

**Reconstruction of Knowledge on Women's Body and Beauty During the Late
Ming Period**

Women's Knowledge in *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty*

A thesis submitted by

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the knowledge on women's body and beauty in the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty* (*Xiang Lian Run Se*), which is a daily-use encyclopedia compiled and printed by a Hangzhou book merchant-scholar Hu Wenhuan during the late Ming period (1368-1644). It stands out as a special encyclopedia because of its comprehensiveness and concerns about women's beauty maintenance and body cultivation. By comparing it with daily-use encyclopedias (*riyongleishu*) and medical prescription book (*fangshu*), I will restore the process of how Hu Wenhuan distributed and integrated other textual sources into the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty*. This paper mainly argues that the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty* targeted women as its main audiences and reflected the book compiler's inclination of gendering knowledge due to the commercial culture of the late Ming society.

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I. Introduction

About “Knowledge”

The content of knowledge and how to learn knowledge were important parts integrated in Chinese history. The questions on what legitimate and authentic knowledge for individuals to acquire, who the learner were, and what institutions for learning knowledge are constantly-discussed topics that today’s scholars can hardly avoid. The connotation of knowledge was never a fixed and predetermined entity throughout Chinese history, it changed and transformed and was challenged due to the change of historical context. The development of Civil Service Examination in the Song dynasty and the development of Tao learning (daoxue) shaped the focus of knowledge from the literary composition skills to the thinking of Confucian moral philosophy. In Peter K. Bol’s landmark work, he shows that the Tang-Song transition from the Seventh century to Eleventh century led the *shih* to explore what knowledge in the traditions can be claimed as the authentic cultural authorities.¹ As the social apparatus Civil Service Examination developed during the Song time, the content of knowledge for male individuals to climb up social ladder shifted from the “Five Classics” to “Four books” during the Song period.² As Hilde De Weerdts has discovered, the negotiation for the examination standard happened in the Southern Song period led the change of text materials for students to study in the local community.³

The inquiry for knowledge was also associated with the self-perception and social identity. Mastering the Confucian Classics and passing the Civil Service Examination would be a condition for the male elites to be recognized as the literati (*shi*) at the top of the “Four people” hierarchy

¹ See Peter K. Bol, “This Culture of Ours”: Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), 300. For the Tang-Song transition also see Man Xu, “China’s Local Elites in Transition: Seventh-to-Twelfth Century Epitaphs Excavated in Luzhou,” in *Asia Major* 30 (2017), 59-107.

² Benjamin Elman, “Zaoqi Xiandai haishi Wanqi Diguode Kaojuxue” in *Fudan Journal* 4 (2011): 9.

³ Hilde De Weerdts, *Competition over Content: Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2007) 1127-1279 131-141. Also see John Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China : A Social History of Examinations* (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

(*simin*). However, sustaining a scholarly style or being recognized as a literati during the late Ming period took on different meanings as individuals' choices for knowledge acquisitions expanded. As the concept of "broad learning" (*bowu*) became popular in the late sixteenth century.⁴ People started to approach various kinds of knowledge including medicine, travel guides, vernacular literature, music and connoisseurship. In Wenjing Wang's findings, he argues that during the Ming period, the "Confucian physicians" (*ruyi*) who partook in the study of medical treatments placed great emphasis on the idea that Confucians and Physicians shared the same Way (*ruyitongdao*), which legitimated the learning of medicine to a great extent.⁵ Craig Clunas explores the connoisseurship culture rooted in the silver economy of the Ming dynasty and argues that the learning and practice of connoisseurship language, and the circulation of taste manuals inside the circle of the literati men distinguished themselves from the other social groups.⁶ In Li Na's research, the publication of travel guide in the late Ming dynasty also provide us a lens to see how poets and artists formed the knowledge of traveling.⁷ The main character in this thesis, Hu Wenhuan, would be a typical figure who devoted himself to a wide range of knowledge.

The late Ming period also witnessed the expanding forms for knowledge preservation. During the late Ming period (1368-1644), the production of the daily-use encyclopedias (*ri yong lei shu* 日用類書) and medical prescription books experienced a revival. The publication of daily-use encyclopedias used for investigation of things, events and knowledge greatly prospered. Compilers collected and classified diverse types of knowledge from areas including entertainment, medicine, stories, agricultural techniques into these encyclopedias. The medical books needed for physicians

⁴ Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1990* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005), 5-9.

⁵ Wenjing Wang, "Mingdai de ru yi" in *Tongshi Jiaoyu Niankan* 4 (2002), 35-57.

⁶ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: material culture and social status in early modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 8.

⁷ Na Li. *Beyond mountains and lakes the lifestyle of artists and poets in the late Ming dynasty* 《湖山胜概》与晚期文人艺术趣味研究, 1st edition. In *Yi shu shi yan jiu cong shu* 藝術史研究叢書. (Hangzhou: Zhongguo mei shu xue yuan chu ban she, 2014)

to carry out their diagnosis were also accessible during that time period. Due to the proliferation of the commercial publishing industries in the Ming society, the encyclopedias and medical books played an informative role in providing solutions for problems and challenges encountered by individuals in their everyday life, Wu Huifang's comprehensive study on the *Wang Bao Quan Shu*, a huge project for knowledge repository, provides us great perspective on the knowledge reproduction process during the late Ming period.⁸

In the Ming period, knowledge was mainly preserved in texts, the growth of local book markets also facilitated the knowledge circulation. Lucille Chia's research shows that Nanjing became a commercial publishing center for Ming books to circulate, the publications range from historical works to the encyclopedias.⁹In her book *Printing for Profit*, she also explores the book business run by families in Ming Fujian area with the spread of Neo-Confucianism. Hangzhou also became a printing center for circulating books. Chenyue Qi's work details the local characteristics and the external influence of books published in Hangzhou.¹⁰In Ellen Widmer's study of the development of the publishing studio "Huanduzhai" located in Hangzhou, we may find that the books published in "Huanduzhai" responded to the demands of book consumers by presenting practical information.¹¹

Theoretically speaking, literate males would be the group of people who benefited from knowledge. However, in the late Ming society, women also had great mobility to enjoy various kinds of knowledge and formed their own knowledge field due to the growth of female education

⁸ Huifang Wu, "Wanbaoquanshu: Ming Qing Shiqi de minjian shenghuo shi lu" in *Gudian wenxian yanjiu ji kan* vol. 37 edited by Meiyue Pan and Jiexiang Du (Taipei: Huamulan Wenhua Gongzuofang, 2005), 37-40.

⁹ Lucille Chia, "Of Three Mountain Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing." in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* ed. by Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 107-151, also see Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Published by Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Chenyue Qi, "Printing and Publishing Activities in Ming Hangzhou" 明代杭州地區的書籍刊刻活動 (PhD Dissertation, National University of Singapore 2010), 257.

¹¹ Ellen Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Publishing", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (Jun., 1996), 77-122.

and women's literacy. Scholars designed moral projects for female audiences to study. Jonathan Handlin's analysis on Lü Kun's *Illustrated Regulations* suggests the late Ming scholar-official Lü Kun tried to provide answers for women who were in a drastically-changing social environment. As Dorothy Ko and Susan Mann show, in the lower Yangzi area, talented women from the elite family were able to study the poetry composition skills which were usually monopolized by male elites and used their poets to weave the social network with other female friends.¹² Grace S. Fong also shows how women used poetry to present their life experience and made self-claim.¹³ Her another work also shows that how the embroidery became a field of knowledge which highlighted women's subjectivity and homosociality.¹⁴ The great scholarly works paved the way for us to explore women's acquisition of knowledge.

This thesis aims at analyzing the knowledge on women's body and beauty. It mainly examines the translation of professional medical knowledge on women's beauty and body to digestible prescriptive advice compiled in encyclopedias for newly-emergent literate women audiences. This study will show that the commercial urban culture drove the encyclopedia compilers to adapt their publications to the demands of book consumers during the late Ming period. This project will also demonstrate that the choices of encyclopedia compilers regarding the organization and selection of the medical knowledge on women's beauty and body reflect their expectations for women's roles in family and society.

The general understanding of Ming books stems from the bibliographical scholars in the Qing dynasty. Some of them expressed the hatred attitude by the statement "Ming people had bad habits when they printed books, they printed books and changed them all, they deleted sections and

¹² Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994). *Precious Records Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

¹³ Grace S. Fong, *Herself an Author: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

¹⁴ Grace S. Fong, "Female Hands: Embroidery as a Knowledge Field in Women's Everyday Life in Late Imperial and Early Republican China" in *Late Imperial China*, Volume 25, (2004), 1-58.

changed the titles” 明人刻书有一种恶习，往往刻一书而改头换面，节删易名。¹⁵The Ming editors’ treatments on books without regards to the authenticity of the content had disrepute among the Qing bibliographical scholars.¹⁶ The central question that this thesis tries to respond to is: how Hu Wenhuan’s strategic adaptations in his daily-use encyclopedia the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty* (*Xiang Lian Run Se*) supplemented or was understood against scholars’ general understanding of the Ming books? Beyond shaping it as a commercial product, Hu Wenhuan’s adaptations in the *Xiang Lian Run Se* also reflect the knowledge reproduction process in which women became main beneficiaries. This thesis argues that due to the commercial urban environment and the emergence of cultured women during the late Ming period, Hu Wenhuan as the encyclopedia compiler strategically adapted *Xiang Lian Run Se* to gratify the enlarging group of book consumers especially women.

***Xiang Lian Run Se* and *Fuke* Tradition during Ming Time**

The *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty* (*Xiang Lian Run Se*) was a daily-use encyclopedia collecting comprehensive treatments on women’s beauty and body and techniques on doing laundry and storage. The medical treatments incorporated in this book were closely related to the *Fuke* tradition during the Ming time. “*Fuke*”, medicine for women, was originated from Tang dynasty in which the first medical book, *Jin Xiao Yi Bao* 經效醫寶 on the medical treatment for women was published.¹⁷ The publication of *Jin Xiao Yi Bao* might suggest that the knowledge on women’s health care was first systematized, but it was not until the Southern Song dynasty when the perception on gendered body was generated and the “*Fuke*” tradition became a subject for the

¹⁵ Dehui Ye, *Shulin qing hua juan 7* 書林清話.

¹⁶ Yuming He, *Home and the World, Editing the “Glorious Ming” in Woodblock-Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts : The Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 2-3.

¹⁷ Zhende Li, “Xingbie, Yiliao yu zhongguo zhonggushi” in *A history of healing in East Asia : colonialism, gender, and modernity* ed. by shiyong Liu and Wenji Wang (Taipei Shi: Lian Jing Chu Ban Shi Ye Gu Fen You Xian Gong Si, 2017), 195-244.

male physicians to study.¹⁸ As Charlotte Furth observed, the Ming medical tradition treated human body different from the Song dynasty, it refused to recognize the idea of gendered body which emphasized that women's body was regulated by blood and proposed the idea of androgyny due to the gender segregation prompted by Neo-Confucianism.¹⁹ But the *Fuke* tradition still paid significant attention to the reproductive function of women's body which helped secure the family descent line, it reveals the common medical view on women's role as child bearers.

Due to the "inner-outer" gender segregation advocated by the Confucian ideology during the Ming society, the "face to face" diagnosis conducted by male doctors was actually difficult to practice for female patients. Scholars discussed continuously about the indeterminacy, inconvenience and danger for the male doctors to care for female patients.²⁰ Therefore it is noticeable that during the Ming dynasty, female healers and mid-wives played an extremely important role in looking out for female patients. Victoria Cass's research shows that the Lodge of Ritual and Ceremony in Peking city selected female medical practitioners such as wet-nurses in the Imperial Palace.²¹ Ruolan Yi also introduces the female doctors who undertook the profession on medical treatments by analyzing the Ming anecdotes and fictions.²² The Ming dynasty also witnessed the famous female physicians such as Tan Yunxian who inherited family tradition.²³

Although the existence of female physicians and medical practitioners in the Ming time provided convenience for the female patients, women inside the private chamber might still be in

¹⁸ Ibid, 198-199.

¹⁹ Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1999), 151-154. Also see Zuyan Zhou, *Androgyny in Late Ming and Early Qing Literature*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).

²⁰ Charlotte Furth, "Blood, Body and Gender: Medical Images of the Female Condition in China 1600-1850." in *Chinese Science* Vol. 7 (1986), 43-66.

²¹ Victoria Cass, "Female Healers in the Ming and the Lodge of Ritual and Ceremony" in *Journal of Asian Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, (1986), 233-245.

²² Ruolan Yi, *Sanguliupo: Mingdai Funü yu shehui de tansuo* 三姑六婆：明代婦女與社會的探索. Zaiban. Fu Nü Yan Jiu Cong Shu. (Taipei Xian Banqiao Shi: Dao xiang chu ban she, 2006), 56-59.

²³ Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History*, 297-298.

great danger when they were reproducing children. The *Xiang Lian Run Se* offered us a new lens to examine the late Ming medical culture. Its all-embracing content covers variety of medical topics including pregnancy care and body cultivation, which might greatly help females inside household as a manual with the practical information and medical knowledge. And with the new appropriation of the medical knowledge in *Xiang Lian Run Se*, and compilation and reorganization of information, the female subjects of medical discourse shifted from a childbearer who produces the heir of patrilineal family into a individual who expressed her agency through decorating her body and face.

Sources

In this thesis I will compare the organization and content of different encyclopedias, analyze the prefaces and contents authored by the book compiler in the collectanea, and hone in on the originality of medical prescription in medical books. Through this process, I will understand the transformation that happened in the knowledge reproduction, from medical prescriptions in medical books to easy-to-apply prescriptive advice in encyclopedias.

I will analyze three types of archives in Chinese Classic language: encyclopedia, compendia, and medical books. The first is encyclopedia. A large number of late Ming encyclopedias include medical prescriptive advice, among which the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty* was the only encyclopedia which exclusively focused on women's beauty, body and household management strategies. It was published by Hu Wenhuan, who was a book compiler and an erudite literati living in Hangzhou during the Wanli period (1572-1620). It recorded prescriptive advice and organized them based on the principle of their functionality. They were put into categories of women's body including face, hair, teeth and lips, breasts, body, hands and feet, etc. The particularity of this book will help shed light on how Hu Wenhuan consciously reconstructed women's body knowledge and how he responded strategically to the commercial culture during the late Ming period. These

encyclopedias sources will allow me to compare and analyze the differences of the medical prescriptive advice among these encyclopedias.

