Unconstrained Hut)
Sui Yuan 随园
suijiu yusai 岁久淤塞 (being stagnated over time)
suishan-style 随山 (rises and falls with topography)
Suixi An 随喜庵 (The Hut of Unconstrained Rejoice)
Suizhou 随州
- Summer Mountain Resort in Chengde 承德避暑山庄
Sun Di 孙覿 (1081-1169)
Sun Nanzhou 孙南周
Sun Yang 孙瑒 (516-587)
Suzhou 苏州
- Tai Xue 太学 (the Imperial College)
taichang boshi 太常博士 (Erudite of the Imperial Sacrifice Ritual Department)
taichuan ban 台船班 (stage-boat troupe)
taichuan 台船 (stage boat)
taishou 太守 (prefecture chief)
Taiwan 台湾
Taiyi Ye 太乙叶 (The Lotus Leaf Boat of Taiyi the Immortal)
Tan Sitong 谭嗣同 (1865-1898)
Tan Yankai 谭延闿 (*zi Zuan* 组庵, 1880-1930)
Tan Yuanchun 谭元春 (1586-1637)
Tang Shuyu 汤漱玉 (1796-1855)
Tang Zhida 唐志大 (*zi Bogang* 伯刚)
Tangan Garden 檀干园
Tangmo 唐模 village
tang-shi 堂-室 (hall – inner chamber)
Tang-Song ba dajia 唐宋八大家 (eight great masters in the Tang and Song dynasties)
tanhua 探花
Tanzhou 潭州
Tao Qian 陶潜 (*zi Yuanming* 渊明, 365-427)
Tao Xian 陶峴
Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (365-427)
tao(hua)yuan 桃(花)源
Taohua An 桃花庵 (Peach Blossom Temple)
taoshi 逃世 (escaping the world)
te zhou 特舟 (single boat)
Teng Zijing 滕子京 (b. 990)
the Pearl River Delta 珠江三角洲
the Pearl River 珠江
the Qinhuai River 秦淮河
the Three Rivers 三江
the Yangtze River Delta 长江三角洲
the Yangtze River 长江
the Yellow Emperor 黄帝 (ca. 27th century BCE)

- the Yellow River 黄河
- Tianban Fang 天半舫
- tianchi* 天池 (the pool on the top of the mountain)
- tianhe* 天河 (Celestial River)
- tianjun* 添俊 (*tian* 添 means “add,” *jun* 俊 means “glamour,” together they mean “adding glamour”)
- tiannu* 天怒 (wrath of heaven)
- tiantai taoyuan* 天台桃源
- tianyi* 天意 (will of heaven)
- Ting Zhai 艇斋 (Boat Studio)
- tixue fushi* 提学副使 (the deputy director of the Local Education Department)
- tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中书门下平章事 (the jointly manager of affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery)
- Tonghui River 通惠河
- Tong Jun 童寯 (1900-1983)
- tongliang* (通梁, using one long beam through three bays)
- tongpan* 通判 (assistant prefectural magistrate)
- Tongwen Guan 同文馆 (School of Combined Learning)
- tongzhi liyuan* 同知礼院 (jointly deputy of the Imperial Sacrifice Ritual Department)
- touhu* 投壶
- toushui* 投水 (throwing oneself into the water)
- Tuan Piao 团瓢 (Xiao Tuanpiao 小团瓢)
- Tuanhe Palace 团河行宫
- tuiming kongshi yichu baijia* 推明孔氏, 抑黜百家 (promoting Confucianism and suppressing other schools)
- tuntian* 屯田 (have garrison troops or peasants open up wasteland and grow food grain)
- wai* 外 (outer)
- Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086)
- Wang Ao 王鏊 (1450-1524)
- Wang Chunfu 王醇父
- Wang Daokun 汪道昆 (1525-1593)
- Wang Du 汪度
- Wang Duo 王铎 (1592-1652)
- Wang Geng 王赓 (1895-1942)
- Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (338-386)
- Wang Jiuchou 王九畴
- Wang Kejue 汪可觉
- Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308-1385)
- Wang Nai 王鼐
- Wang Ruchun 汪汝淳
- Wang Rujun 汪汝浚
- Wang Ruqian 汪汝谦 (*zi* Ranming 然明, *hao* Songxi Daoren 松溪道人, 1577-1655)
- Wang Shen 王诜 (the husband of Princess Shuguo 蜀国公主, 1048-1104)
- Wang Shimin 王时敏 (1592-1680)
- Wang Sihai 王斯海
- Wang Su 王素 (1007-1073)
- Wang Tao 王韬 (1828-1897)
- Wang Wei 王微
- Wang Wenqi 王文企
- Wang Xiaoyan 王孝严 (1172 *jinshi*)
- Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca. 303-361)
- Wang Yu 王瑀
- Wangshou Hill 万寿山 (Longevity Hill)
- Wanhe Zhou 万荷舟
- Wanyan Shu 完颜璫 (1172-1232)
- Wanyu Zi 宛瑜子
- Wanzi River 万字河
- Wei Gao 韦皋 (745-805)
- Wei Ting 桅亭 (the Mast Pavilion)
- Wei Yong 卫泳 (late Ming and early Qing dynasties)
- Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857)
- Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643)
- wei zhou* 维舟 (connecting four boats)
- Wei 渭 River
- Weicheng 韦城 county
- weiguo ziwu* 微过自污 (tarnishing oneself's reputation with minor transgressions)
- Weihai 威海
- Wen Hu 文湖 (the lake of writing)
- Wen Qixiang 闻启祥 (1579-1637)
- Weng Fanggang 翁方纲 (1733-1818)
- Weng Hill 瓮山 (Urn Hill)
- Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904)
- Wengshan Po 瓮山泊 (Wengshan Lake, The Lake of

- the Urn Hill)
- Wenjun ji* 文君肌 (Wenjun's skin)
- wenmiao* 文庙 (the Confucius Temple, also known as
Xue Gong 学宫, the education institution)
- wenyan* 文言 (classical Chinese)
- Wenzhou 温州
- West Lake 西湖
- Whampoa Military Academy 黄埔军校
- White Pagoda 白塔
- woyou* 卧游 (travel recumbently, which means to
travel vicariously through books and pictures)
- Wu Li 吴历 (1632-1718)
- Wu Tingjian 吴廷简
- Wu Tugong 武图功 (1557-1627)
- Wu Yingji 吴应箕 (1594-1645)
- Wu Yuanheng 武元衡 (758-815)
- Wu Zhen 吴镇 (1280-1354)
- Wu 巫 Mountain
- Wuchang 武昌 county
- Wucheng Army 武成军
- Wuding Bridge 武定桥
- wuhu chuan* 五湖船 (the boat Fan Li used to adrift on
the Five Lakes after Fan Li's retirement)
- wuhu* 五虎 (Five Tigers)
- Wujiang 吴江 county
- Wuliu Ju 五柳居
- wunü* 巫女 (witches)
- Wushan yunyu* 巫山云雨 (the clouds and rains in Wu
Mountain)
- Wuwei Army 无为军
- Wuxi 无锡
- wuxing* 五行 (the five primary elements, gold, wood,
water, fire, and earth)
- Wuxu bianfa* 戊戌变法 (Reform Movement of 1898,
also known as the Hundred Days' Reform)
- Wuxu liu junzi* 戊戌六君子 (the six gentlemen of
1898)
- Wuyou Yuan 乌有园 (The Non-existent Garden)
- Xi Jiaolou 西角楼
- Xi Shi 西施 (Shi Yiguang 施夷光, one of the Four
Beauties in ancient China)
- xi shuiguan* 西水关 (West Water Pass)
- Xi'ou 西瓯
- Xia'ou Fang 狎鸥舫
- xiake* 侠客 (Knight-errant or chivalry)
- Xiamen 厦门 (Amoy)
- xian* 仙 (goddesses)
- Xiancan Tan 先蚕坛
- Xiang 湘 River
- Xiangchi 翔螭
- Xiangfeng 翔凤 (Hover Phoenix)
- Xianglian Zhou 祥莲舟
- Xiangshan Jianrui Battalion 香山建锐营
- xiangshi* 乡试 (Township Examination)
- Xiangtan 湘潭 county
- Xiangyang 襄阳
- Xiangyangfu 襄阳
- Xiangyun 翔云
- Xiangzi Bridge 湘子桥
- xianjing* 仙境 (wonderlands)
- xianku* 仙窟 (the immortals' cave)
- Xianli Diyi Xiaoxuexiao 县立第一小学校
(Prefectural First Elementary School)
- Xianli Gaodeng Xiaoxuexiao 县立高等小学校
(Prefectural Advanced Elementary School)
- xianshui* 咸水 (literally, salty water, refers to the sea)
- xianwei* 县尉 (junior officer of the county)
- Xiao Fumei Jian 小浮梅槛 (Little Fumei Jian)
- Xiao Garden 筱园
- Xiao Linglong 小玲珑 (Small and Exquisite)
- Xiao Lingyu 萧令裕 (1793-1848)
- Xiao Xiling 小西泠
- Xiao Yin 小隐 (the Little Seclusion)
- Xiao 潇 River
- xiaoshi* 小室 (literally translated as "small chamber,"
which means a compact living space)
- Xiaoyoutian 小有天
- Xiaozi Lake 孝子湖 (the lake of a dutiful son)
- Xiaozong zhongxing* 孝宗中兴 (the restoration of the
Southern Song dynasty by Emperor Xiaozong)
- xia-san-fen* 下三分 (lower three branches)
- xiaxie* 狭邪 (narrow streets and crooked alleyways,
which refers to the brothels)

- Xichuan 西川 (central and western Sichuan)
- Xidi 西递 village
- Xie An 谢安 (320-385)
- Xie Qinggao 谢清高
- xie* 撷 (means “to pick”)
- xieshan* 歇山 (gable and hip)
- xieshi* 写实 (realistic)
- xieyi* 写意 (metaphorical)
- Xifengxiuse 西峰秀色
- Xihaokou 西濠口
- Xilong Zhou 喜龙舟
- Xin'an River 新安江
- xinban haijun* 兴办海军 (developing the naval army)
- Xinfeng 新丰 county
- Xing Bridge 荇桥
- Xingguo Temple 兴国寺
- xingjia* 形家 (geomancers)
- xinxue* 心学 (School of Mind)
- xishi* 西师 (the “Western Campaigns” quelling the Junggar rebellion)
- Xitoudu 溪头都
- Xiuning 休宁 county
- xiyang qiqi* 西洋奇器 (rare Western artifacts)
- Xizhuang Tai 洗妆台 (the Platform of Drinking under the Pear Blossom)
- Xu Bida 徐必达 (1562-1645)
- Xu Fang 徐舫 (1290-1366)
- Xu Fu 徐福
- Xu Gate 胥门
- Xu Shen 许慎 (ca. 58-147)
- Xu Shou 徐寿 (1818-1884)
- Xu Yang 徐扬
- Xu Yicheng 许以诚
- Xu Youren 许有壬 (1286-1364)
- Xu 许 village
- Xuan Ding 宣鼎 (1832-1880)
- xuan* 轩 (an arched symmetrical ceiling spanning one or two rafters)
- Xue Susu 薛素素
- Xue Tao 薛涛 (768-ca.832)
- Xue Zhou 学舟 (the Boat of Learning)
- xuehai zhi zhou* 学海之舟 (the boat sailing on the sea of learning)
- Xuepeng Zhai 雪蓬斋 (the Study of the Snowy Boat)
- Xueye Zhou 雪夜舟 (the Boat of a Snowing Night)
- xunshou sifang* 巡狩四方 (the tour of inspection in four directions)
- xunshou* 巡狩 (the tour for the “Son of Heaven” to inspect the vassal territories guarded by the feudal princes)
- xunxian* 薰弦
- xunyan yushi* 巡盐御史 (Salt Censor)
- Xunzi 荀子 (Xun Kuang 荀况, *zi* Qing 卿, ca. 313-238 BCE)
- Xuzhou Zhai 虚舟斋 (Studio of the Empty Boat)
- xuzhou* 虚舟 (empty boat)
- yamen* 衙门 (government office)
- Yan Shigu 颜师古 (581-645)
- Yan Ting 烟艇 (Boat Amidst Smoke)
- Yan Ying 晏婴 (d. 500 BCE)
- Yan Zhenqing 颜真卿 (709-784)
- Yanbo Huachuan 烟波画船 (Painted Boat on Smoky Waves)
- Yang Bingnan 杨炳南
- yang guizi* 洋鬼子 (foreign devils)
- Yang Kan 羊侃 (496-549)
- Yang Weizhen 杨维桢 (1296-1370)
- Yang Xiong 扬雄 (53-18 BCE)
- Yang Yao 杨么 (1108-1135)
- Yang Yuhuan 杨玉环 (719-756)
- Yang Yunyou 杨云友
- Yangcai 漾彩
- Yangchuan Wu 洋船屋 (the Foreign [Steam]Boat House)
- yanghuo* 洋货 (foreign goods)
- yangqi taizhong* 洋气太重 (too foreign)
- yangqi weijin* 洋气未尽 (uneliminated foreign style)
- yangwu yundong* 洋务运动 (the Westernization Movement)
- Yangzhou 扬州
- Yanling 延陵 county
- Yanshang Zhai 延赏斋
- yanyu xiaoxiang* 烟雨潇湘 (the misty rain in the area)