The second type of archives I will analyze is compendia (cong shu 丛书) attributed to Hu Wenhuan. Hu Wenhuan compiled the *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation*, the *Collectanea of Investigating and Understanding Things* and *Hu's Miscellaneous Collection*. The first one includes the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty* and the past texts dealing with methods of life cultivation and medical prescriptions. Although the originality of texts collected within these compendias was attributed to writers in the past, the prefaces authored by Hu Wenhuan in the texts help me articulate his motivations.

The third type of available archives is the medical prescription book (fang shu 方書). Due to the highly-developed printing industries, the medical books were widely circulated during the late Ming period. The available sources include *Accessory Prescription of Thousand Gold* (qianjinyinfang) . The medical book will offer me information to trace the origin of the medical information collected in the daily-use encyclopedias.

Scholars have devoted attention to the comparative study of analyzing the differences in ingredients and names of prescriptions between the original medical books and the encyclopedias of women's beauty, in order to correct scientifically inaccurate information in the encyclopedia. They looked into the encyclopedia from a perspective of traditional Chinese medicine. However, it is more important for historians to study why certain knowledge was reproduced under specific historical context. The existing discrepancies between the original medical books and the encyclopedias of women's beauty in terms of the names, ingredients, and organizations suggest Ming literati's understanding of women's needs and roles in the family and society. Thus my project will enrich scholars' understanding in terms of Chinese medicine and the Ming social history.

Methodology

This thesis adopted a method of comparative analysis in its sources. By comparing the medical prescription book and daily-use encyclopedias with *Xiang Lian Run Se*, this thesis seeks to provide a comprehensive picture of how Hu Wenhuan appropriated knowledge from various sources into his encyclopedia which focused on women's beauty and body. The comparative analysis in this thesis may raise several problems, for example, how can one ensure that Hu Wenhuan did "borrow" knowledge from other sources without regards to the publication dates? Although the publication of *Xiang Lian Run Se* and the publications of sources analyzed in this thesis do not overlap in terms of their accurate publication date, they were understood within the same social and historical context. The *Xiang Lian Run Se*, the popular daily-use encyclopedias and the medical prescription book were available to the individuals living during the late Ming period due to the highly-developed printing businesses around the Ming empire. They were culturally relevant, therefore the question will be headed to the wrong direction if we only consider these sources as disconnected.

Chapter Arrangement

This thesis has three chapters. The first chapter frames Hu Wenhuan's biography and the publication of the *Xiang Lian Run Se*. Hu Wenhuan's social status as a "scholar-merchant" marks the marginality in his political career and the centrality in his printing enterprise at the local book market. By mastering printing technology and maintaining private library, he was able to sustain an elegant scholar style without devoting himself to the bureaucratic system during the late Ming period. His fame and profession were mostly known as a book merchant. By printing numerous *Collectaneas*, he was able to spread systematic knowledge and information into the local book

markets at Hangzhou and Nanjing. The publication of the *Xiang Lian Run Se* was part of Hu Wenhuan's ambitious printing project, which needs to be understood within the social and cultural environment in late Ming society.

The second chapter deeply analyzes the publication purpose, the readership and the structure of *Xiang Lian Run Se*. By putting back *Xiang Lian Run Se* into Hu Wenhuan's *Collectanea of Prolonging Life* and looking into the preface and postscript addressed to *Xiang Lian Run Se*, I will show the subtlety of Hu Wenhuan's intent when he was confronted by the uprising female reading group and women's education. Hu Wenhuan was considerate about the targeted audiences when he designed and conceptualized the sections in *Xiang Lian Run Se*. This chapter will also explore the striking contrast between the preface and post script in *Xiang Lian Run Se* and point out that Hu Wenhuan's publication of *Xiang Lian Run Se* was a commercial product which moved beyond the framework of the moral authority on womanhood and womanly virtues.

The third chapter bridges *Xiang Lian Run Se* with daily-use encyclopedias and medical prescription book. It will restore the process of how Hu Wenhuan distributed other textual sources into his own work by examining comprehensively the distinctions and commonalities between these sources and *Xiang Lian Run Se*. The adoption of rhetoric language, the arrangement of formulas, and the revisions in the techniques delineated in *Xiang Lian Run Se* are indicative of Hu Wenhuan's strategic adaptations in *Xiang Lian Run Se* and his concerns on women's everyday experience. In this chapter I also propose a dual-folded assumption that the medical knowledge experienced a gendering and popularizing process in *Xiang Lian Run Se*.

Chapter 1 Hu Wenhuan and the Publication of the *Xiang Lian Run Se*

In this chapter, I will reveal the life experience of Hu Wenhuan who lived in Hangzhou during the Wanli period. By framing his biography and delineating the historical context for the publication of the *Xiang Lian Run Se*, I explore Hu Wenhuan's embracement of the epistemological system which was based on the categorization of things during the late Ming period. His epistemological system was also reflected in his arrangement of the *Xiang Lian Run Se*.

Who is Hu Wenhuan?

Hu Wenhuan lived in Hangzhou during the Wanli period (1573-1620).²⁴ He was esteemed as a scholarly book compiler-printer who collected numerous *Collectanea* during his lifetime. He collected and printed his *Collectanea* in his library "Wenhui Tang" at Hangzhou. His *Collectanea* included *Miscellaneous Collections of Hu Family* (hu shi cui bian 胡氏粹編), *Secret Works for Investigating Things and Extending Knowledge* (Gezhi Congshu) and *Collectanea for Prolonging Life* (Shouyang congshu).²⁵

From his writings, it can be assumed that he contributed a lot to studying for the Civil Service Examination but turned out to be an unsuccessful candidate. From his writings, it can be assumed that he contributed a lot to studying for the civil service examination but turned out to be an unsuccessful candidate for entering officialdom due to his failure to pass exam. In the

²⁴ According to Xiaoyue Liu, Hu Wenhuan lived during the Wanly period. See Xiaoyue Liu 2012. "*Xiang Lian Run Se Wen Xian Yu Xue Shu Jia Zhi Yan Jiu*" (MA thesis., Nanjing University of Chinese Medicine, 2012), 1. For Hu Wenhuan's life, also see Boping Wang, "明代の刻書家胡文煥に関する考察." 汲古古典研究会 編 47-57 (1999): 47-57.

²⁵ Scholars have explored deeply on Hu Wenhuan's publications. See Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1990* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005), 54.

Miscellaneous Collection of Letters (cun zha cui bian 寸札粹編), there was a letter written by Hu Wenhuan to his friend Zhang Shuyuan 張叔元. In it Hu wrote:

When I look back at the bright autumn, time left for me is very few, my will remains in the imperial court, I will strive for it. 回首明秋，歲月無幾，志在廟廊，願言努力。²⁶

In the *Quan Ming San Qu* he compiled, Hu Wenhuan also expressed the deep melancholy caused by his failure in the examination. In the song titled “Failure to Pass Examination” (*luodi*), he wrote:

I attended civil service examination three times but did not receive scholarly honor, half of my lifetime has lagged behind 三戰徒勞，半世羈遲。²⁷

Like other Ming scholar-printers, Hu Wenhuan’s marginalization in his official career path did not obstruct others to perceive him as a literatus who possessed abundant knowledge from Classics and was capable of conducting elegant literary writing. In the preface to the *Miscellaneous Collection of Anecdotes* authored by Chen Sizhong, Hu Wenhuan was depicted as a talented and genius scholar whose learning was erudite. From the eyes of Chen Sizhong, Hu Wenhuan was proficient in conducting both examination essay writing and elegant ancient literary writing.²⁸ It is plausible to reason that Hu Wenhuan gained recognition from his social circle and was esteemed by his broad learning. In the *Collectanea for Letters* (Cui Za Cui Bian 寸札粹編), Hu Wenhuan's collection of seven correspondences with his friends is indicative of his frequent and close social interaction with his friends. In Benjamin Elman’s exploration on Hu Wenhuan’s publishing career, Hu’s family also enjoyed cultural reputation from printing books since “his grandfather and father were both Hangzhou collectors and printers”.²⁹ In *Xiang Lian Run Se*, his grandnephew Guangsheng wrote a postscript to it.³⁰ Although Hu Wenhuan was not able to

²⁶ The translation is by me. Beijing Tu Shu Guan Gu Ji Chu Ban Bian Ji Bu, *Beijing Tu Shu Guan Gu Ji Zhen Ben Cong Kao*, vol. 8, (Beijing: Shu mu wen xian chu ban she, 1988), 454.

²⁷ Zhizhu Xiang, *Hu Wenhuan Hushicuibian yan jiu* (Beijing: zhong hua shu ju 2008), 12.

²⁸ Ibid, 12.

²⁹ Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 35

³⁰ Wenhuan Hu, *Shou Yang Cong Shu* vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhong yi gu ji chu ban she, 1989), 651.

outcompete his contemporaries in the civil service examination, he mastered the knowledge and reputation which comprised an important part of social makeup of a literati.³¹ The question one may ask is: what authoritative knowledge did Hu Wenhuan appeal to?

Hu Wenhuan's Epistemological System

The wide range of publications printed by Hu Wenhuan offers us a lens to observe what knowledge Hu Wenhuan appealed to. In the list of his publications, the works in the *Collectanea* covered comprehensive topics including history, poetry, medicine, Confucian Classics, life cultivation and anecdotes.³² The diversity of topics in Hu Wenhuan's publications indicated Hu's efforts to establish a giant repository where his targeted audience would be able to find out the information they resorted to solve challenges and problems they encountered in their daily life.

Although Hu Wenhuan collected his own writings into his giant *Collectanea*, most knowledge and information collected in Hu Wenhuan's work were not his own creation, they were attributed to individuals in the history and during the Ming time. For example, the Compendia *Miscellaneous Collection of Letters* collected two hundred and twenty-eight letters, only seven letters were Hu's own. In another compendia *Miscellaneous Collection of Ironic History* (xieshicuibian 諧史粹編), Hu Wenhuan collected four pieces of his writings into this compendia, the distribution of sources from other texts will also be seen in *Xiang Lian Run Se*, which will be analyzed deeply in later chapters.

The *Ironic History* 諧史 was not a new product under hands of Hu Wenhuan. It became a popular literature genre during the Ming period and included biographical fables in which writers personified non-human beings. The writing of personified biographical fables in the *Ironic History*

³¹ In the discussion of *Shih*, John Dardess has recognized that the social label “*Shih*” was not a fixed label in early Ming time, but it centered on the education fulfillment. See John W. Dardess, *Confucianism and Autocracy: Professional Elites in the Founding of the Ming Dynasty* (California: University of California Press, 1984), 21-22.

³² For Hu's *Collectanea*, see Boping Wang, "明代の刻書家胡文煥に関する考察." 汲古古典研究会 編 47-57 (1999): 47-57. Also see Benjamin Elman,

is regarded as a channel for the Ming literati to reflect on the social reality and create self-expressions. In Sun Minhui's detailed research, a Ming literati Chen Bangjun compiled the anthology on biographical fables called *Broad Ironic History*, which was compiled during the Wanli period. Sun Huimin points out that the creation of biographical fables experienced a heyday during the Ming period (1368-1644) due to the unstable political turmoil and strictly-controlled access to officialdom, men of letters wrote biographical fables in order to express dissent and disaffection/ themselves.³³ Chen Bangjun collected fables dated from the Tang period to the Ming dynasty. Chen Bangjun explained the biographee under each fable's title in the table of the anthology. Hu Wenhuan's collection in the genre *Ironic History* suggests that even though Hu might intend to publicize his own works in front of his audiences, the large proportion of the past knowledge in the *Collectanea* indicates Hu's efforts of recollecting and reclassifying.³⁴

Table 1.1 Organizational Structure in the *Ironic History*

English	Chinese
Body Division	身體門
Treasure Division	珍寶門
Antique Division	器用門
Food Division	飲食門
Medicine Division	藥物門
Landscape Division	花木門
Animal Division	鳥獸門
Insect Division	昆蟲門
Astronomy Division	天文門

In the *Miscellaneous Collection of Ironic History*, Hu processed the compilation of the *Ironic History* by classifying personified biographical fables based on nine divisions (men 門):

³³ See Minhui Sun, "Research on the Personifying Biographic Fable—For Goang Sheye Shy" 擬人傳體寓言析論——以「廣諧史」為研究對象 (MA Thesis, National Chung Hsing University, 2006), 92.

³⁴ In the *Miscellaneous Collection of Ironic History*, I found out that Hu Wenhuan included his three own stories in to the collection. See *Beijing Tushuguan Gujizhenben cong kai* vol. 80 (Beijing: Shu Mu Wen Xian Chubanshe, 1988), 357-358.

Hu's classificatory system in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Ironic History* is indicative of his intention to use correct scientific language and establish an order among objects which appeared in the personified fables he collected. The biographee in each section can be attributed to each division of things in the natural world. As Benjamin Elman observed, "both the 'wide learning of things' (*bowu*) and 'investigating things and extending knowledge' (*gezhi*) together became a common epistemological frame for the accumulation of classical and practical knowledge among late Ming and early Qing elites."³⁵ The nature of Hu Wenhuan's collection might represent Hu Wenhuan's own epistemological method of how he organized phenomena, things and objects. Hu Wenhuan's classification on the content of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Ironic History* reflected the Ming literati-publisher's embrace of a wide range of knowledge, and the urgent desire to establish the classificatory system.

Sections	
Hair and Eyebrow(tou fa bu)	頭髮部附眉
Face (mian bu)	面部
Mole (Ban zhi bu)	癍痣部
Teeth and Lips (Chun chi bu)	唇齒部
Breasts (Ru bu)	乳部
Body (Shen ti bu)	身體部
Hands and Feet (shou zu bu)	手足部
Vagina (Yin bu)	陰部
Menstruation (Jing xue bu)	經血部
Fetus (tai bu)	胎部
Strangeness (guai yi bu)	怪異部
Washing Clothing (xi Lian bu)	洗練部
Storage (cang zhu bu)	藏貯部

Table 1.2 The Arrangement in *Xiang Lian Run Se*

³⁵ Benjamin Elman, "Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedias (Leishu)" in *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* (Jan, 2007), 140.