- of Xiao and Xiang River)
yanyue dong 偃月洞 (half-moon-shaped cave)
 Yanzhou 严州
 Yao Dewen 姚德闻
 Yao Ji 瑶姬
 Yao Shou 姚绶 (*zi gongshou* 公绶, *hao Yundong Yishi* 云东逸史, 1422-1495)
 Yao Xing 姚兴 (366-416)
 Yao Xuepeng 姚雪篷
 Yao 尧
 Yaobi Zhai 摇碧斋 (the Studio of Creating Turquoise Waves)
 Yaochi 瑶池 (a celestial garden of the Queen Mother of the West)
 Ye chu 野处 (the Wilderness Place)
 Ye Shaoyuan 叶少源
 Ye Yongsheng 叶永盛 (1580 *jinshi*)
 Ye 叶 county
 Yefangbang 冶坊浜
 Yi Garden 怡园
 Yi Ge 舄阁
 Yi Shunding 易顺鼎 (1858-1920)
 Yi Yuan 移园 (Moving Garden)
 Yi Zhai 舄斋 (the Moored Boat Studio)
yi'e 溢恶 (extreme debasement)
 Yichang 宜昌
 Yichun Garden 倚春园
yidai wenzong 一代文宗 (one master of a generation, whose writings were modelled after)
 Yihe Garden 颐和园 (the Summer Palace)
 Yihong Garden 倚虹园
 Yiliang 怡良 (Gua'erjia Yiliang 瓜尔佳·怡良, 1791-1867)
 Yiling 夷陵 county
yimei 溢美 (excessive praise)
 Yin Zhongcan 殷仲堪 (d. 399)
yin 隐 (hidden)
 Ying Yuan 影园 (Garden of the Shadow)
 Yingde 英德
 Yingjiang Temple 迎江寺
 Yingzhou Shuyuan 瀛洲书院 (Yingzhou Academy)
 Yingzhou 英州
 Yingzhou 瀛洲
 Yingzhou 郢州
yin-yang 阴阳 (the two opposing principles in nature)
yinyuanting 姻缘艇 (marriage boat)
 Yiqiao 义桥
yixiaozhiguo 以孝治国 (governing the country with filial piety)
 Yixing 宜兴 county
yi yang chonghe 颐养冲和 (maintaining the peace and harmony)
 Yizheng 仪征 city
 Yong An 泳庵 (Drifting Hut)
 Yonghe 永和 (Forever Peace)
you jianyi daifu 右谏议大夫 (the senior chief of the Remonstrance Bureau)
 Yu Fang 馮舫 (the Boat of the Feast)
 Yu Garden 豫园
 Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064)
 Yu River 玉河
 Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907)
 Yu 禹
 Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610)
 Yuan Shiyu 袁士瑜
 Yuan Shuoyou 袁说友 (*hao Dongtang Jushi* 东塘居士, 1140-1204)
 Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570-1623)
 Yuan Zongdao 袁宗道 (1560-1600)
yuan 园 (garden)
 Yuanfan Lou 远帆楼 (The Pavilion of Far Sail)
 Yuanjing Temple 圆静寺
 Yuanming Garden 圆明园 (the Old Summer Palace)
 Yuanwu 元武
yuanyangting 鸳鸯艇 (mandarin duck boat)
Yuanyou dangzheng 元佑党争 (the party strife in Yuanyou period)
 Yucan 浴蚕 (Bathing Silkworms) River
 Yudai Hao 玉带濠 (Jade Belt River)
 Yue Fei 岳飞 (1103-1142)
 Yue Qishou 岳其寿
 Yue Shiqin 岳世钦
 Yue Song 岳嵩
 Yue Xiaowei 岳孝伟

- Yue Yuancun 岳元存
- Yuejia Xuan 月驾轩 (The Pavilion of Sailing on the Moon)
- Yuelu Academy 岳麓书院 (Yuelu Academy)
- yuhan baofang* 玉函宝方 (the rare and powerful remedy for health)
- Yuhuang Zhai 舂舂斋
- Yuhuang 舂舂
- Yulinlong Guan 玉玲珑馆
- Yun Shouping 恽寿平 (*hao* Nantian 南田, 1633-1690)
- yun* 云 (cloud)
- Yunfan Yuefang 云帆月舫 (Cloud Sail Moon Boat)
- yunqing yuyi* 云情雨意 (the love and affection of the cloud and rain)
- yunren channa* 韵人禅衲 (men of refined taste and monks)
- yunxiang* 芸香 (a herb once used to vanquish bookworms)
- Yunyangfu 郟阳
- yunyu Gaotang* 云雨高唐 (cloud and rain of Gaotang)
- yunyu Wushan* 云雨巫山 (cloud and rain in Wu Mountain)
- yunyu* 云雨 (cloud and rain)
- Yuquan 玉泉 (Jade Spring)
- Yushan Caotang 玉山草堂 (the Thatched Hall of the Jade Mountain)
- Yushan Shuhua Chuan 玉山书画船
- yushui zhi huan* 鱼水之欢 (the pleasure between fish and water)
- Yusi Fengpian 雨丝风片
- Zaiyue Zhou 载月舟 (The Boat of Carrying the Moon)
- zaizhou-fuzhou* 载舟覆舟 ((water) can carry the boat and also capsizes the boat)
- zao zhou* 造舟 (connecting boats to be a bridge)
- Zeng Gong 曾巩 (1019-1083)
- Zeng Guofan 曾国藩 (1811-1872)
- Zeng Guoquan 曾国荃 (Zeng Guofan's brother, 1824-1890)
- Zha Erzhan 查二瞻
- zhai jian* 斋舰 (a kind of boat equipped with plank houses on top)
- zhai* 斋 (a leisure studio or study room)
- Zhan Garden 瞻园
- Zhan Garden 湛园 (25th year of Wanli, 1597)
- Zhan Tiren 詹仪之 (1123-1189)
- Zhang Chou 张丑 (1577-1643)
- Zhang Dai 张岱 (1597-1689)
- Zhang Dayong 张大镛 (1770-1838)
- Zhang Han 张瀚 (1510-1593)
- Zhang Heng 张衡 (78-139)
- Zhang Jiayin 张佳胤 (1526-1588, 1550 *jinshi*)
- Zhang Lihua 张丽华 (559-589)
- Zhang Peilun 张佩纶 (1848-1903)
- Zhang Rulin 张汝霖
- Zhang Shi 张栻 (1133-1180)
- Zhang Shunmin 张舜民 (1065 *jinshi*)
- Zhang Tingyan 张廷彦 (1735-1794)
- Zhang Wanxian 张宛仙
- Zhang Wenhu 张文虎 (1808-1885)
- Zhang Xiaoxiang 张孝祥 (1132-1170)
- Zhang Xin 张忻 (1368-1644)
- Zhang Xintai 张心泰 (b. 1857)
- Zhang Xinzhao 张新诏 (1566-1641)
- Zhang Yan 张炎 (1248-1320)
- Zhang Yifan 张轶凡
- Zhang Yu 张昱 (ca. 1289-1371)
- Zhang Yuangan 张元干 (1091-1161)
- Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 (1837-1909)
- Zhang Zhihe 张志和 (732-774)
- Zhao Bian 赵抃 (1008-1084)
- Zhao Ding 赵鼎 (1085-1147)
- Zhao Feiyan 赵飞燕 (1st century BCE)
- Zhao Guantai 赵贯台
- Zhao Jianzi 赵简子 (Zhao Yang 赵鞅, d. 476 BCE)
- Zhao Mengfu 赵孟頫 (1254-1322)
- Zhao Mengjian 赵孟坚 (*zi* Zigu 子固, 1199-1264)
- Zhao Shichang 赵世长 (d. 1063)
- Zhaomu gong 召穆公 (Ji Hu 姬虎)
- zhaoyun muyu* 朝云暮雨 (cloud in the morning and rain in the evening)
- Zhejiang 浙江 (Tehetchiang)
- Zhenfeng Pagoda 振风塔
- Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 (1624-1662)