In *Xiang Lian Run Se*, Hu Wenhuan divided his work into thirteen sections (bu 部). The Table 1.2 shows how Hu Wenhuan arranged the complicated remedies and recipes into different sections based on Hu's recognition of women's body and health. The naming and categorization of *Xiang Lian Run Se* reflect how Hu Wenhuan categorized the remedies based on various aspects of women's everyday life experience. The comprehensive coverage of women's body in the titles of XLRs might be the consequence of the "bowu" method advocated by the late Ming scholars. It might reflect an "anatomical" and "scientific" attitude towards women's body when XLRs separated sections into different parts of women's body, which reminds one of the writing of medical remedies in early modern Germany.³⁶ It also sets contrast with the body perception of Chinese medicine which treats human body as a coherent entity interacting with the external cosmo.³⁷ The arrangement of XLRs fitted into the cultural trend of the encyclopedia classification during the late Ming period, how did other social and cultural factors facilitate the publication of XLRs?

The Publication of *Xiang Lian Run Se*

The *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty (Xiang Lian Run Se)* is a daily-use encyclopedia of beauty treatments which was first compiled and published by Hu Wenhuan in his own library Culture Assembly Hall (Wen Hui Tang 文會堂) at Qiantang county in 1592. According to Liu Xiaoyue's research, two versions are accessible to today's readers, one is the hand-written transcript copy written during the Qing dynasty (1645-1912), the other one is the transcript copy transmitted

³⁶ Alisha Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 61-62.

³⁷ Shigehisa Kuriyama, "feng de xiang xiang yu zhong shi shen ti guan de fa zhan" 風的想像與中式身體觀的發展 translated by Youyu Yang, in *A History of Healing in East Asia: Colonialism, Gender, and Modernity*, edited by Shiyong Liu and Wenji Wang (Taipei Shi: Lian Jing Chu Ban Shi Ye Gu Fen You Xian Gong Si, 2017), 62.

to Japan during the Edo period.³⁸ The first version is preserved in the *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation* (shou yang cong shu 壽養叢書), which contains thirty-two medical texts associated with “nourishing life”. During my exploration into the *Xiang Lian Run Se* at Harvard-Yenching Library, two versions of the *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation* are currently accessible to me. One is the transcript copy hand-written by people during the Qing period, it collected thirty-two books including medical classics, medical prescriptions, and medical formulary.³⁹ The *Xiang Lian Run Se* was listed at the end of the Qing version *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation*. The other one is the original copy printed by Hu Wenhuan in Wen Hui Tang during the Wanli period, it only contained sixteen books without the inclusion of *Xiang Lian Run Se*.⁴⁰ The latter edition missed the *Xiang Lian Run Se* probably due to damage and loss in the circulation process.

Historical Context

The publication of the *Xiang Lian Run Se* was no accident if we consider this phenomenon in the midst of the highly-developed cultural and commercial milieu during the late Ming period. It can be argued that the widespread literacy of the public, the development of commercial culture, and the change over the way of transmission of medical knowledge all contributed to the publication of *xiang lian run se*. During the late Ming period, the mass population’s literacy grew dramatically when the educational opportunities expanded. For men, the establishment of community schools initiated by the late Ming local people facilitated various educational projects as

³⁸ Xiaoyue Liu, Hu Wenhuan lived during the Wanly period. See Xiaoyue Liu 2012. “*Xiang Lian Run Se Wen Xian Yu Xue Shu Jia Zhi Yan Jiu*” (MA thesis., Nanjing University of Chinese Medicine, 2012), 16-17.

³⁹ Wenhuan Hu, *Shou Yang Cong Shu di liu juan* Vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhong Yi Gu Ji Chu Ban She, 1989) 清人據明萬曆年間虎林文會堂初刻本精抄

⁴⁰ Beijing tu shu guan gu ji chu ban bian ji zu, *Beijing Tushuguan Gujizhenben cong kai* vol. 82 (Beijing: Shu Mu Wen Xian Chubanshe, 1988).

well as community activities, the academies and lectures also experienced a revival.⁴¹ During the late Ming period, the local design of the community schools mostly financed by the government, were established in order to prepare male students for the civil service examination, which became a social apparatus holding up the Ming empire.⁴² For women, although they were not provided the systematic and formal education as men did during the late Ming period, they were able to access didactic books and popular literature. As Jonathan Handlin's research shows, a famous Ming scholar-official Lü Kun wrote illustrated didactic text *Gu Fan Tu Shuo* for female audience as a response and adjustment to women's expanding literacy.⁴³ Women's widespread literacy and women's writing practices even incited elite male literati's anxiety.⁴⁴ Both men and women, even though they were not exposed to the atmosphere of education at the same level, in reality they were all capable of reading and writing.

The second factor is the highly developed commercial culture during the late Ming period. As Timothy Brook observed, as the society witnessed an increase of wealth in individual family, commoners were able to buy different kinds of things for their household, the obsession with lavish goods also incited the competition between those who could buy and those who knew how to buy.⁴⁵ Women not only undertook the role as inner helper in a family, some of them also became powerful consumers for purchasing clothing and cosmetics to decorate their appearances. As Taiwanese

⁴¹ Sarah Schneewind, *Community Schools and the State in Ming China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 139-162. Also see Peter K. Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 259.

⁴² Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979), 6.

⁴³ Jonathan Handlin, "Lü Kun's New Audience: The Influence of Women's Literacy on Sixteenth Century Thought." in *Women in Chinese Society* edited by Margery Wolf, Roxane Witke and Emily Martin (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1975), 16-19.

⁴⁴ Yu Li, "A History of Reading in Late Imperial China, 1000-1800" (Phd Dissertation, the Ohio State University, 2003), 133-154. Some scholars draw on visual sources to show that women read different kinds of texts including pictorials, practical manuals inside their boudoir, see Chen Fongfong, Nancy Berliner and Julia M. White "Women Waiting" in James Cahill, *Beauty Revealed: Images of Women in Qing Dynasty Chinese Painting* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive 2013), 60-61.

⁴⁵ Timothy Brook, *The Troubled Empire, China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2010), 193-194. Also see Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

scholar Wu Renshu demonstrates, in Jiangnan region women were empowered by the economic activities such as textile works. They were able to participate in travel activities, purchased beautiful and trendy clothing.⁴⁶ The highly developed commercial culture among the urban areas facilitated the publications of daily-use encyclopedias. In Wu Huifang's colorful research, the encyclopedias during the Ming period started to experience a shift from professional encyclopedias containing literati knowledge to the daily-use encyclopedias incorporating everyday information. Various types of daily-use encyclopedias emerged within the trend of novel publications. As Wu Huifang demonstrated, these daily-use encyclopedias offered practical solutions for commoners to encounter everyday challenges.⁴⁷ Charlotte Furth also shows that literate commoners demanded the printed household handbooks including easy-to-apply medical advice.⁴⁸ The reprint and publish of everyday encyclopedias during the late Ming period indicate that providing useful and practical information for mass audience in books was not a new conduct due to the commercial environment and high literacy.

Thirdly, the way of transmission of medical knowledge experienced a transformation during Ming dynasty. Chinese medicine tradition used to be a male-dominated discourse. The channel of transmitting medical knowledge before the Song dynasty was through the male master-apprentice lineage and became a family tradition. In the Yuan dyansty, Jin-Yuan masters tried to construct the discourse system on the treatment of women's diseases. In the Ming dynasty, as Charlotte Furth and Victoria Cass explores, female doctors' undertaking in pharmacological career means the medical knowledge was no longer monopolized by male doctors.⁴⁹ Also, the development of silver economy

⁴⁶ Renshu Wu, *Shechi de nü ren—Ming Qing shiqi Jiangnan Funü de xiaofei wenhua* (Taipei: San Min Shu Ju, 2010), 31-35. Also see, Liyue Lin, "yi shang yu feng jiao—Wanming de fushi fengshang yu fuyao yi lun" in *Xin Shi Xue* (Vol 10 Issue 3, 1999), 121-122.

⁴⁷ Huifang Wu, "Wanbaoquanshu: Ming Qing Shiqi de minjian shenghuo shi lu" in *Gudian wenxian yanjiu ji kan* vol. 37 edited by Meiyue Pan and Jiexiang Du (Taipei: Huamulan Wenhua Gongzuofang, 2005), 22-33.

⁴⁸ Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1999), 157.

⁴⁹ Victoria Cass, "Female Healers in the Ming and the Lodge of Ritual and Ceremony" in *Journal of Asian Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, No. 1, (Jan. - Mar., 1986), pp. 233-245.

and growth of commercial market during the late Ming period relocated medical knowledge into hands of commoners.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that *Xiang Lian Run Se*'s arrangement reflects Hu Wenhuan's systematic categorization and classification of the knowledge on women's body and beauty. By tailoring XLRs to the cultural and naturalistic trend of encyclopedias during the late Ming period, Hu Wenhuan intended to construct it as a commercial product and incorporated it into his ambitious collections. The publication of XLRs was closely associated with the cultural and economic environment in the late Ming society. The widespread literacy (both reading and writing) of females, the conspicuous consumptions and the popularization of medical prescription books all facilitated the creation of the *Xiang Lian Run Se*.

Chapter 2 The Purpose of *Xiang Lian Run Se* and Its Audiences

This chapter will explore *Xiang Lian Run Se* along with other texts compiled in the *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation*. In this chapter, I will examine the hand-written transcript copy of Hu Wenhuan's *Xiang Lian Run Se*, and explore Hu Wenhuan's intention behind his publication, the readership and the writing structure. By engaging with the original document and considering it within the historical context, I want to argue three points: First of all, the publication of *Xiang Lian Run Se* was a daily-use encyclopedia on women's life and beauty which caters to the demands of consumers in the book market and which should be understood within the context of late Ming commercial expansion. Secondly, Hu Wenhuan engaged both female and male readers in *Xiang Lian Run Se*; Thirdly, the presence of *Xiang Lian Run Se* in the late Ming period reveals a re-interpretation on the relationship between women's morality (De) and women's beauty (Se).

The Publication Purpose

Although none of books in the *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation* were Hu Wenhuan's own creations, Hu Wenhuan wrote five prefaces to the books he compiled and edited in the *Collectanea*. The five books are: *Lei Xiu Yao Jue* 類修要訣, *Yang Sheng Lei Zuan* 養生類纂, *Lin Shu Xin De* 靈樞心得, *Su Wen Xin De* 素問心得 and *Xiang Lian Run Se* 香奩潤色. These prefaces not only are indicative of Hu Wenhuan's intentionality for publishing the *Collectanea*, but also reflect the social reality of late Ming society. By comparing and reading against each text, I will argue: the very reason for Hu Wenhuan to publish the *Collectanea* was to serve the demands of audiences in an uprising prosperous book market, it became an important part of Hu Wenhuan's publication enterprise which occupied great cultural significance during his time.

The emergence of a book market was accompanied with the development of printing technology and printing materials during the late Ming period. The highly-advanced printing

technology experienced an innovation during the Song and Ming periods and incorporated various accomplishments including colorful printing, woodblock illustrations and moveable cooper type.⁵⁰

The printing materials included vernacular novels, encyclopedias and reference books which focused on the preparations of civil service examinations. The publicizing of various kinds of knowledge satisfied different groups of readers including scholars, merchants, artisans and even women. The publication of illustrated moral regulations, the daily-use encyclopedias and vernacular writings sponsored by a flexible social environment during the late Ming period fulfilled demands of book consumers.⁵¹

Little data shows how popular Hu Wenhuan's compendia was during his time, numerous similar works were published and circulated during that time. Hu Wenhuan also published various kinds of *Collectanea* other than *Collectanea of Longevity and Cultivation*. For example, in 1609, Hu Wenhuan published *Collectanea for Investigating Things and Extending Knowledge*. His other published works included *Broad Review of Original Roots*, *Comprehensive Collection of Maps and Works on the Great Ming Dynasty*, and etc. Benjamin Elman notices that Hu Wenhuan "mixed and matched the contents of his editions to sell more copies of his printed works."⁵² The huge amount of published works compiled by Hu Wenhuan suggest that a large book market enjoyed a variety of published works during Hu's time.

The prefaces written by Hu Wenhuan served as strong evidence to prove Hu Wenhuan's efforts of constructing his published works as cultural commodities. In the preface written for the *Lei Xiu Yao Jue*, which compiled multiple Daoist verses on body cultivation, Hu Wenhuan points

⁵⁰ Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 16. Also see Li-ling Xiao, *The Eternal Present of the past : Illustration, Theatre, and Reading in the Wanli Period, 1573-1619* (Leiden : Brill ; Biggleswade : Extenza Turpin distributor 2007). Xiumin Zhang also introduces different types of books printed in the state institutions and private academies during the Ming period. See Xiumin Zhang, *Zhongguo Yinshua Shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe 1989),334-390.

⁵¹ For the publications of didactic texts for women's education, see Guotong Li, *Nuzi Zhi Buxiu 女子之不朽：明清时期的女教观念* (Guangxi: Guangxi Shifan Daxue chubanshe, 2014), 29-35. Lisa Raphals also discusses the changes in different versions of the illustrated *Lienü Zhuan*, see Lisa Raphals, *Sharing the Light : Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany, N.Y. : State University of New York Press, 1998), 117-118.

⁵² Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 54.

out explicitly that the compiling principle was to make texts easy for readers to recite and understand the essence of nourishing life. In the mid of the preface, Hu Wenhuan wrote:

Therefore I collected suitable and appropriate methods of body cultivation which pertain to the principle and human condition into *lei Xiu Yao Jue* during my spare time. Among those methods some are not verses, although they are important, they are not recorded because it is convenient for readers to remember and recite. Since the origins of cultivation are different, I edited them and categorized them so to make them easily readable and understandable.

故於暇日，採其攝修之法當於理而切於人者，編輯成書目為類修要訣，內非歌訣雖要而不錄者，又取便夫記誦也，蓋修門之端不一，余固編輯之而分其類，使之便於覽而知所趨矣。⁵³

The text cited above demonstrated clearly how Hu Wenhuan was conscious of his choice on the selections of texts! He was aware of his readers' knowledge background and consciously selected the texts to organize his collections in order to entertain his readers. In his process of making *Lei Xiu Yao Jue*, he omitted some methods of body cultivation because they were not verses which were easy to remember and recite. He categorized the methods of cultivation because it makes the book readable. His selection and organization of the texts in the book *Lei Xiu Yao Jue* as Hu Wenhuan advertised in the preface suggest that Hu Wenhuan constructed his book as a cultural commodity which fitted to the book consumers' demands.