- Zheng Guanying 郑观应 (1842-1921)
- Zheng He 郑和 (1371-1433)
- Zheng Keshuang 郑克塽 (b. 1670)
- Zheng Yuanxun 郑元勋 (1598-1645)
- Zheng Yuanyou 郑元祐 (1292-1364)
- Zhenguan zhi zhi* 贞观之治 (Government of the Zhenguan Period)
- Zhengzhou 郑州
- Zhenjiang 镇江
- Zhenzhou 真州
- zhi* 治 (treat, cure, or govern)
- Zhihui Hai 智慧海 (the Sea of Wisdom)
- zhiji* 知己 (confidants)
- zhijun* 知军 (military governor)
- Zhinv jin* 织女锦 (Zhinv' s brocade)
- Zhiran Ju 织染局
- zhishui* 治水 (water treatment)
- zhixian* 知县 (magistrate)
- zhizhou* 知州 (prefectural supervisor)
- Zhong Xing 钟惺 (1574-1624)
- zhongfu* 中孚 (The divinatory symbol consisted of *xun* 巽 which represents "wood" on top of *dui* 兑 which represents "water," thereupon forms the image of boating)
- Zhonggong Minqing Xianwei Laoganbu Ju 中共闽清县委老干部局 (the Bureau of Veteran Cadres of the Minqing County Committee of the Communist Party of China)
- zhongliu jiji* 中流击楫 (pounding the oar in the mid-stream)
- Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1288)
- Zhou of the Yongmen 雍门周
- Zhou Shouchang 周寿昌 (1814-1884)
- Zhou Yueran 周越然 (1885-1962)
- zhou zhi xia ding* 舟之下碇 (a boat moored on the shore, while the character *ding* 碇 refers to the rock that sinks to the bottom for stabilizing the hull when mooring)
- zhoubo* 舟泊, *zhouci* 舟次 (meaning "mooring/anchoring")
- zhouji jichuan* 舟楫济川 (using boats to cross the rivers)
- zhouju* 舟居 (boat dwelling)
- Zhoushan 舟山
- Zhu Andu 朱安渡
- Zhu Anxi 朱安洗 (1710-1788)
- Zhu Benshi 朱本桢 (born between 1539-1541 and lived up to 59 years old, the Huangtian *gong* 黄田公)
- Zhu Chongqing 朱重庆
- Zhu Chusheng 朱楚生
- Zhu Dongzhu 朱冬珠
- Zhu Gui 朱瓌 (fl. 907-960, the Chayuan *gong* 茶院公)
- Zhu Jian 朱璠 (1769-1850)
- Zhu Jin 朱缙
- Zhu Jing 邾经 (around 1360)
- Zhu Mingkuai 朱明快 (Lewu *gong* 乐吾公)
- Zhu Mingqing 朱明情 (1618-1694)
- Zhu Mingxing 朱明性
- Zhu Mu 朱穆 (100-163)
- Zhu Pingliang 朱平倮 (1739-1819)
- Zhu Shen 朱绅
- Zhu Wei 朱纬 (1059-1127)
- Zhu Wuxun 朱武勋 (1662-1742)
- Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200)
- Zhu Xianzhe 朱贤浙
- Zhu Xu 朱绪
- Zhu Yikuan 朱一宽 (1765-1784)
- Zhu Yinzhe 朱胤哲 (1602-1660)
- Zhu Yiqiao 朱一乔 (1767-1793, also named Zhu Yishi 朱一士, *zi* Junchen 俊臣)
- Zhu Yiyan 朱一宴
- Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709)
- Zhu Yongpang 朱永驩
- Zhu Yujian 朱聿键 (1602-1646, the Lord of Tang, Ming dynasty)
- Zhu Zhijun 朱之俊
- Zhu Zonghuai 朱宗怀 (b. 1768)
- Zhu Zongpan 朱宗潘 (b. 1790)
- Zhuang Zi 庄子 (Zhuang Zhou 庄周, 369-286 BCE)
- zhuangyuan furen* 状元夫人 (Madam Zhuanyuan)
- zhuangyuan* 状元
- zhubu* 主簿 (clerk in local government)
- Zhuge Liang 诸葛亮 (181-234)
- Zhuniao 朱鸟

zhuobi feng 卓笔峰 (Excel Brush Hill)
 Zhuqi 竹岐 town
 Zhuquan Jushi 珠泉居士
 Zhushan 竹山 county
 Zibishanfang 紫碧山房
zidongting 紫洞艇 (*zidong* being a geographic name,
 yet literally translated as “purple-cave”)
 Zijin 紫金
 Ziquan Palace 紫泉行宫
 Zizhong 资中 county
 Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443)
 Zou Zhilin 邹之麟 (1610 *jinshi*)
zouge 走舸 (the light boat used for storing collections)
 Zuibai Chi 醉白池
 Zuo Si 左思 (250-305)
 Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885)
zuochuan 座船(seat boat)
zuzhi 祖制 (the regime or system passed down from
 the ancestors)

Figure Index

* The author is responsible for processing all figures and diagrams, and also for capturing some of the photographs. The utilization of image materials from other sources as reference or as a basis for graphics will be appropriately acknowledged below (“Source” denotes the basis for graphic processing, while “reference” indicates the source used for redrawing).

* The image sources, such as books, articles or websites, are also cited in the “Bibliography,” whereas paintings or albums will only be referenced here.

* The Chinese translations in the figure titles will remain unchanged, consistent with their presentation in the text.

Preface

Fig. P-1 The dragon boat in “Tianzhong shuixi.” Source: Taipei’s National Palace Museum.

Fig. P-2 The dragon boat in “Jinming Chi zhengbiao tu.” Source: Tianjin Museum.

Fig. P-3 The dragon boat in “Jinming Chi tu.” Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. P-4 The boat in “Xueji jiangxing tu” 雪霁江行图. Source: Taipei’s National Palace Museum.

Introduction

Fig. I-1 Several examples of *fang* architectures.

Fig. Fig. I.2-1 Boat-shaped barbican gates (left), vernacular houses in the shape of boats (up right), and villages and towns with boat-like layouts (down right). Source: Wu Qingzhou, “Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu,” 127, 129, 133, 134, 140.

Fig. I.3-1 Boat stage depicted on a Japanese screen. Source: Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, ed., *Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan, 15th-19th Centuries* (New York: Japan Society, Inc., 2002), book cover.

Chapter 1

Fig. 1.1.1-1 The plan diagram of the Huafang Zhai, based on the description in “Huafang Zhai ji.”

Fig. 1.1.2-1 The plan of the government building complex recorded in *KXHXZ*. Source: *KXHXZ*, vol. 1, 9b.

Fig. 1.1.2-2 The plan of the Hua county recorded in *KXHXZ* (left) and *TZHXZ* (right). Source: (left) *KXHXZ*, vol. 1, 8b-9a; (right) *TZHXZ*, vol. 1, “Tushuo,” 2b-3a.

Fig. 1.1.2-3 “Huafang Xianji,” one of the 12 famous sights in Hua county. Source: *KXHXZ*, vol. 1, 21a.

Fig. 1.1.2-4 The plan of the educational area. Source: *TZHXZ*, vol. 1, “Tushuo,” 2b-3a.

Fig. 1.1.2-5 The plan of the new Ouyang Shuyuan (Prefectural First Elementary School). Source: *MGHXZ*, vol. 1, 15a.

Fig. 1.1.2-6 The location of the Prefectural First Elementary School in Hua county. Source: *MGHXZ*, vol. 1, 5b-6a.