In addition to that, the preface also claimed the legitimacy of Daoism within the Confucian ideological framework. In the preface, Hu Wenhuan identified the principle of Daoism with the principle (li) of Confucianism, by deliberately emphasizing the interaction between Daoism and Confucianism. In the preface, he wrote that Daoism has doctrine of life cultivation, which is identical with our Confucian's principle of body cultivation 玄門有修真之說，是吾儒修身之理一也. At the end of the preface, he expressed his expectation that those who regarded Daoism as not divergent from Confucianism will benefit from this book.⁵⁴ By making connection between Daoism and Confucianism, Hu Wenhuan tried to claim the legitimacy of Daoism in order to make his publication eligible in the book market.

⁵³ SYCS, 501-502.

⁵⁴ SYCS, 501-502.

Hu Wenhuan was aware of his targeted audience who were enthusiastic about learning Daoism. In the Ming dynasty, Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism all played an important role in creating meaning for family and individuals out of the state ideological framework. As Sarah Schneewind indicates, “Daoists pursued spiritual calm and emotional distance from worldly matters, longevity, magic powers of flight into realms of transcendent beauty, alchemy, and secret knowledge.”⁵⁵ Daoism played such an important role in penetration of people’s everyday life as shown in the vernacular fiction.⁵⁶ Hu Wenhuan’s reason of publishing *Lei Xiu Yao Jue* was so pertinent to the social reality in the Ming dynasty.

In the *Collectanea Shou Yang Cong Shu*, Hu Wenhuan also collected texts which shared great similarities. In the preface to *Su Wen Xin De*, which is a medical book, Hu Wenhuan admitted that *Su Wen Xin De* and *Lin Shu Xin De* shared similarities 靈樞素問其間問答多有重出處, but he believed that it won’t do harm to two books. He insisted in publishing both of them because he believed that the meaning and principle (yili) does not overlap.⁵⁷ It seems that he tried to make a response to the potential criticism which might be created by the knowledgeable readers. Hu Wenhuan realized that these two books collected in the *Collectanea Shou Yang Cong Shu* overlapped in terms of their connotation. Why would he still insist in collecting these books?

One possible reason for explaining his duplicated publishing activity is that these knowledges were important to the variety of readers ranging from literate elites to merchants. As Benjamin Elman have already discovered, another *Collectanea Ge Zhi Cong Shu* published by Hu Wenhuan became a knowledge repository. He argues that in the *Collectanea of Works Inquiring into Things and Extending Knowledge* Hu Wenhuan “presented a cumulative account of all areas of

⁵⁵ Sarah Schneewind, *A Tale of Two Melons : Emperor and Subject in Ming China*. (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub., 2006), xx-xxi.

⁵⁶ Mark R. E. Meulenbeld discussed the kinship between Daoist rituals and the prevalent spirits in local community *Demonic Warfare, Daoism, Territorial Networks, and the History of a Ming Novel* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015), 5-6.

⁵⁷ SYCS, 1-3.

native textual knowledge important to a literati audience in the seventeenth century.”⁵⁸ Perhaps Hu Wenhuan’s main concern of collecting similar texts into his *Shou Yang Cong Shu* is that he wanted to open wide access for the increasingly literate public to extend knowledge and understanding things around the world. From this perspective, like Hu Wenhuan’s other *collectanea*, *Shou Yang Cong Shu* played an important role in displaying various texts pertaining to the wide interests of audiences where the authenticity of the texts receded to the secondary position compared to their popularity among the book market.

In *Shou Yang Cong Shu*, Hu Wenhuan collected thirteen-two texts. he arranged *Xiang Lian Run Se* at the end of this Collectanea. Within the Collectanea *Shou Yang Cong Shu*, *Xiang Lian Run Se* was also part of Hu Wenhuan’s publishing endeavor to create cultural commodities for consumers in the book market. In its preface, he wrote:

If a man gifts the blush powder to the beautiful lady, the beautiful lady will say: how lucky I am! How lucky I am! Why should I envy the sharp tools of craftsmen and the five colors of painters?
倘以此紅粉贈與佳人，佳人將必曰：幸孔！幸孔！彼良工之利器，繪事之五彩，而又何羨乎？

The term “gifting” (*zeng*) suggests a gifting activity between a gentleman and a beautiful lady. A gentleman could gift the book, which in the context was transformed into one kind of cosmetics “blush powder” (*hongfen*), to the lady that he admired. The reasons for gifting activity between males and females varied during the late imperial period, it might indicate a romantic relationship. Different tokens including poetries, pouches, embroidery works were exchanged between males and females in order to authenticate the commitment for their romantic relationship. As Dorothy Ko and Craig Clunas have discovered, the gifting activities existed through the five cardinal relationships, and sometimes created new interpersonal relationships.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Elman, “Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedia (Leishu)”, 141.

⁵⁹ Dorothy Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2017), 179-180. Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Late Imperial China* (RB-Picturing History. London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 58.

It is interesting to notice that the gift which a gentleman wanted to present to his lady is a book instead of other tangible things. This suggests two points of cultural significance. First of all, the books, which had been exclusively appreciated and shared by literate males, were now collections that could belong to women. The targeted audiences for *Xiang Lian Run Se* included both males and females. I will elaborate on this point in the next section. Secondly, the gifting activity centered around the textual collection, as Hu Wenhuan advertised in the preface indicates that books were gradually becoming a commercial product as well as cultural collection for literate consumers in the book market.

Hu Wenhuan's publishing enterprise had significant implications in his time. His huge volume of *Shou Yang Cong Shu* and his other Collectaneas reflected the cultural value prevailing during Hu's time. He compiled various types of collectaneas in which topics ranged from medical prescription, vernacular novels, encyclopedias, letters and anecdotes. The diversity of his published works gained wide attention not only from China but also from Japan.⁶⁰ As Benjamin Elman states: "both the 'wide learning of things' (bowu) and 'investigating things and extending knowledge' (gezhi) together became a common epistemological frame for the accumulation of classical and practical knowledge among late Ming and early Qing elites." The wide-open and multiple entrances to knowledge and information created by Hu Wenhuan was indicative of the model of broad learning during the late imperial period.⁶¹

The criticism from the Qing compilers of the *Complete Library of Four Treasuries* (*Si Ku Quan Shu*) on Hu Wenhuan's *Ge Zhi Cong Shu* provides us a perspective to look at *Shou Yang Cong Shu*. The compilers criticized *Ge Zhi Cong Shu* as "the copies which book merchants make profits from" (*fang gu she li zhi ben* 坊賈射利之本).⁶² The criticism below reflected Qing critics' disdain

⁶⁰ Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 17.

⁶¹ Elman, "Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedia (Leishu)", 140.

⁶² *Si Ku Quan Shu Zong Mu Ti Yao*, juan 134.

on the Ming books. However, they might neglect how Ming book compilers interacted with their readers and created meaning for their lives through book compiling. In the next section, I will elaborate on the interaction between Hu Wenhuan and his readers by exploring the beneficiaries of *Xiang Lian Run Se*.

The Main Beneficiaries of *Xiang Lian Run Se*

Xian Lian Run Se was a quite unique one compared to other daily-use encyclopedias. Its preface (xu) and postscript (ba), its arrangement and organization, its use of rhetoric and formulaic languages raise several important questions for scholars to consider: who were the intended audience? Why did the editor choose this kind of writing style? In which way did the editor organize and arrange content? The interesting features of *Xiang Lian Run Se* include the editor's readership, the powerful narrative strategy, the rhetoric and literary languages which had been borrowed from literature, and all-inclusive content. In this section I will argue that Hu Wenhuan's appropriation of the classical beautiful female figures in his preface, the language he adopted and the all-embracing organization in *Xiang Lian Run Se* attracted both male and female audiences. In the late Ming society, the editor of *Xiang Lian Run Se* not only tried to conform to the expectations from male elites but also endeavored to satisfy the needs of female audiences.

Although there is no direct evidence helping historians understand how popular and widespread *Xiang Lian Run Se* was when it was published and introduced to its readers, some traces of evidence indicate that *Xiang Lian Run Se* was a popular commercial product which might attract both male and female readers. *Xiang Lian Run Se* was comprised of one preface (xu) written by Hu Wenhuan, one postscript (ba) written by his grand nephew, Hu Guangsheng and thirteen sections (bu). In the preface Hu Wenhuan wrote:

A born beautiful lady has snowy skin and a flowery appearance, jade bone and slim figure. If she was like Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang Yuhuan, she would be attractive even if she just paint her eyebrows lightly. Why should one to apply rouge and powder to pollute its purity?

Therefore it is not necessary to embellish the beauty. However, the skillful craftsman must rely on the handy tools to finish his work perfectly, painting must be added five colors to make it effulgent, hence the beauty must trim her appearance, clean her clothing like cultivating flowers and carving jade to make them glamorous, that's why women need to retouch their appearance. Not all of women are like Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang Yuhuan during our time, that's why I collected/compiled 药方 the medical prescriptions in the *Fragrant Toilette* to help them.⁶³

夫天生佳人，雪膚花貌，玉骨冰肌，若西子、楊妃輩，即淡掃蛾眉，自然有動人處，果何假脂粉以污其真哉，是潤色為不必也。然而良工必藉利器而後其事善，繪事必加五彩而後其素絢，故佳人之修其儀容，潔其服飾，譬如花之得滋，玉之就琢，而其光瑩為益增，是潤色又所必假矣。矧世不皆西子、楊妃輩，此予所集聊為香奩之一助耳。

The cited stanza from the preface did not state explicitly the editor's purpose, instead, the preface adopted an indirect writing strategy to catch readers' attention. In the first sentence of the preface, the editor argued that it was unnecessary for beautiful ladies like Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang Yuhuan to decorate their physical appearance because they were inborn beauty.

Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan were classical beautiful female figures who were recognized and admired by literati men in the Ming dynasty. Xi Shi was born in Zhuji 諸暨 at the end of Spring and Autumn period, Yang Yuhuan (719-756) was the imperial consort of Xuanzong emperor in Tang dynasty. Both of them were recognized and admired by literate men because of their unprecedented beautifulness. Hu Wenhuan did not identify Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan in his preface. He simply wrote: if (she) was like Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang Yuhuan...she would be attractive 若西子、楊妃輩...自然有動人處.⁶⁴ By introducing Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang, he assumed that his readers, regardless of their gender had been familiar with their life stories. In the Ming dynasty, Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang were promoted and admired as classical beautiful female figures by the elite literati. It is especially possible that Xi Shi was famous for the Ming locals resided in Hangzhou where the *xiang lian run se* was mostly publicized and circulated as the West Lake (xi hu) was named based on the grandiose fame of Xi Shi's beautiful appearance. When the Hangzhou native Tian Rucheng wrote the anecdotes and reminiscence in the *Anecdotal Records of West Lake*

⁶³ SYCS, 535.

⁶⁴ SYCS, 535-536

(Xi Hu You Lan Zhi Yu), he recorded how the Song commentators compared the poetic scenery of West Lake to the remarkable beauty of Xi Shi when the Song government moved its imperial capital to Hangzhou. In the writings, he wrote:

Commentators regarded West Lake as beauty, it was analogous to Xi Shi who defeated the Wu state.

論者以西湖為尤物，比之西施之破吳。⁶⁵

In Tian Rucheng's writings, Xi Shi as the classical beauty figure also embodies the intriguing view of the West Lake. Therefore, it is feasible to explain that Hu Wenhuan's mentioning of Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan take on symbolic meaning. Both of them represented the unprecedented allurement of the beauty. Readers could easily associate Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan with their previous reading experiences. Hu Wenhuan empowered his readers by connecting them with the beautiful icons who lived in the past.

Females audiences would also be familiar with the allusions of Xi Shi and Yang Yu Huan. They were mentioned in novels, fictions, dramas which would be widely circulated among literate females in late Ming due to the highly developed publishing industries. For female audiences, the main texts for them to read were didactic texts to enhance morality. However, it does not mean that they had no access to popular fictions and dramas. In late Ming society, women could read various types of books. In Katherine Carlitz's study on the Ming editions of *Lie Nu Zhuan*, she states that "The ideals of the Lienü zhuan tradition were ubiquitous in the late Ming, and most girls growing up in the second half of the sixteenth century must have known or known about one of the chaste widows (or the suicides) described in every late Ming local history."⁶⁶ The moral education spread in the didactic texts also reflected the other end of the story: the wide access to various texts for female audiences requires the necessity of the moral texts.

⁶⁵ Rucheng Tian, *Xi Hu You Lan Zhi Yu Qin Ding Si Ku Quan Shu Ben* Completed Libraries of Four Treasuries, juan 2, 5.

⁶⁶ Katherine Carlitz, "The Social Uses of Female Virtues in Late Ming Editions of *Lie nu zhuan*." in *Late Imperial China*, vol. 2, No.2 (1991), 124.

Although Hu Wenhuan argued that women as beautiful as Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan did not have to apply powder and rouge on their face, he recognized the importance of cultivating beautiful physical appearance for women. By drawing the analogy between artisan-painter and women, Hu legitimized women's use of cosmetics and even encouraged women to beautify their appearances. From his perspective, most ordinary women were not like Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan (yinshibujiexiziyangfeibe). However, women were able to use the aid of *Xiang Lian Run Se* so to fashion themselves and become as beautiful as Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan. With the help of medical prescriptions in *Xiang Lian Run Se*, every individual woman can emulate Xi Shi and Yang Yuhuan. The individual female reader was identified by the compiler that they had the potential to become these classical beauties. *Xiang Lian Run Se* offered them easy-to-apply medical advice to live up to the standard of becoming a beauty. This made women into a crucial part of the intended readership of *Xiang Lian Run Se*. It also suggests that *Xiang Lian Run Se* will not only become highly visible on the bookshelves of the elite literati's study but also may appear frequently in women's boudoir.

In Hu Wenhuan's writing, he also adopted various languages and trope in order to fulfill the tastes of cultured men and women. First of all, the title "*Xiang Lian Run Se*" (Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty) is quite catchy when it jumps into readers' eyes. The "fragrant toilette" 香奩 was an established lyric genre to admire the beauty of female body since the Tang dynasty, male poets adopted metaphoric language and admired women's body with a bold and explicit attitude, their poetry depicted women in a private and flowery sphere.⁶⁷ The title would be familiar with male audiences who acquired broad learning from Confucian Classics to vernacular literature. It invited male aesthetes who were fascinated with the sensuality of the private life and drew them to explore what content would be included in this book. Secondly, the preface also appropriated figurative language to create an image of a natural-born beautiful icon who was

⁶⁷ Dorothy Ko, *Every Step a Lotus* (California: University of California Press 2001), 30-35. The Verse of the fragrant toilette, "xianglianshi" is a type of lyric scrutinizes the female body—set against the props of ornate garments and furniture—with unabashed eyes, resulting in a highly sensuous picture of the boudoir.

sexually attractive to male audiences. For example, Hu Wenhuan used “snowy skin and flowery appearance” (*xuefuhuamao*), “jade bone and slim figure” (*yugubinji*) to describe the female’s unprecedented physical beauty. By using formulaic and figurative language in this preface, Hu Wenhuan tried to appeal to his male contemporaries who shared the similar knowledge background and enjoyed the colloquial literature in the late Ming society.

At the same time, the educated female audience would also be familiar with the topic of Hu Wenhuan’s encyclopedia. Meng Shuqin 孟淑卿 (fl. 1476) a Suzhou native, was respected for her literary talent in scholarly circle, once wrote a poem titled *Fragrant Boudoir Poem* (*xiangliandongci* 香奩冬詞).⁶⁸ Although the reader sensed melancholy and discontent in this poem, which sets striking contrast with the fragrant toilette lyric written by males, this poetry proved that the term “fragrant boudoir/fragrant toilette” was known for those women who honed their literary skills and were enthusiastic about poetry writing. Therefore, the book titled with *Xiang Lian Run Se* was appealing to literate female audiences as well.

This book was popular in the market because Hu Wenhuan also engaged his readers in a literature scene which was prevailing during the late Ming period and both males and females could enjoy the vivid tone of the preface. In the end of the preface, he wrote:

If they give this manual to beautiful ladies, the ladies will say: “I’m so lucky! I’m so lucky! Why should I envy the craftsmen’s handy tools and painter’s colorful pigments?” And I myself helped them and could be identified almostly as a gentleman.

倘以此紅粉贈與佳人，佳人必將曰：幸孔，幸孔！彼良工之利器，繪事之五彩，而又何羨乎？而胡生者玉成於人，庶幾君子。

“Jia Ren” 佳人, women of beauty, the term usually was paired with “Cai zi” 才子 men of talent. The paralleled idiom “Cai zi jia ren” emphasized an aesthetically ideal relationship between men of talent and women of beauty. “Men of talent” referred to the literati who possessed delicate cultural tastes and behaved based on an elegant lifestyle while “women of beauty” pointed to the

⁶⁸ Chang, Kang-i Sun, Haun Saussy, and Charles Yim-tze Kwong, *Women Writers of Traditional China, An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 164.

courtesan-concubines who were not only physically attractive but also acquainted with literary skills. However, the relative positions and roles of both males and females in the “cai zi jia ren” paradigm changed subtly over time. In the Song dynasty, the role of women in this relationship was depicted as beautiful and deferential attendant to scholarly men, which empowered men in the gender hierarchy of Confucian ideology. The construction of “cai zi jia ren” relationship in the Song dynasty emphasized the masculine nature of men and feminine nature of women.⁶⁹ During the Ming dynasty, the “cai zi jia ren” paradigm highlighted the role of females as educated companions who were capable of creating cultural landscape in the literati world. As Victoria Cass demonstrates, the geisha (courtesan 妓) “became the authority, counselor, sage of the subtleties of the aesthete’s life, instructing the literati on the details”.⁷⁰ Women of beauty well understood the paper, inkstone, books and writing brushes that elite men should possess in everyday literati life.⁷¹ They helped their male companions to create a sense of formality in their everyday life in order to maintain the literati identity.

The preface of *Xiang Lian Run Se* provided a new aspect of the “cai zi jia ren” paradigm. In the past narratives, it was women who actively participated in developing literati tastes. They were familiar with the male-dominated cultural world. However, Hu Wenhuan believed that men should know womanly matter as well. Just as women understand men’s exquisite cultural taste, men need to understand how to help women cultivate their beauty. Offering ladies *Xiang lian run se* would be an approval that validated men’s participation in women’s domestic life. The relationship between women of beauty and men of talent in the late Ming context became complementary. Men of talent should play a role as a confidant in women’s life and became familiar with how to respect females’

⁶⁹ Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters, Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 30-32.

⁷⁰ Victoria Cass, *Warriors, Grannies and Geishas of the Ming* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 32.

⁷¹ In Dorothy Ko’s *The social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China*, she gave an example that the wife of the male inkstone aficionado in Fuzhou circle, Madame Zhang had very rich knowledge of the inkstone and wrote encomium for a piece of inkstone, see 165. The story suggests that women participated in the literati world by engaging with daily-use objects even though their voices were marginalized or recollected by the male literati.

needs and choices in everyday life in terms of body and beauty maintenance. Hu Wenhuan invited both female and male audiences to project themselves into the “men of talent and women of beauty” paradigm depicted in *Xiang Lian Run Se*.

In the preface, Hu Wenhuan identified himself as a gentleman 君子. Theoretically speaking, being identified as a gentleman required the scholarly men to learn Confucian Classics and held up on a high moral dignity. However, as the stanza cited above shows, Hu Wenhuan identified himself as a gentleman because he helped securing needs of both men of talent and women of beauty by immersing his audiences with this comprehensive reference book.

Hu Wenhuan’s self-identification and the paradigm “Cai Zi Jia Ren” situated in the context of *Xiang Lian Run Se* provide us with a new clue to look into the dynamics of an literatus’ identity. A gentleman should have exquisitely cultural and aesthetic taste, which was reflected by their acquisition of *Xiang Lian Run Se*. Craig Clunas argues that the obsession with superfluous things and the language used to perceive and appreciate things played an important role in reconfirming the boundary between the elite men’s identities and commoners in the seventeenth century.⁷² The salient features of *Xiang Lian Run Se* in terms of its language reflected Hu Wenhuan’s strategy of conforming to the cultural tastes of elite men.

The inner structure of *Xiang Lian Run Se* suggests that it is a well-organized book which covers comprehensively women’s everyday life. *Xiang Lian Run Se* has thirteen sections (*bu* 部). Among its ten sections, Hu Wenhuan named each section based on the parts of women’s body: Hair (*tou fa bu*), Face (*mian bu*), Mole (*ban Zhi Bu* 瘢痣), Teeth and Lips (*Chun Chi Bu*), Breasts (*Ru Bu*), Body (*shen ti bu*), Hands and Feet (*shou zu bu*), Vagina (*Yin Bu*), Menstruation (*Jing Xue Bu*), Fetus (*Tai bu*). These sections contain the medical prescriptions helping women cultivate their body. The other three sections which focus on the arrangement of household affairs and women’s

⁷² Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 183.

interaction with spirits include: Strangeness(*guai yi bu*), Washing Clothing (*xi lian bu*) and Storage (*Cang Zhu Bu*). By dint of the methods introduced in the Strangeness Section, women could expel the ghosts' and spirits' semens. The Washing Clothing Section and Storage section provide women with two kinds of information: how to wash out the stains of clothes and how to store sundries. The comprehensiveness of the *Xiang Lian Run Se* mirrors Hu Wenhuan's ambition of collecting various information to help women solve everyday life challenges. From this perspective, Hu Wenhuan recognized, even appreciated women's ability of reading, understanding their choices of what to read. The author's section arrangement respects women's subjectivity to make choice in their everyday life.

Although we should recognize that Hu Wenhuan incorporated both males and females into the beneficiaries of *Xiang Lian Run Se*, subtle distinction did exist among the audiences of *Xiang Lian Run Se* if we consider who were the purchasers of this book in sixteenth and seventeenth century. The primary purchasers of this book were elite men who had similar access to the genre of taste manuals and information books and those who aspired to climb up the social ladder and turned to be elite men of elegant life style. In his work *The Order of Books*, Roger Chartier argues that different expectations and interests of reading groups create new meanings for the reading itself.⁷³ Even though reading the same text, male audiences within the different social category benefited from it differently.

The inclusion of females and males in Hu Wenhuan's reading group certainly does not mean that the gender boundary was blurred. Instead, the gender boundary was so consistent and reluctant to change if we considered the characteristics of *Xiang Lian Run Se* and the hierarchy of its readers. Only men would have to the book market to acquire *Xiang Lian Run Se* and the *Collectanea* which collected it. Women would only be allowed to read them under certain circumstances especially

⁷³ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), 4.

when men offered them *Xiang Lian Run Se* as a gift. The distinction between book purchasers and readers suggests that the gender boundary existed in the reading group of *Xiang Lian Run Se*. From this perspective, we should not dichotomize the readership of *Xiang Lian Run Se* but need to consider it within different situations.

Inner Virtue vs. Outer Beauty

In this section, I will discuss how *Xiang Lian Run Se* offers a lens for us to look at the relationship between women's inner virtue and outer beauty in late Ming society. The arrangement of *Xiang Lian Run Se* and the striking contrasts between Hu Wenhuan's preface and Sun Guangsheng's postscript reflect how the relationship between women's virtue and physical appearance was re-interpreted when women's actual space of activity expanded as commercialization progressed in late Ming urban areas. *Xiang Lian Run Se*'s presence also reminds scholars that the tension between women's moral cultivation and commercialization at the end of sixteenth century. The late Ming book compilers and editors had to make compromises when they encountered with increase visibility of women.

Xiang Lian Run Se not only includes medical prescriptions for cultivating physical appearances, it also collects medical receipts for curing disease, remedies for bizarre problems, body cultivation during pregnancy, regulating disorder of menstruation.⁷⁴ The preface demonstrates another selling point of *Xiang Lian Run Se*: it is comprehensive and all-embracing. The comprehensiveness of *Xiang Lian Run Se* reflects compiler's concerns on covering the whole life cycle of women from birth to death. As Susan Mann argues, "At each stage of the life course, a child was expected to assume more of the responsibilities and roles of an adult, and those

⁷⁴ SYCS vol.6, 535.

responsibilities and roles were always specific to gender.”⁷⁵ *Xiang Lian Run Se* recognized women’s various social roles taken in the society including mother, daughter and wife.

It is interesting to notice that how Hu Wenhuan arranged various topics as the preface describes. Hu Wenhuan’s order of topics suggests that his concern on the relationship between women’s physical appearance and women’s morality. In *Xiang Lian Run Se*, the medical remedies/prescriptions for decorating physical appearance and body cultivation came first when the storage and laundry were listed as “trivial matters” as he wrote:

Among these prescriptions are important for curing disease, medical treatment of strange sickness, menstrual blood regulation, miscarriage prevention. Although storage and laundry are trivial matters, they are also what the beauty will need, the strategies (to handle) them will also be listed in. This encyclopedia will focus on embellishment of the beauty, and methods of self-cultivation and household management can be seen in it.

至若其間，療其疾病，證其怪異，調其經血，安其胎產，皆其至要者乎。而藏貯洗練，雖為末務，要亦佳人之所以必用者，其法盡為列之。當不獨區區潤色已也，而保攝修齊之道，蓋見之此矣。

It may seem to be true that the household management affairs were considered as less important as women’s physical appearance and body cultivation from Hu Wenhuan’s perspective though Hu included both the methods of cultivating physical appearances and methods of household management. His arrangement of *Xiang Lian Run Se* was dissimilar to the social expectations on women’s role in the inner chamber throughout their life course. For example, the scholar-official Huang Huai 黃淮 (1366-1449) wrote the tomb epitaph for the couple Zhao Hou and his wife Ye Yi who resided in Yongjiang Chang of Wenzhou Prefecture, he praised the wife for her comprehensive management of family affairs and her commitment to diligence and frugality (*Zonglijiaoshiyiwujianqin* 總理家事益務儉勤). Huang Huai also admired the wife that she conducted the family ritual sacrifice cleanly and richly (*Fengjisibifengjie* 奉祭祀必豐潔).⁷⁶ In another tomb epitaph written by Li Jie 李階 for the couple Chen Bao and Sun Mei. Li Jie admired

⁷⁵ Susan Mann, *Precious Records Women in China’s Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 47.

⁷⁶ Jiansheng Sun, *Yongjia Chang Muzhi Jilu Di 1 Ban. ed. Wenzhou Wen Xian Cong Kan* (Hefei: Huang Shan Shu She, 2011), 38.

the wife for being frugal and resisting from sumptuousness (*Zhuojiansu chufuhua* 崇儉素，黜浮華).⁷⁷ From the epitaph writings introduced above, the mainstream social notion during the Ming dynasty supported that the female moral exemplars performed the management of family affairs inside the private realm. Women were supposed to keep the household clean and tidy diligently and frugally. Therefore, being familiar with the strategies of laundry and storage would be significantly important for a woman to practice the central female virtue as a wife.

Additionally, keeping clothes clean and tidy is also a requirement to maintain “womanly deportment” (*furong*) as the famous female scholar in Han dynasty Ban Zhao suggested. In Ban Zhao’s *Instructions on Women* (*Nü Jie* 女誡), she elaborated on the four womanly attributes including womanly virtue, womanly words, womanly appearance and womanly work. In her definition, womanly appearance means to clean dust, make clothes clean and colorful, bath routinely and not let body become dirty.⁷⁸ As Francesca Bray points out, “Thrice followings and four virtues” (*san cong si de* 三從四德) was a dominant narrative in Confucian ideology to inculcate women in late imperial China.⁷⁹ It defined the ideological framework for women to regulate their daily life in the private compound. It regulated women’s daily conduct and asked women to follow their father when they were at natal home, follow their husband when they get married and follow their sons when their husbands were dead.

Why would Hu Wenhuan be less concerned with the connotation of womanly virtues than women’s physical appearance? In other words, why did Hu Wenhuan prioritize the beauty over morality?

⁷⁷ Ibid, 198.

⁷⁸ Ban Zhao, *Instructions on Women* (*Nü Jie* 女誡) in *Houhanshu* juan 84.

⁷⁹ Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender : Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 242-252.

The discussion on the relationship between women's inner virtue and physical appearance continuously occupied the space of historical writings throughout Chinese history. The Exceptional beauty was always related to immorality. In early imperial China, women's exceptional beauty distracted rulers from the statecraft affairs and caused political dissolution. The dynastic turmoil or crisis was often attributed to the imperial consort's astounding beauty in early imperial China even though she made no explicit moral fault and did not transgress the four womanly virtues. Her exceptional beauty was distracting to the ruler's liability of staying functioning.⁸⁰

In the Song context (960-1279), women's physical beauty was less emphasized compared to women's inner virtue. Based on Liu Bo's research, a popular painting trope "Shinü tu" which depicts gentlewomen declined during the Song dynasty. shi nu images were not suitable for the refined taste of cultural elites. As Bo Liu has discovered, the Song dynasty experienced a transformation of the medium on which shi nu painting was presented. *Shi Nü Tu* was usually painted over the hanging scroll or screen during the Tang dynasty. The image of the beautiful women was delivered on a less formal and more practical medium—the round fan—during the Song dynasty. Additionally, Song scholars treated women's physical beauty as the hindrance to a man's political career and propagated women's inner virtues instead.⁸¹ Diverse visual sources and scholars' discourses suggest that the discussion over women's inner virtue and physical beauty has never ceased throughout Chinese history.