Fig. 1.2.2-1 “The Scroll of Hong County Poem” by Mi Fu. Source: Tokyo National Museum, Japan.

Fig. 1.2.2-2 “The Painting of the Wonderful Sceneries along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” by Mi Youren. Source: The Palace Museum in Beijing.

Fig. 1.2.2-3 “The Painting of the Ink Play of the Clouds and Mountains” by Mi Youren. Source: The Palace Museum in Beijing.

Fig. 1.2.2-4 “The Painting of the Clear Clouds in the Far Mountains” by Mi Youren. Source: Ōsaka City Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 1.3.3-1 The inner space of the “Yi Fang” 亦舫 in Yu Garden 豫园, Shanghai.

Fig. 1.3.3-2 The “Yi Fang” 疑舫 in Zuibai Chi 醉白池, Shanghai.

Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1.1-1 The floating palace on the Irrawaddy River in Myanmar. Source: Photograph by Felice Beato (1832-1909) in Getty Museum Collection. Image courtesy of J. Paul Getty Museum, (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109BP1>).

Fig. 2.1.1-2 The line drawing of the Sui dynasty boat model unearthed on the Lize River in Pingdu. Source: Wang Guanzhuo, *Zhongguo guchuan tupu*, 94.

Fig. 2.1.1-3 Song dynasty “Mo Gu Kaizhi Luoshen fu tu” 摹顾恺之洛神赋图. Source: Liaoning Provincial Museum.

Fig. 2.1.1-4 Song dynasty “Luoshen fu quantu” 洛神赋全图. Source: The Palace Museum in Beijing.

Fig. 2.1.1-5 The photo of the *gaosheng tai* 高升台 (high-rise stage). Source: Huang Tianji and Kang Baocheng, *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yanjiu*, 419.

Fig. 2.1.1-6 The temporary stages in “Qianlong nanxun tu.” Source: National Museum of China.

Fig. 2.3.1-1 The engraving of *Erke pai'an jingqi* in the Shangyoutang edition. Source: Lin Mengchu, *Erke pai'an jingqi* (Shangyoutang edition, 1632, now collected in Bibliothèque nationale de France), image, Chapter 7a.

Fig. 2.3.2-1 The opening page of the tale “Peng Haiqiu” in Qing dynasty *Liaozhai quantu* 聊斋全图 (The Comprehensive Illustrations of Liaozhai). Source: *Liaozhai quantu* (Guangxu reign, The National Library of Austria), vol. 48, 1.

Fig. 2.3.2-2 The diagram of the Jiangshan Chuan described in *Niehai hua*.

Fig. 2.3.3-1 The diagram of the literati's boat and that of the courtesan's boat in the tale of Du Shiniang.

Fig. 2.4.1-1 The waterways in Nanjing, the Three Kingdoms, Southern Tang, and Ming dynasty. Source: Liu Hua 刘华 and Han Dongqing 韩冬青, “Interpretation of inland river system morphology evolution in the old city of Nanjing,” *Architecture & Culture*, no. 4 (2014): 17.

Fig. 2.4.1-2 The spatial configuration of “*tang-shi*” of conventional residence and river house.

Fig. 2.4.1-3 The space of *xuan*.

Fig. 2.4.1-4 The component *lanjian gouchuang* 阑槛钩窗 in *Yingzao fashi*. Source: Liang Sicheng 梁思成, *Yingzao fashi, zhushi* 《营造法式》注释, in *Liang Sicheng quanji* 梁思成全集, vol. 7 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001), 464.

Fig. 2.4.1-5 The component *lanjian gouchuang* on the boat. Source: “Xueji jiangxing tu,” Taipei’s National Palace Museum.

Fig. 2.4.1-6 Different kinds of *xuan*-style ceiling (the red ones are the *chuanpeng xuan*). Source: Yao Chengzu 姚承祖, *Yingzao fayuan* 营造法原, edited by Zhang Zhigang 张至刚, and collated by Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1986), 184-185.

Fig. 2.4.1-7 The water gate and the pier of the Meixiang Lou.

Fig. 2.4.1-8 Nanjing’s cultural and educational districts in the Ming dynasty. Source: Su Zemin 苏则民, ed., *Nanjing chengshi guihua shigao* 南京城市规划史稿 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2008), 151.

Fig. 2.4.1-9 The location of the Jiangnan Gongyuan. Source: “Lushi Xuetang xince Jingling shengcheng quantu” 陆师学堂新测金陵省城全图 (1910).

Fig. 2.4.1-10 The Imperial Academy in the Eastern Jin dynasty. Source: Zhang Tingting 张婷婷, “Liuchao Jiankang chengshi kongjian buju yanjiu” 六朝建康城市空间布局研究 (Master diss., Shaanxi Normal University, 2016), 29.

Fig. 2.4.1-11 The vintage photographs of pleasure boats in front of the Jiangnan Gongyuan. Source: Bian Xiuyue 卞修跃, ed., *Xifang de Zhongguo yingxiang* 西方的中国影像, vol. Ruthbennett Morgan, Kojima Sagimaro 児岛鹭磨, Sugie Fusazō 杉江房造 (1793-1949) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2016), 180.

Fig. 2.4.1-12 One of the 40 sceneries in Nanjing titled “Qinghuai,” *Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi*. Source: Chen Kaiyu, *Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi* (1667), vol. 2, 39b-40a, in *Jinlingquanshu – Kangxi Jiangningfu zhi*, 304-305.

Fig. 2.4.1-13 The old postcard depicted *dong shuiguan*. Source: Ye Zhaoyan 叶兆言, Lu Haiming 卢海鸣 and Huang Qiang 黄强, *Lao mingxin pian: Nanjing jiuying* 老明信片·南京旧影, selected and edited by Fan Yi 范忆 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2012), 84.

Fig. 2.4.1-14 The vintage photographs of *dong shuiguan* in 1947. Source: National Repository of Cultural Heritage, cited from Sina Weibo, @文史故影 Wenshiguying, Last modified, February 13, 2021. <https://wx1.sinaimg.cn/mw690/50af4628ly1gnm3qp2e1qj20hs0bedhm.jpg>, and <https://wx2.sinaimg.cn/mw690/50af4628ly1gnm3qp7ox1j20be0hswg7.jpg>.

Fig. 2.4.2-1 The painting depicted the boats by Auguste Borget. Source: Auguste Borget, *Sketches of China and the Chinese* (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1842), XXIII. European factories at Canton. Factoreries européennes à Canton.

Fig. 2.4.2-2 The Yudai Hao in Guangzhou's southern region. Source: Map of the City and Entire Suburb's of Canton by Ken, D. Brooman. National Library of Australia.

Fig. 2.4.2-3 The location of the flower boat and the *lob lob* boat, according to Van Dyke. Source: Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 117.

Fig. 2.4.2-4 The photograph of the typical flower boat, *zidongting*. Source: "Canton. Pleasure Boat," photographer unknown. Image courtesy of J. Paul Getty Museum, (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108QBD>).

Fig. 2.4.2-5 The photograph of the "Long double-decked boat," *henglou*. Source: Wang Cideng 王次澄, Wu Fangsi 吴芳思, Zhu Jiayu 宋家钰 and Lu Aibin 卢爱滨, eds. *British Library Special Collection of Chinese export paintings Qing essence (Chinese Edition)*, vol. 6. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2011), 260.