In the Ming dynasty, theoretically speaking, females were institutionally forbidden to interfere in the politics as a result of earlier upheaval.⁸² Therefore it's noteworthy that Hu the

⁸⁰ In Lisa Raphals's work, she examined the seventh chapter of *lie nu zhuan* to explore the biographical formula of destructive female influence. In her research, beauty was often associated with the thin morality, exceptional beauty is simply the cause of dynastic turmoil and disorder even though the protagonist. See *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1998). 61-69. Also see Yongcong Liu, *De Cai Se Quan Lun Zhong Guo Gu Dai Nü Xing* [Virtue, talent, beauty, and power : women in ancient China] (Tai bei shi: Mai tian chu ban, 1998).

⁸¹ Bo Liu, "Physical Beauty and Inner Virtue: 'Shinü tu' in the Song Dynasty," in *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, Volume 45, 2015, pp. 1-57. 33-34.

⁸² Lien-sheng Yang, "Female Rulers in Imperial China" in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 23 (1960 - 1961), 47-61.

Wenhuan rarely mentioned the importance of women's morality (*de*) in his preface. If maintaining womanly virtues was so important in late imperial time, then why would the compiler Hu Wenhuan treat the responsibilities of doing laundry and managing storage as trivial matters?

One possible explanation is that women already had access to the rich knowledge base on the household management affairs, which led Hu Wenhuan put less weight on this kind of information. For example, in a daily-use encyclopedia called *Collection of Household Necessities* (Ju Jia Bi Yong Shi Lei Quan Ji 居家必用事類全集) which was reprinted in 1568, the compiler named a category with "Things of Boudoir" (*gui ge shi yi*). Under this category the compiler also collected various methods to help female readers manage the private quarter.⁸³ The *Collection of Household Necessities* were printed and circulated through Zhengde period (1506-1521), Jiajing Period (1521-1567) and Wanli period (1572-1620), which means that readers had had access to the sources of knowledge on the household management affairs besides Hu Wenhuan's *Xiang Lian Run Se*.⁸⁴

However, in regards to the number of items listed under Hu Wenhuan's categories "Wash Clothing" (*Xi Lian Bu*) and "Storage" (*Cang Zhu Bu*) which primarily focus on the issues of household management, Hu Wenhuan collected more information for his readers than the book compiler of the *Collection of Household Necessities*. The "Wash Clothing" section in *Xiang Lian Run Se* preserved sixty-two items while the category "Things of Boudoir" in the *Collection of Household Necessities* only contains seven items considering washing pearls or ivory. Therefore, Hu Wenhuan's main concern on the order of *Xiang Lian Run Se* was not at all relevant to its content. The content of *Xiang Lian Run Se* is abundant and comprehensive.

Another possible explanation would be that Hu Wenhuan prioritized women's physical appearance ahead of women's responsibilities inside private realm in order to reconfirm the gender

⁸³ Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan lishiyanjiusuo wenhuashi ed. *Ming dai tong so ri yong lei shu ji kai di si ce* (Chongqing: Xinan daxue chubanshe, 2011), 264.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 1.

distinction out of the “gender confusion” in late Ming society. The late Ming society witnessed a transgression of gender boundary in sixteenth century and seventeenth century. A few examples will include cross-dressing individuals regardless of the gender⁸⁵, men doing embroidery work, women were getting more opportunities to move beyond the physical boundary as travelers. As Man Xu has discovered, the inscriptions left by women during their traveling signaled that women were able to express their literacy when they were outside the private chamber.⁸⁶As Dorothy Ko points out, the trend of identifying women and categorizing women in encyclopedia indicated a need for re-clarifying the gender boundary.⁸⁷ In *Xiang Lian Run Se*, the compiler’s prioritizing women’s physical appearance over women’s actual obligations in private realm may not be as relevant to the gender ideology prevailing in late imperial time. Rather, highlighting the importance of women’s sexual attractiveness and physical appearance in Hu Wenhuan’s compilation may just be one implication caused by the re-definition of women’s identity and position around the increasingly blurred gender boundary in social reality. In order to claim their feminine characteristics and distinguish themselves from men, women were expected to decorate their appearances to externalize their inner virtuous qualities. From this perspective, *Xiang Lian Run Se*’s publication and circulation was accompanied with the new definition of womanly deportment, the makeup for women turned into the make-up of women’s identity in the late Ming society.⁸⁸ By re-emphasizing the importance of women’s physical appearance and their feminine characteristics, Hu Wenhuan inclined to confirm the gender boundary between males and females.

⁸⁵ Liyue Lin, “yishang yu fengjiao — wanming de fushi fengshang yu ‘fuyao’ yilun” in *Xinshixue* vol. 10, 3 (1999), 130-132.

⁸⁶ Man Xu, *Crossing the Gate: Everyday Lives of Women in Song Fujian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), 75-77.

⁸⁷ Ko, *Teachers of Inner Chambers*, 116. Harriet T. Zurndorfer, “Women in the Epistemological Strategy of Chinese Encyclopedia: Preliminary Observations from Some Sung, Ming and Ch’ing Works” in *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past, New Perspectives* edited by Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Brill, 1999), 354-385.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 166-167. The construction of womanhood was mostly noticeable in women’s bound feet. Women’s practice in highlighting the inner beauty and outer beauty was to visualize women’s situation and position in the society which distinguished them from males.

The third explanation for Hu's rare mention of the association between beauty (*se*) and morality (*de*) in the preface might be the result of his consideration for the commercial market. In order to make *xiang lan run se* appealing to readers, Hu Wenhuan needed to consider the demands of mass readers in the book market. It has been proved by many scholars that the publication and circulation of books in late Ming time were responses to the changing cultural tastes of consumers. As Catherine Karlitz indicates, even for some editors whose mind were not profit-oriented, their publications adopted simple language and used illustrations in order to stimulate audiences' interests even though the purpose of the didactic texts was for moral inculcation, which related directly to the trend of popularity of vernacular literature.⁸⁹ For example, Lü Kun, a famous scholar-official who enthusiastically designed remedies and provided pragmatic advice for the disorder of the society, compiled the *Illustrated Regulations*, which accommodated to the tastes of female audiences, it was equipped with multiple illustrations which might fulfill the demands of illiterate female readers.

If we reconsidered the intellectual discussion over the relationship between women's inner virtue and women's physical appearance, Hu Wenhuan's *Xiang Lian Run Se* reinterpreted the relationship between women's inner virtue and women's physical appearance. From Hu Wenhuan's perspective, these two were not mutually exclusive when the cultural capital played an important role in the book market. Even though the stunning beautiful females figures were not politically acceptable, they were culturally admired. *Xiang Lian Run Se* would be an example of how to make male elites comfortable and safe to purchase this book.

Hu Wenhuan's preface sets striking contrast with the postscript written by his grand nephew Hu Guangsheng. The postscript was different from Hu Wenhuan's preface in terms of three aspects. First of all, Hu Guangsheng used the Confucian Classic to demonstrate the role of women inside the

⁸⁹ Catherine Karlitz, "The Social Uses of Female Virtues in late Ming editions of *Lie Nü Zhuan*", 138.

private quarter while Hu Wenhuan appropriated the classical beauty icons to make his work attractive. At the beginning of the postscript, he wrote:

Women receive the yin energy, and manage household affairs. 婦女稟陰，教主中饋。⁹⁰

Hu Guangsheng clearly understood the gender differences generated by the yin yang forces in the cosmos, which sourced from the Confucian Classic *Book of Changes*. The *yin* and *yang* forces are complementary and interactive. Women received yin energy more than men and men received more yang energy which explains the gender differences throughout their life course. The yin-yang theory explained the gender differences including the social role and physical features.⁹¹In Hu Guangsheng's argument, the yin energy empowered women to work on the inner affairs such as providing food and conducting rituals.

Secondly, Hu Guangsheng explicitly stated the two aspects of women's virtues: womanly deportment and womanly work to address the importance of *Xiang Lian Run Se*'s connotation. From Sun's perspective, it is not appropriate for women to be dirty and filthy and suffered from diseases. In the postscript he wrote:

However it is not appropriate for women to display themselves with dishevelled hair and dirty face and let them suffer from serious disease, that's why we need the categorized content in this book to make women eliminate blemish then obtain womanly appearance and womanly skills, how painstaking the compiler is!

然則蓬首垢面，任其疾病狼戾又不可，乃有若此帙之所列者具在，蓋令人拔惡易瑕而工容兼備也。

With the aid of the listed items in the *Xiang Lian Run Se*, women can change their appearance and fulfill the demands of womanly work and womanly deportment 工容兼備也。

However, In Hu Wenhuan's preface, he did not at all mention women's four virtues. Instead, he proposed that decorating women's beauty 色 was extremely important.

Thirdly, Hu Guangsheng denigrated the coquettish makeup styles which had been popular among female followers. These makeup styles included plum blossom style (*meihua zhuang*),

⁹⁰ SYCS vol. 6, 651-652.

⁹¹ Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, 27-28.

eyebrow makeup which imitates remote mountain (yuanshan dai), and jade hair pin. As Hu

Guangsheng wrote:

[When people use] the makeup styles such as the plum blossom style, eyebrow makeup which imitates remote mountain and the jade hair pin, it will only make people tease at them, these are no good for women!

如梅花妝、遠山黛、蟬翅翠鈿，殊令人媿笑耳，豈婦女之用宜哉!⁹²

Hu Guangsheng believed that it was improper for women to apply these makeup styles. It seems to me that Sun wanted to distinguish what did good for women's inner virtue. From Hu Guangsheng's perspective, the exaggerated beauty would obstruct women's virtues. On the one hand, Sun acknowledged the indispensability of medical prescriptions on women's beauty and body because they were good for women's virtues. On the other hand, Sun disapproved of women's blind pursuit on exaggerated makeup styles because they were futile for women's further development. While Sun believes that the essence of *Xiang Lian Run Se* lies in defending the inclusion of womanly work and womanly deportment in women's life cycle, Hu Wenhuan's concern mainly focused on how *Xiang Lian Run Se* make women sexually attractive.

At first glance, the postscript and preface seem to provide controversial arguments against each other. However, the motivations behind these two writings deserve attention. In the postscript, Sun Guangsheng tried to distinguish this book from other popular and common published works in the market by promoting the moral authority of this book. His approach to legitimizing this book shared great similarity with the moral education texts circulated during the late Ming. For example, in the preface to *Illustrated Regulations for Women*, Lu Kun claimed the importance of sustaining women's virtues by criticizing the decadent moral education for women in his time. In Lu's eyes, the publication of *Illustrated Regulations for Women* would tremendously help women to understand and remember the virtuous endeavors and beneficial words of past worthies.⁹³ Hu

⁹² SYCS 6: 651.

⁹³ Lü Kun, *Lü Kun Quan Ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 1409.

Guangsheng and Lu both agreed that the publication of these two books would be beneficial to cultivate women's morality.

Although Sun tried to advertise the moral superiority within *Xiang Lian Run Se*, it might not be as effective as we might imagine. His efforts of mapping out the moral legitimacy for *Xiang Lian Run Se* reflects the tension between morality and commercialization. The contrast between the postscript and the preface exactly demonstrates how difficult it is for late Ming book compilers and editors to get rid of the influence of Ming commercialization and monetization. As Catherine Karlitz argues, the design and construction of Lu Kun's *Gui Fan Tu Shuo* conformed to the trend of popular literature even though the author did not intend to. The preface written by Hu Wenhuan and the postscript written by Sun Guangsheng exactly provide clues for us to look into the dynamics of women's everyday life during the late Ming period. The boundary between women's morality and identity construction was not demarcated as we may think of the late Ming period. The social environment played an important role in influencing women's moral cultivation, and re-configured the relationship between women's inner virtue and outer beauty.

Conclusion

The contrast between Hu Wenhuan's preface and Hu Guangsheng's postscript suggests the multiple possibilities in Hu Wenhuan's real intent. In the preface, Hu Wenhuan did not mention the necessity of women's virtues even though he included the staffs of laundry, storage and washing. His arrangement of XLRS might make readers associate with his concrete consideration on helping cultivating women's virtues, however, cleaning the clothing and making them shine and beautiful would also be important to highlight women's beauty. In his grandnephew's postscript, Hu Guangsheng took advantage of the virtue "women's deportment" to legitimize the moral authority of Hu's book. At the same time, by borrowing the womanly virtues and emphasizing the gender hierarchy in the postscript, Hu Guangsheng also made comprise to Hu's *Xiang Lian Run Se* which emphasized the cultivation of women's physical beauty.

Hu Wenhuan's compilation expected male readers to purchase because it would be a good gift for their wives or courtesans, however the subtle details in *XLRS* would make male readers feel strange and displaced when the formulas on the pregnancy treatments, skin care were presented to them. The inclusion Hu Wenhuan compiled *XLRS* comprehensively and sophisticatedly. His work includes formulas on women's body, skin and face might fulfill the curiosity and erotic desire of male readers. However, the *XLRS* still tries to provide pragmatic information and advice for female audiences especially. The analysis of the content in *XLRS* will be offered in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 The Making of *Xiang Lian Run Se*

The compilation of *Xiang Lian Run Se* was a long and complicated process. The book compiler Hu Wenhuan enthusiastically categorized the knowledge and information into each section. Each section (*bu*) in *Xiang Lian Run Se* contains a great number of information for its readers to refer to when they were faced with problems and challenges in their daily life. The huge amount of items collected in *Xiang Lian Run Se* raises several important questions to consider: to what extent Hu Wenhuan reconstructed knowledge on women's everyday life? How did he strategically appropriate other sources in order to satisfy the demands of his readers? This chapter will explore these questions.