Fig. 2.4.2-6 The photograph of the fixed *zidongting*. Source: Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 118.

Fig. 2.4.2-7 The photograph of a large flower boat. Source: Ernst Boerschmann, *Hongkong, Macau und Kanton* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2015), 110.

Fig. 2.4.2-8 The wirephoto depicted the *yinyuanting* in 1949. Source: The original source website has been terminated; nevertheless, the photo can be corroborated on other websites. For example, "Liubo Yong, *xingshiting ye xingchu wanzhong fengqing*" 柳波涌, 行屎艇也行出万种风情, last modified September 01, 2022. https://www.sohu.com/a/581551869_121124386.

Fig. 2.4.2-9 The water street formed by the *zidongting*. Source: Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 137.

Fig. 2.4.2-10 The photograph of four *zidongting* connected together. Source: Ernst Boerschmann, *Hongkong, Macau und Kanton*, 142.

Fig. 2.4.2-11&12 The Dan people's settlement on boat. Source: (Fig. 2.4.2-11) Auguste Borget, *Sketches of China and the Chinese*, XIII. Habitations of the poor, interior port of Macao. Habitations de pauvres, port intérieur de Macao; (Fig. 2.4.2-12) "Qingmo jiuzhaopian: Nongwu Xuetaang mianfei hai bao shisu, xinniang touding luokuang shang huajiao" 清末旧照片: 农务学堂免费还包食宿, 新娘头顶箩筐上花轿, last modified December 21, 2020. https://www.sohu.com/a/439584286_120912065.

Fig. 2.4.2-13 The multi-layered linear spatial structures of Dan people's settlement on the Pearl River. Source: Ernst Boerschmann, *Hongkong, Macau und Kanton*, 142.

Fig. 2.4.2-14 The boats served as inns available for rent. Source: "Canton. 1870s-1880s," photographer unknown, compiled by Felice Beato, in *Views of Ceylon, China, Hong Kong, the Malay Peninsula, Singapore, & Bombay, India plus execution scenes at Canton, China*. Image courtesy of J. Paul Getty Museum, (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108WFJ>).

Fig. 2.4.2-15 The electric lights inside a flower boat. Source: Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 130.

Fig. 2.4.2-16 The cables on the flower boats' decks. Source: Van Dyke, "Floating Brothels," 138.

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.2.1-1 The Huafang Zhai courtyard in the "Xiyuan Taiye Pond dipan tu." Source: "Qingdai Neiwu Fu yutu: Jianzhu lei" 清代内务府舆图·建筑类, no. 1598, The First Historical Archives of China. Cited from Wang Qiheng, *Dangdai Zhongguo jianzhu shijia shishu: Wang Qiheng Zhongguo jianzhu shilun xuanji* 当代中国建筑史家十书: 王其亨中国建筑史论选集 (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 2014), 243.

Fig. 3.2.1-2 Comparison of the east courtyard before and after reconstruction in the 32nd year of Qianlong reign. Source: Left: *ibid.*; Right: Wang Qiheng and Wang Wei 王蔚, ed., *Zhongguo gujianzhu cehui daxi: Yuanlin jianzhu, Beihai* 中国古建筑测绘大系·园林建筑: 北海 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2015), 191

Fig. 3.2.1-3 The plaque of the "Shiquan Jie" in "Gaozong bashi wanshou qingdian tu." Source: The Palace Museum in Beijing.

Fig. 3.2.2-1 The welcome scenes in "Qianlong nanxun tu." Source: National Museum of China.

Fig. 3.2.3-1 The elevation, plan, and section drawings of Huafang Zhai. Source: Wang Qiheng and Wang Wei, ed. *Zhongguo gujianzhu cehui daxi: Yuanlin jianzhu, Beihai*, 191, 198, 199.

Fig. 3.3-1 The water system of the Yuan Dadu, designed by Guo Shoujing. Source: Hou Renzhi 侯仁之, *Beijingcheng de shengming yinji* 北京城的生命印记 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian), 99.

Fig. 3.3-2 The natural surroundings of the Weng Hill and the West Lake in the Ming dynasty. Source: Zhou Weiquan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi*, 408.

Fig. 3.3-3 The Qing dynasty imperial gardens in the western suburbs of Beijing. Source: *ibid.*, 337.

Fig. 3.3-4 The layout of the Qingyi Garden, containing the outside terrain. Source: *ibid.*, 414.

Fig. 3.3.1-1 The water system of "Yuquan Hill - Yu River - Kunming Lake - Chang River." Source: *ibid.*, 410.

Fig. 3.3.1-2 Comparison of Qingyi Garden and West Lake. Source: *ibid.*, 415.

Fig. 3.3.1-3 Part of Dong Bangda's "Xihu shijingtu juan" 西湖十景图卷. Source: Taipei's National Palace Museum.

Fig. 3.3.1-4 Part of the "Wangshou tu." Source: "Chongqing huangtaihou wanshou qingdian tu," The Palace Museum in Beijing.

Fig. 3.3.2-1 The plan drawing of the Qingyi Garden. Source: Zhou Weiquan, "Qingyi Yuan shilue," 136-137.

Fig. 3.3.2-2 The north-south building axis passing through the peak of the Longevity Hill. Source: (up) *ibid.*; (down) Photograph by Ernst Boerschmann, cited from "Bainian qian, yiwei deguo jianzhushi jingtou li de Zhongguo gujian zhimei" 百年前, 一位德国建筑师镜头里的中国古建之美, last modified December 18, 2021. <https://www.163.com/dy/article/GRGAGU5905438Q4K.html>.

Fig. 3.3.2-3 The south hill landscape facing the lake. Source: Zhou Weiquan, “Qingyi Yuan shilue,” 136-137.

Fig. 3.3.2-4 The waterfront landscape on the east side of Longevity Hill. Source: *ibid.*

Fig. 3.3.2-5 Shi Fang depicted in the “Wanshou tu.” Source: “Chongqing huangtaihou wanshou qingdian tu.”

Fig. 3.3.2-6 Comparison of the “bridge - dragon boat” in the “Qianlong Nanxun tu” (up) and “Xing Bridge - Shi Fang” in the “Wanshou tu” (down). Source: (up) “Qianlong nanxun tu”; (below) “Chongqing huangtaihou wanshou qingdian tu.”

Fig. 3.3.2-7 The superstructure on the Shi Fang. Source: “Chongqing huangtaihou wanshou qingdian tu.”

Fig. 3.3.2-8 The remains of Shi Fang after the British and French allied forces invaded Beijing. Source: “Yihe Yuan li de shanhe suiyue” 颐和园里的山河岁月, last modified September 01, 2022. <https://www.163.com/dy/article/GT9E2AS105228OH7.html>.

Fig. 3.3.3-1 The location of the Naval Academy in the Yihe Garden. Source: Zhou Weiquan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi*, 414.

Fig. 3.3.3-2 Comparison of the reconstructed (left) and the old (right) Shi Fang. Source: (left) Photograph by the author; (right) “Chongqing huangtaihou wanshou qingdian tu.”

Fig. 3.3.3-3 An imperial boat in “Yuanxi kaiyan tu” 苑西凯宴图 by Zhang Tingyan. Source: Private collection, image cited from the internet (“Pandian Yuanming sanyuan Zhong de yuzhou: xia,” 盘点圆明三园中的御舟（下）, last modified August 19, 2021. https://www.sohu.com/a/484486611_121119374).

Fig. 3.3.3-4 The Western-style elements of the reconstructed Shi Fang (Qingyan 清晏舫 Fang).

Fig. 3.3.3-5 The three parts of the roof. Source: Photograph compiled by Arthur Frederick Bayley (1880-1949) in Bayley, Arthur Collection (AB01-03). Image courtesy of E. Tarrant and Historical Photographs of China, University of Bristol (www.hpcbristol.net).

Fig. 3.3.3-6 The brick carvings on the roof.

Fig. 3.3.3-7 The “paddle wheel” on each side of the stone foundation.

Fig. 3.3.3-8 The drawings of Pengri 捧日 (left) and Xiangyun 翔云 (right). Source: “Yuzuo *Jingchun Lu*, *Shuiyunxiang*, *Pingtai Chuan*, *Mulan Huo*, *Oubo Fang*, *Weifen Chuan*, *lunchuan*, *paochuan bing chepeng loupu laqianchuan ceye*” 御座镜春舫水云乡平台船木兰艘鸥波舫位分船轮船炮船并车棚楼扑拉纤船册页, Library of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Cited from Xie Zhuyue 谢竹悦 and Zhang Long 张龙, “The Research of Yangshilei Boat Archives of Qing Dynasty and Royal Boat Design Progress,” *Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, no. 5 (2022): 91.

Fig. 3.3.3-9 A paddle-wheeled steamboat in the late Qing dynasty. Source: “The Pearl River. Canton,” photograph by Lai, Afong. Image courtesy of J. Paul Getty Museum, (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108ZRE>).

Fig. 3.3.3-10 The “sandwich” design of the new Shi Fang.

Fig. 3.3.3-11 Looking at the Xing Bridge on the Shi Fang. Source: Photograph by Pickens Jr., Rev Claude L. (1900-1985) in Pickens Jr., Rev Claude Collection (Hv47-123). Image courtesy of President and Fellows of Harvard College and Historical Photographs of China, University of Bristol (www.hpcbristol.net).

Fig. 3.3.3-12 The stone components that imitate the rudder on the platform.

Fig. 3.3.3-13 “On prow of the Boat of Purity and Ease, Summer Palace, Peking.” Source: Photograph compiled by Margaret Ann Patricia Phipps (1907-1992) in Phipps, Ann Collection (Ph04-139). Image courtesy of Charlotte Thomas and Historical Photographs of China, University of Bristol (www.hpcbristol.net).

Fig. 3.3.3-14 The imperial boat, *Mulan Huo*. Source: (up) (明治三十九年十一月，伏見宮博恭王殿下，清國御歸朝之節，御持歸獻上) *Shashin jō* 写真帖 (1906), “Kōtaigō Ōfune 皇太后御船”; (down) “Ceye,” Library of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Cited from Xie Zhuyue and Zhang Long, “The Research of Yangshilei Boat Archives of Qing Dynasty and Royal Boat Design Progress,” 93.

Fig. 3.3.3-15 The vintage photograph showcased the southern “front façade.” Source: Photograph compiled by Firmin Laribe (1855-1942) in *Chine. Costumes. Théâtre. Musique. Cérémonies. Transports. Opium. Bouddha. Statuettes. Sculptures. Cloisonnés. Meubles. Architecture. Scènes de rue. Bronzes. Instruments de l'observatoire de Pékin. Temples. Tours et portes chinoises. Églises. Portiques. Ponts. La Grande Muraille de Chine. Palais impériaux de Pékin. Tombes impériales des Ming, de Si-ling et de princes et princesses chinoises*, (1900-1910), the collection of Bibliothèque nationale de France (no. G 126785)

Fig. 3.3.3-16 The diagram of cutting the new Shi Fang in a zig-zag way.

Chapter 4

Fig. 4.1.1-1 The location and surroundings of Yangchuan Wu. Source: Google Map; Huang Zhou 黄周, “A Study of the Space Impact in Huangtian: A Traditional Village in Wannan District” (Master diss., Hefei University of Technology, 2007), 9.

Fig. 4.1.1-2 The roof plan of Yangchuan Wu. Reference: Wang Zhili 汪之力, ed., *Zhongguo chuantong minju jianzhu* 中国传统民居建筑 (Jinan: Shandong kexue jishu chubanshe, 1994), 361. Redrawn by the author.

Fig. 4.1.1-3 The north “prow” of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-4 The west and south facades of Yangchuan Wu. Source: Zhai Guangkui, *Jingxian jianshe zhi*, cited from Wu Qingzhou, “Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu,” 140.

Fig. 4.1.1-5 Yangchuan Wu and the paddy fields in spring. Source: Qu Qin 丘勤, “Ship Shape: The Layout of Ancient Huangtian” 黄田：船型古村, *Architectural Worlds | Cultural Geography*, no. 4 (2012), 40-41.

Fig. 4.1.1-6 The artificial dam in front of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-7 The buildings that can be seen as “chimneys” and “wheels” in Yangchuan Wu. Source: Zhai Guangkui, *Jingxian jianshe zhi*, cited from Wu Qingzhou, “Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu,” 140.

Fig. 4.1.1-8 The windows on the west wall of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-9 The bridge connected to the side entrance on the west wall of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-10 The analysis of the function and plan of Yangchuan Wu. Reference: Zhai Guangkui, *Jingxian jianshe zhi*, cited from Wu Qingzhou, “Chuan wenhua yu zhongguo chuantong jianzhu,” 140. Redrawn by the author.

Fig. 4.1.1-11 The patio of the main hall unit of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-12 The porch of the residential unit of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-13 The triangular patios of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-14 One of the lanes of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.1-15 The south facade of the main hall unit of Yangchuan Wu.

Fig. 4.1.2-1 The location of the Ningguo Fu. Reference: Shangwu yinshu guan 商务印书馆, ed., *Daqing diguo quantu* 大清帝国全图 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1905), 9-10. Redrawn by the author.

Fig. 4.1.2-2 The mountainous region of Jing county. Source: Li Degan 李德淦, Zhou Heli 周鹤立 and Hong Liangji 洪亮吉, eds., *Jiaqing Jingxian zhi* 嘉庆泾县志, in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Anhui fuxianzhi ji*, vol. 46, preface, 6b-7a.

Fig. 4.2.1-1 Comparison of the Tangan Garden and Hangzhou West Lake. Source: Zhang Dayu 张大玉, Li Lunxi 李伦喜 and Niu Jian 牛健, “Initial Exploration to Traditional Vernacular Garden,” *Chinese Landscape Architecture*, no. 5 (2002): 81.

Fig. 4.2.2-1 The layout of the Shuyang city. Source: Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Jiangsu sheng Shuyang xian weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu bangongshi 中国人民政治协商会议江苏省沭阳县委员会文史资料研究办公室, ed., *Shuyang wenshi ziliao* 沭阳文史资料, vol. 1 (Shuyang: Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Jiangsu sheng Shuyang xian weiyuanhui, 1984), 119: Fig. 17.

Fig. 4.2.2-2 Looking at the Anqing city from the Yangtze river. Source: Photograph by Manly, Wilson Edward in International Mission Photography Archive Collection (impa-m980). Image courtesy of Yale Divinity School Library (<https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/asset-management/2A3BF1EHE82M>).