In this chapter, I will home in on other sources that Hu Wenhuan might have access during his time, and compare them with *Xiang Lian Run Se* to see how Hu Wenhuan strategically adapted the original sources to conform to the needs of readers. The sources that I will explore include two types of writings: the daily-use encyclopedias (*Ri Yong Lei Shu*) and medical prescription books (*Fang Shu*) which were circulated and accessible to the reading public during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The daily-use encyclopedias that I will analyze in this chapter include: the *Collection of Household Necessities* (*Ju Jia Bi Yong Shi Lei Quan Ji* 居家必用事類全集), The *Illustrated Encyclopedia for Commoners* (*Bian Min Tu Zuan* 便民圖纂), *Multiple Functions and Basic Matters* (*Duo Neng Bi Shi* 多能鄙事). The medical prescription book that I will engage in is: *Thousand Gold Supplementary* (*Qian Jin Yi Fang* 千金翼方). By comparing these documents with *Xiang Lian Run Se*, I will argue that Hu's reconstruction of knowledge on women's everyday life reflected the actual demands of the reading public especially women.

For those who seek to condemn the "plagiarism" as a common practice in Hu Wenhuan's *Xiang Lian Run Se*, this chapter may disappoint them to a great extent. Instead of offering criticism on Hu Wenhuan's appropriation of other daily-use encyclopedias, I want to restore the historical

process of how Hu Wenhuan distributed sources from other daily-use encyclopedias into his own publication. By examining the similarities and distinctions existed in *Xiang Lian Run Se* and other daily-use encyclopedias widely circulated in late Sixteenth century, I will argue that the reconstruction of women's knowledge by Hu Wenhuan in *Xiang Lian Run Se* is complex, it not only includes adaptations Hu made to his work, but also contains the preservation of similarities shared by other sources. The comparison between *Xiang Lian Run Se* and other daily-use encyclopedias shows how Hu Wenhuan perceived and pieced together the fragments of women's everyday life.

Comparing *Xiang Lian Run Se* and other daily-use encyclopedias also raise several questions: first of all, are these daily-use encyclopedias examined in this chapter Hu Wenhuan's primary sources to refer to? The answer is no. The daily-use encyclopedias were circulated and reprinted during the late Sixteenth century and early Seventeenth century. Even though the household encyclopedias and the medical prescription book examined in this chapter were not be reprinted exactly the year when XLRs was published, the cross-evaluation among these sources will help us understand why XLRs stands out as a unique encyclopedia which respected women's subjectivity and catered to the demands of female audiences.

The second question is: why did I choose these three daily-use encyclopedias and *Qian Jin Yi Fang* to examine in this chapter? In other words, why are they canon works? They received widespread attention from the late Ming audiences. The three daily-use encyclopedias were reprinted throughout the late Ming period. The medical prescription book, *Qian Jin Yi Fang*, written by the medical expert Sun Simiao in the Tang dynasty, was reprinted in 1605 by the *Wang Keng Hall in Golden Alter*. In Sun's discourse to *Qian Jin Yi Fang*, he intended to publicize the medical knowledge for women (*rurenfang*) exclusively for medical experts, it serves as a typical genre that incorporates comprehensive topics on women's body and illnesses, which provides useful sources for me to trace the historical origin and the authenticity of medical knowledge which were

translated into Hu's XLRS. In Sun Simiao's comments on the medical remedies for women, he stated:

However today's medical profession hid and valued their remedies and don't allow its followers to disclose one formula. The formulas don't spread between fathers and sons, either. However, the sages established the principles and wanted them to be known by every family.⁹⁴

Sun's statement suggests that the popularization of the medical knowledge had started since the Tang dyansty. But the differences between QJYF and XLRS will lead us to see how deep the popularizing process of medical knowledge during the late Ming period. Therefore, the comparison between XLRS and the daily-use encyclopedias and the medical prescription books is not only necessary, but also important.

Daily-use Encyclopedias 日用類書 vs *Xiang Lian Run Se*

The prevailing publication of daily-use encyclopedias (Riyongleishu) or popular encyclopedias (Tongsuleishu) interacts with the emergence of various readings groups at different social level. The encyclopedias were called "categorization books" (*leishu*) which compiled different kinds of knowledge for reference, its history can be traced to the early third century.⁹⁵ According to Huifang Wu, in the Ming dynasty, the encyclopedias were printed multiple times due to the demands of book consumers.⁹⁶ The title of the encyclopedia called *The Canonical Work for Four People to Read* (*Tianxia Simin Bianlan Wanyong Zhengzong* 天下四民便覽萬用正宗) reflects the trend that the commoners would also have access to the knowledge which were privileged by the literati.

⁹⁴ Simiao Sun, *Qian Jin Yi Fang Guangxu Wuyin Shanghai Yinxing* (Taipei: Guoli Zhongguo Yiyao Yanjiusuo, 1990), 64.

⁹⁵ Daojing Hu, *Zhongguo Gudai de Leishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2005), 7.

⁹⁶ Huifang Wu, *Wanbaoquanshu: Mingqing Shiqi de Minjian Shenghuo Shilu*, 18-19.

Hu Wenhuan might have access to the daily-use encyclopedias printed and circulated around Ming empire. As Benjamin Elman have observed, “Hu Wenhuan’s merchant-scholar-printer status in Hangzhou and Nanjing publishing circles allowed him to participate in highbrow activities at the same time that he published works for profit aimed at popular audiences.”⁹⁷ Nanjing and Hangzhou had developed into two large printing centers where the literati had access to various books and the printers made accommodations to the needs of book consumers during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.⁹⁸ As a Hangzhou native, Hu Wenhuan established his reputation as book compiler and editor by preserving and collecting books into his huge encyclopedias and collectanea. Therefore, Hu would integrate other information sources which were printed during his time into his own publications in order to satisfy the reading public.

Similarities in XLRS and Other Daily-use Encyclopedias

Xiang Lian Run Se and the other three daily-use encyclopedias examined in this Chapter shared commonalities in terms of two aspects: the formulas and techniques collected within them and the language they have used to promote the efficacy of their tricks. The overlapping features shared by *Xiang Lian Run Se* and other three daily-use encyclopedias reflects that the commoditization of women’s knowledge on beauty and body became a popular trend in late Ming book market. The commoditization of women’s knowledge on beauty and body was also in accordant with the widespread literacy penetrated into different social layers of society.

Xiang Lian Run Se was not Hu Wenhuan’s own creations. By collecting and distributing different sources into his own work, Hu Wenhuan absorbed and took advantage of the content in other daily-use encyclopedias in order to evaluate and grasp the favorites of female audiences. A

⁹⁷ Elman, *On their own terms*, 58.

⁹⁸ Ellen Widmer, “The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Publishing”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (Jun., 1996), 77-122.

large proportion of *Xiang Lian Run Se* have sourced from other daily-use encyclopedias. In terms of the titles, ingredients, and procedures, it shared identical formulas with the *Collection of Household Necessities* (JJBYSLQJ)⁹⁹, the *Illustrated Encyclopedia for Commoners* (Bian Min Tu Zuan/ BMTZ)¹⁰⁰, and *Duo Neng Bi Shi* (DNBS)¹⁰¹. In the “Hair and Eyebrows” section of *Xiang Lian Run Se*, four formulas are identical with the techniques collected in the *Collection of Household Necessities*. The four techniques are exactly the same as the ones in the section called “Stuffs of Boudoir” (Gui Ge Shi Yi) of the *Collection of Household Necessities* (See Table 2.1). Their titles, ingredients and procedures adopted in the formulas of *Xiang Lian Run Se* are identical with the ones in the *Collections of Household Necessities*. In the “Face” Section of *Xiang Lian Run Se*, two formulas, *Egg Powder Formula* (ji zi fen fang) and *Peach Blossom Facial Powder* (Fu Mian Tao Hua Mo) , are identical with the two techniques in the “Stuffs of Boudoir” of the *Collection of Household Necessities*. In the section “Mole” (Ban Zhi Bu) of *Xiang Lian Run Se*, two tricks are identical with the ones in the *Collections of Household Necessities*, they are *Facial Ointment for Night* (yerong gao) and *Five Clay Ointment to Remove Black Spots* (qu yan wu hui gao). In the “Washing”Section of *Xiang Lian Run Se*, ten methods are identical with the methods introduced in

⁹⁹ *The Collection of Household Necessities* 居家必用事類全集 (JJBYSLQJ) first appeared during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). The author was unidentified. It collects information and guidance for everyday life. In the Ming dynasty, Feilai Shanren 飛來山人 reprinted it in 1568. The *Collection of Household Necessities* were also circulated and reprinted during the Zhengde period (1505-1521), Jaijing period (1522-1566) and Wanli period (1572-1620). Its repetitive publications throughout the Sixteenth century straightforwardly proves its popularity among the expanding groups of reading public.

The *Collection of Household Necessities* has ten volumes. The book compiler titled each volume with ten heavenly stems (tian gan). Each volume supplements each other and reveals a vivid picture of individuals' everyday life in the Ming society. The topics of the *Collection of Household Necessities* range from the academic life of a student to the cooking recipes in the kitchen. For example, the first volume (*Jia ji*) includes learning methods, writing guide, samples of correspondence with home and etc. The second volume (*Yi Ji*) includes family rituals. One part of the seventh volume (gen ji) , “Food section” (yin shi lei), introduces various cooking recipes and procedures which instruct people on how to cook. The *Collection of Household Necessities* provides comprehensive information and knowledge to help commoners solve problems. The comprehensiveness of its content and the titles of each volume are indicative of the book compiler's understanding of the heaven and human beings: the everyday life of human beings should harmoniously interact with the heaven.

¹⁰⁰ I examined the version of the *Illustrated Encyclopedia for Commoners* 便民圖纂 (BMTZ) published in 1593, which was collected in *Ming Dai Tong Su Ri Yong Lei Shu Ji Kan*. It has three volumes and covers comprehensive topics ranging from life cultivation to agricultural activities. Although it was published later than Hu Wenhuan's *Shou Yang Cong Shu* in which *Xiang Lian Run Se* was collected within, they shared a lot of similarities in terms of their content.

¹⁰¹ Liu Ji (1311-1375) compiled the household encyclopedia *Duo Neng Bi Shi*. The Right Administration Vice Commissioner of Henan Province Fan Weiyi republished it in 1563. Here I examined the version published in 1563.

the “Washing” section of the Collection of Household Necessities. For example, as the *Collection of Household Necessities* describes the methods on washing plantain cloth:

Knead the plum leaf with clean water to wash the plantain cloth, then it won't crisp during the summer.
用清水揉梅葉洗蕉葛衣，經夏不脆。

Additional knack

又法：

Mash the plum leaf to wash the cloth, the dirt will easily fall off.
用梅叶捣烂洗之，垢膩易脫。¹⁰²

Hu Wenhuan introduced the same methods in the “Washing Section”.¹⁰³ In addition to the methods on washing plantain cloth, eight knacks in the Collection of Household Necessities have overlapped with the items listed in *Xiang Lian Run Se*.

In addition to JJBYSLQJ, thirteen methods in BMTZ are the same to the ones in XLRS. In the DNBS, twenty-three techniques are identical with the collections in XLRS.

The likeness existing among *Xiang Lian Run Se* and the other three encyclopedias in terms of their formulas was unlikely to mean *Xiang Lian Run Se* directly copied from the other three daily-use encyclopedias, however, it means that sharing knowledge became a common cultural practice among encyclopedia compilers in late Sixteenth Century. Knowledge on women's beauty and body was circulated and reconstructed through the hands of encyclopedia compilers, and the commercial orientation led this process to a large degree.

The second interesting feature shared by *Xiang Lian Run Se* and the other three daily-use encyclopedias is the adoption of rhetoric language to promote the efficacy of their tricks. For example, in the Hair Section of *Xiang Lian Run Se*, Hu Wenhuan shared a same formula called *Shu Tou Fa Bu Luo Fang* 梳頭髮不落方 with the *Collection of Household Necessities*. In both formulas, the term “very efficacious” (Ji Yan 極驗) to describe the efficacy of the technique.¹⁰⁴ In

¹⁰² JJBYSLQJ in *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* 4: 286.

¹⁰³ Wenhuan Hu, SYCS, 6: 637.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid SYCS, 6: 555.

another item collected in DNBS and Xiang Lian Run Se called 治婦人蒜髮方, the term “magical and excellent”(shen miao 神妙) was used to construe the influence of the formula.

The trope of peach blossom appeared both in the title of the formula for the facial powder in the *Collection of Household Necessities* and *Xiang Lian Run Se*. In the *Collection of Household Necessities*, a formula called Peach Blossom Facial Powder (Fu Mian Tao Hua Mo) appeared under the section of “Boudoir Matters”. The formula reads:

In the second month of the spring, collect the peach blossoms, dry them under shadow and grind them into powder. On the seventh day of July, mix the blood of black-bone chicken with the powder, apply it on the face and body, the face will turn red, the body will turn white, clean and vivid, the formula is very efficacious.

仲春收桃花陰乾為末七月七日取烏雞血和之塗面及身紅白鮮潔大驗。¹⁰⁵

Hu Wenhuan adopted the same formula in his *Xiang Lian Run Se*, the term “very efficacious” (da yan) applied in both techniques suggest that Hu Wenhuan adopted the strategy applied in other daily-use encyclopedias to promote the efficacy and usefulness of his works. Chum Shum in his research shows that the book publishers usually printed the brand mark of their publishing enterprise on the title page in order to amplify the influence of the book merchants.¹⁰⁶The advertising strategy used in Hu’s XLRS and other three daily-use encyclopedias was similar to the “trademark” printed on the title page of books circulated in the late Ming book market.

The Distinctions in XLRS

Although XLRS shares a lot of similarities with other household encyclopedias circulated in the book market, Hu Wenhuan’s strategic adjustments/adaptations distinguished *Xiang Lian Run Se* from other daily-use encyclopedias by targeting women as its main beneficiaries. Hu’s deliberate

¹⁰⁵ JJBYSLQJ in *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* ed. by Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Lishiyanjiusuo Wenhuaishi (Chaoqing: Xinan Shifan Daxue Chubanshe,) 4: 295.

¹⁰⁶ Chum Shum, “Circulation and Price of Books as Bookstores in Ming dynasty”, in *Guojia Tushuguan guankan* 1 (1985), 106-107.

adaptations include his comprehensive and layered concerns on women's bodily experience, constructing *Xiang Lian Run Se* as a gender-specific encyclopedia, and adoption of rhetoric language. This section shows that the reconstruction of women's knowledge on body and beauty in Hu Wenhuan's *Xiang Lian Run Se* represents a feminizing process of body knowledge, and reflects that the application of this kind of knowledge as a gender-specific activity. Hu Wenhuan's compilation indicates that how hard/resistant it is for the gender boundary to change.