Fig. 4.2.2-3 Anchors on the left and right sides of the temple gate. Source: Yu Shilei, ed., *Anqing chanzong tushuo*, 175.

Fig. 4.2.2-4 The layout of the Zhengzhou city. Source: Zhou Bingyi and Liu Ruilin, *Zhengxian zhi*, preface, 25.

Fig. 4.3.1-1 “Lunchuan tingbo” 轮船停泊, *Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushuo* 申江名胜图说. Source: Guan Sijun, *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo*, 43b.

Fig. 4.3.2-1 *Lunzhou, Jintang jiezhushishi'er chou*. Source: Li Pan, Zhou Jian and Han Lin, *Jintang jiezhushishi'er chou*, vol. 11, 11b-12a.

Fig. 4.3.2-2 An old photo of the steamboat (used as a tugboat) and Emperor Guangxu's imperial boat, Shuiyunxiang 水云乡. Source: "Yihe Yuan Guangxu chao dihou yuchuan lu" 颐和园光绪朝帝后御船录, last modified February 05, 2021.
<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1689913385510530327&wfr=spider&for=pc>.

Fig. 4.3.2-3 An old photo of the Shuiyunxiang. Source: Photograph compiled by Firmin Laribe, in *Chine*, (1900-1910), the collection of Bibliothèque nationale de France (no. G 126786).

Fig. 4.3.2-4 An old photo of the same steamboat. Source: "Yihe Yuan Guangxu chao dihou yuchuan lu."

Fig. 4.3.3-1&2&3 Paintings depicted the destruction of Chinese junks by the *Nemesis*. Source: MIT Visualizing Cultures.

(Fig. 4.3.3-1) "The First Opium War: Image Gallery / iln_1842_pg420_nemesis_wid."

https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/opium_wars_01/ow1_gallery/pages/iln_1842_pg420_nemesis_wid.htm;

(Fig. 4.3.3-2) "Rise & Fall of the Canton Trade System Gallery: SHIPS / cwSP_1841_nmm_PAD5865."

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Fig. 4.3.3-4 The western cartoon, "Commerce vs. Conquest." Source: Dalrymple, Louis, Artist. *Commerce vs. conquest* / Dalrymple. China, 1898. N.Y.: Published by Keppler & Schwarzmann, February 2.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2012647599/>.

Fig. 4.3.3-5 The picture depicts the scene of relying on fortifications against foreign steamboats. Source: MIT Visualizing Cultures. "The Boxer Uprising II / na12_NatArchives004b."
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Fig. 4.3.3-6 The picture shows a steamer image painted by a Chinese folk artist. Source: MIT Visualizing Cultures. "The First Opium War: Image Gallery / scrll_nemesis_D40019-320F1."
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Fig. 4.3.4-1 Lunchuan Cuo. Source: Fuzhou Architecture Heritage. "Minhou Zhuqi 'Song Ting' Lunchuan Cuo."

Fig. 4.3.4-2 The round cake-shaped white ash coatings with characters on them. Source: "Minhou shenshan you zuo 'Lunchuan Cuo'" 闽侯深山有座 "轮船厝", last modified August 12, 2018.
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Fig. 4.3.4-3 The three-sided sloping roof. Source: Fuzhou Architecture Heritage. “Minhou Zhuqi ‘Song Ting’ Lunchuan Cuo.”

Fig. 4.3.4-4 The “Bow” of Lunchuan Cuo. Source: Fuzhou Architecture Heritage. “Minhou Zhuqi ‘Song Ting’ Lunchuan Cuo.”

Fig. 4.3.4-5 The “Stern” of Lunchuan Cuo. Source: *ibid.*

Fig. 4.3.4-6 Comparison of the height of the platform with the road and the water surface. Source: Photograph by Zhang Feng 张锋. “‘Shi he yuanfang,’ zhaodao le!” “诗和远方”，找到了！, last modified June 30, 2023. https://www.sohu.com/a/692852007_121117474.

Fig. 4.3.4-7 Details of the pebble foundation. Source: “Qi! Minhou Zhuqi shenshan cangzhe yisou chenfeng bashiyu zai de ‘julun’” 奇！闽侯竹岐深山藏着一艘尘封八十余载的“巨轮”，last modified April 18, 2022. <https://news.fznews.com.cn/fzxw/20220418/41wZ37UEt6.shtml>.

Fig. 4.3.4-8 Contrast between upper and lower elevations. Source: Photograph by Cheng Qiang 程强. “‘Shi he yuanfang,’ zhaodao le!”

Fig. 4.3.4-9 Inner space of the upper floor. Source: “Minhou shenshan you zuo ‘Lunchuan Cuo.’”

Fig. 4.3.4-10 Bathing pool of the lower floor. Source: Photograph by Cheng Qiang. “‘Shi he yuanfang,’ zhaodao le!”

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- **2010-2015, B. Arch.**

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Journal Articles:

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- Hu Shi, and Zheng Qian. “Grow by Water, Thrived by Water: The Research of the Influence of Waterways on the Development and Construction of the Basic Economic Units in Jiangnan Region.” *China Ancient City*, no. 4 (2019): 54-59.

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- Zhu Guangya, and School of Architecture, SEU, eds. *The Characteristics and Values of the Famous Historic Towns in Jiangsu Province* (Nanjing: Southeast University Press, 2020)
Assist in writing *Chapter 8: The Space Units of the Basic Economy Network Formed by Riverways*.

FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE

Group member of Mapping Programs:

- Mapping of Traditional Dwellings in Kele Village, Guizhou Province (2013.08-2013.10)
Department: School of Architecture, SEU;
Supervised by: **Associate Prof. SHEN Yang**
- Mapping of the Second Floor of Shijia Tower of Fogong Temple in Ying County (2016.08-2016.09)
Department: The State Administration of Cultural Heritage;
Supervised by: **SN ENGR WANG Lin-an**

Group member of Investigation Programs:

- Study on the Traditional Architectural Techniques in Southern Ancient City of Nanjing (2013.09-2014.08)
Department: Institute of Architectural Heritage Protection, SEU;
Supervised by: **Dr. HU Shi**
- Study on the History of Wuhu Ancient City and its Traditional Architectural Techniques (2013.12-2014.02)
Department: Institute of Architectural Heritage Protection, SEU;
Supervised by: **Dr. HU Shi**
- Damage Status Investigation of Buildings in Traditional Gardens in Suzhou Province (2014.06-2014.07)
Department: School of Architecture, SEU & UNESCO-WHITRAP-Suzhou Center;
Supervised by: **Dr. HU Shi, Director XUE Zhi-jian**

TA EXPERIENCE

Undergraduate Architectural Design course, School of Architecture, SEU:

- Renovation of Traditional Residences in the Qingguo Historical Street of Changzhou (2014.08-2014.10)
- Design of the Xiangshan Hall of Southern Song Dynasty Style in China Academy of Art (2017.04-2017.05)
- Design of a Dongpo Pavilion of Song Dynasty Style on the top of Xishan (2018.02-2018.04)

All supervised by: **HU Shi**

the lecturer of School of Architecture, SEU

the deputy director of Institute of Architectural Heritage Protection, SEU