Hu Wenhuan paid meticulous attention to the arrangement of *Xiang Lian Run Se*'s sections by integrating multiple/various options/solutions for women on their everyday challenges and difficulties. In the "Hands and Feet" section (shou zu bu 手足部), Hu Wenhuan collected seven formulas for women who had bound feet to ease pain and facilitate the curing process when they went through foot binding. They are: *a trick on easing the unbearable pain when women first bind their feet* (女子初束腳苦痛難忍方), *a formula on shrinking and soften a daughter's feet* (女兒搗腳軟足方), *the inner palace's shortcut to shrink the lotus feet*(宮內縮蓮步法), *the powder to fasten the jade lotus steps* (玉蓮飛步散) and *an ointment to stabilize the lotus steps, additional method* (金蓮穩步膏, 又方), powder to make golden lotus fragrant (金蓮生香散). The terms "first bind feet" (初束腳), "daughter" (女兒) and "make fragrant" (生香) directly point to the fact that Hu Wenhuan included various formulas to cover different stages of women's foot binding experience. In the DNBS, only the Technique on Shrinking and Soften a Daughter's Feet appeared under the section called "Formulas for Cultivating Physical Appearance" (lirongtijifafang). In the JJBYSLQJ, two formulas came to be recognized as treatments for women's binding of feet.¹⁰⁷ Compared to the number of tricks for the binding of feet collected in the other three household encyclopedias, the great number of Hu Wenhuan's collection in the formulas for binding feet is indicative of *Xiang*

¹⁰⁷ JJBYSLQJ in *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan*: 296.

Lian Run Se's comprehensiveness. Hu tried to provide multiple options for women as young daughters and adult wives to care for their bound feet.

The titles for the formulas are brimming with pictorial languages which were adopted by elite men to describe the smallness and beautifulness of women's bounded feet. "The golden lotus" (金蓮) which embodies women's small feet, appeared in the title of a formula called "Steady Steps Golden Lotus Ointment" (金蓮穩步膏 *Jin Lian Wen Bu Gao*).¹⁰⁸ An ailment called "*Formula on compacting and softening feet for Daughters, additional name for it: Formula for Xi Shi softening bones*" (Nu Er Zan Jiao Ruan Zu Fang 女儿搽脚软足方又名西施軟骨方) reads:

乳香，杏仁，樸硝，桑白皮，各二兩，右先以桑白皮，杏仁投新瓶中投水五碗煎去小半卻入餘藥繫掛瓶口再煎片時持起揭去卦處架足於其上燻之待可容手傾出浸畢仍舊收貯經三兩日後再溫熱如前法燻洗每劑可用三次盡五劑則軟若束綿任其扎縛，神效。¹⁰⁹

The complicated and tedious process of making the medicine and the number of dosage for women suggest that significant social and medical attention were paid to women's bounded feet in the late sixteenth century. Wrong and inappropriate medication for bound feet might raise several physical problems for women.¹¹⁰ In the Household Encyclopedia Living/*Collection of Household Necessities* (Ju jia biyong shi lei quan ji), "an ointment to stabilize the lotus steps" 金蓮穩步膏 and an inner palace's shortcut to shrink the lotus feet. 宮內縮蓮步法, which were arranged under the section of "Boudoir Matters", were identical with the formulas collected in the *Xiang Lian Run Se*. As Dorothy Ko observes, the binding of feet and its care "has become a matter of routine toilette".¹¹¹

However, the arrangement of the foot-binding treatments in *Xiang Lian Run Se* is distinctive. It highlighted how Hu Wenhuan concerned with multi-layered women's bodily

¹⁰⁸ Wenhuan Hu, SYCS 6: 607.

¹⁰⁹ SYCS 6: 605.

¹¹⁰ Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: a Revisionist History of Footbinding*. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2005), 196-199.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 197.

experiences. He set up ten sections on women's body treatments, each section is accordant to some part of women's body. Hu Wenhuan distributed the formulas on the care of bound feet into the "Hands and Feet" section, which made it convenient for readers to refer to based on their individual demands. Hu's layered and specific categorization is different from the other three daily-use encyclopedias. In DNBS, the section "Formulas on Cultivation of Physical Appearance, Body, Skin and Hair" (lirongtijifafang) contains all treatments whose topics range from hair to skin. In the JJBYSLQJ, the shortcuts to cultivate physical appearances and treat bound feet were arranged randomly under the section "Boudoir Matters".

Hu Wenhuan's acceptance of multiple pragmatic treatments for footbinding into *Xiang Lian Run Se* may be closely relevant to women's everyday experience throughout Chinese history and thus served women as the main beneficiaries because the formulas would be dispensable for male audiences who did not have this kind of demands. Footbinding started to become a common practice in the elite family in the Sung dynasty. It was practiced by wives and daughters of officials since the late twelfth century. Even though literati men doubted the legitimacy of footbinding and worried that footbinding might hinder women's obligation to their families, women still pursued footbinding as a way of beautifying their body. In Patricia Ebrey's research, it was mothers who were determined to bind their daughters' feet.¹¹²The trick in *Xiang Lian Run Se* named a formula on shrinking and soften a daughter's feet(女兒搵腳軟足方) might also prove this point.

The Ming anecdotes also tried to record the historical evidence on footbinding. In Shen Defu's discussion on "women's arched foot" (婦人弓足) in *Wan Li Ye Huo Bian*, he recorded a story:

In the first year of LongQing period (1567), Mongolians attacked Shizhou in Shangxi. They forced women who have been captured out of the frontier and hatred that they could not ride the horses fast. They cut women's both feet, and use carriage to take them, but no one was alive.

¹¹² Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, 42.

但隆慶元年，大虜攻陷山西石州。擄所得婦女驅之出塞。憎其不能隨馬疾馳。盡刖其雙足，足以車載歸。百無一活。¹¹³

Although the authenticity of this story cannot be validated, it points out that footbinding might be a Han custom to enhance women's beauty, which was not well appreciated by non-Han people because it largely circumscribed women's activities. Shen Defu's record presents a male voice on the subject of footbinding. His story proves how eager and passionate men were to trace the historical genesis of footbinding, which suggests that footbinding was a common practice in the Sixteenth century.

Hu Wenhuan's distribution of formulas on bound feet into *Xiang Lian Run Se* was distinctive from the other household encyclopedias. In BMTZ, two formulas concerning women's footbinding—"Formula for Binding Feet" (zan jiao fang 搯腳方) and "Method on protecting feet" (Hu zu fa 護足法)—were arranged under the second Manufacturing Section (製造類下).¹¹⁴ The encyclopedia compiler for BMTZ seemed to insert these two formulas among miscellaneous matters in household without many considerations. Along with these two formulas are methods on fixing broken inkstone (xiu po yan 修破硯), washing inkstone (xiyan 洗硯) and managing books and paintings.¹¹⁵ Theoretically speaking, the inkstone, books and paintings were subjects of masculine activities and appeared frequently in everyday life of male elites. "The Four Treasures of a Scholar's Study" (wen fang si bao 文房四寶) including brush, inkstone, paper and ink embodies the masculine identity of a scholarly and erudite men. The mixing of technique on caring women's bound feet and method on managing a scholar's study in BMTZ suggests that BMTZ was not an encyclopedia serving gendered readership. The formulas for bound feet were not treated as gender-specific knowledge as *Xiang Lian Run Se* shows because they were accompanied by the information

¹¹³ Defu Shen, *Wanli Yehuo bian zhong lidai shiliao biji congkai* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2015) 23: 599.

¹¹⁴ BMTZ, 4: 624.

¹¹⁵ BMTZ, 4: 523-524.

of masculine activities such as inkstone-making and fixing. As Dorothy Ko has discovered, “the inkstone, as an emblem for the supreme values associated with writing, literature, and culture, had lain ta the heart of the masculine identity of the literati since its inception as a social group in the Northern Song.”¹¹⁶The interlineation between the masculine identity of inkstone and the knowledge for women’s beauty and body in BMTZ sets constrats to XLRs. By categorizing different formulas and methods for body and beauty maintenance into sections which were associated with women’s bodily experience, Hu Wenhuan tried to feminize the knowledge and information in *Xiang Lian Run Se* and benefited female readers.

Other aspects of Hu’s *Xiang Lian Run Se* also suggest its main reading group was females. Hu Wenhuan made some adjustments to the titles of the formulas collected in *Xiang Lian Run Se* in order to highlight women as the targeted beneficiaries. In the “Moles” section (Banzhi bu), Hu Wenhuan collected two formulas: “the method to cure the black spots on face” (治面上黑斑點方) and “the method to cure the freckles on the beauty’s face” (美人面上雀子斑方).¹¹⁷ The two formulas were overlapping with the formulas in the section “Formulas to Cultivate Physical Appearance, Body, Skin and Hair” in DNBS.¹¹⁸ However, the titles of two formulas in DNBS presents nuances from the ones in XLRs. In DNBS, the two formulas were called “the method to cure men and women’s black spots on face” (治男女面上黑斑點方) and “the formula to cure the freckles on face” (治雀斑方) while Hu Wenhuan omitted the terms “men and women” (nan nu) in the former technique and added “the beauty” to the latter formula.

¹¹⁶ Ko, *The social life of inkstone*, 164

¹¹⁷ SYCS 6: 579.

¹¹⁸ DNBS in *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* 3:487.

Additionally, in the “Hands and Feet” section (手足部), Hu Wenhuan also included a shortcut called “Formula to cure the pain of helosis on women’s feet.” (女人腳上雞眼肉刺痛方), it writes:

黃丹，枯礬，樸硝各等分¹¹⁹ 右為末若剪傷者用炒蔥白塗之，即愈神效。

Use equal amount of Yellow vermillion, alumen, mirabilite and grind them into powder, mix them with fried scallion stalks and apply them to someone who is hurt by using scissor to cut the helosis. The wound will be cured immediately, the efficacy is magical.

Another similar technique to cure the helosis also appeared in BMTZ, which was titled with “the Feet have helosis” (jiao sheng ji yan腳生雞眼). It reads:

取黑白虱各一枚先挑破患处以虱置其所縛之即愈若手指伤成疮为鸡眼者用地骨皮红花研细傅之即结靨而瘥。

Find one black and one white louses, punctured the helosis and put louses on the surface, the wound will be cured immediately. If the finger turns to have helosis, apply ground wolfberry root bark and red flower on the surface, it will be treated.

The technique was collected in the Section called “Miscellaneous Treatments” (za zhi雜治) in BMTZ, while another section “Women”(fu ren婦人), which collects tricks for gynecological diseases, was listed after the Section “Miscellaneous Treatments”.¹²⁰ The book compiler of BMTZ obviously did not intend to include the technique “The Feet have Helosis” since he did not consider it as a subject of medical attention for women. However, in *Xiang Lian Run Se*, Hu Wenhuan tried to include as many formulas as possible and targeted women as his main audiences. By feminizing medical knowledge on women’s body and beauty maintenance in *Xiang Lian Run Se*, Hu Wenhuan transformed the application of medical knowledge on women’s body and beauty maintenance into a gender-specific activity which would be widely accepted by women.

Hu Wenhuan also borrowed the rhetoric language to name his formulas and to promote the efficacy in his formulas in order to attract his readers. In the “Face” Section, Hu Wenhuan collected two formulas involving the trope of the peach blossom: “The powder of peach blossom to apply on

¹¹⁹ SYCS, 6: 608.

¹²⁰ BMTZ in *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* 4: 602-603.

the face” (fu Mian Tao Hua Mo 敷面桃花末) and “The fragrant powder of peach blossom” (taohua jiao Mian xiang fen fang 桃花嬌面香粉方). The trope of peach blossom appeared both in the title of the formula for the facial powder in the *Collection of Household Necessities* and *Xiang Lian Run Se*. In the *Collection of Household Necessities*, The formula “the powder of peach blossom to apply on the face” (Fu Mian Tao Hua Mo) which appeared under the section of “Boudoir Matters” is exactly the same as the one in *Xiang Lian Run Se*. The formula reads:

In the second month of the spring, collect the peach blossoms, dry them under shadow and grind them into powder. On the seventh day of July, mix the blood of black-bone chicken with the powder, apply it on the face and body, the face will turn red, the body will turn white, clean and vivid, the formula is very efficacious.¹²¹

仲春收桃花陰乾為末七月七日取烏雞血和之塗面及身紅白鮮潔大驗。

Hu Wenhuan titled one formula in *Xiang Lian Run Se* with the title “the Formula of Peach Blossom Fragrant Powder”(桃花嬌面香粉方 Tao Hua Jiao Mian Xiang Fen Fang). It writes:

White powder ten *liang*, *Mi Tuo Seng* two *liang*, silver red vermillion five *qian*, Common Bletilla Tuber one *liang*, gypsum rubrum two *liang*
grind them into small powder, mix them with the white part of eggs, use the ceramic vessel to contain them and seal it, steam and dry the powder under the sun, grind them again, mix them with water and apply it on the face, it will maintain on the face all day, the face will be glamorous like jade.¹²²

官粉十兩 密陀僧二兩 銀朱五錢 白及一兩 寒水石二兩

共為細末，雞子白調，盛磁瓶密封，蒸熟，取出曬乾，再研令絕細，水調敷面，終日不落，皎然如玉。

Both the book compiler of the *Collection of Household Necessities* and Hu Wenhuan used the trope of the peach blossom to name the titles for their formulas. However, “the formula of peach blossom fragrant powder” (taohuajiaomianxiangfenfang) in *Xiang Lian Run Se* does not use the authentic peach blossom as ingredient. It seems to me that the adoption of the trope of peach blossom in Hu Wenhuan’s latter formula bears the symbolic meaning of women’s beautifulness and loveliness in Chinese poetic tradition. The poetry tradition featuring theme of objects (yongwushi) started from the Tang dynasty. In Fusheng Wu’s significant research, he reminds us how the late Tang poet Li He (790-816) used the motifs such as flowers and colorful clothes usually identified in

¹²¹ JJBYSLQJ in *Mingdai Tongsu Riyong Leishu Jikan* 4: 295.

¹²² Wenhuan Hu, SYCS 6: 575.

the canonical practice of poetry as cliché to revive the voice and subjectivity of the women delineated in the poetry.¹²³ The transformation of the adoption of “things” in the late Tang poetry offered us clues into the reconstruction of women’s knowledge in late-Ming encyclopedias. By combining the motif of peach blossom with the manner/performance of applying facial powder, Hu Wenhuan portrayed women as a lively human being by combining the poetic motif and women’s dynamic acts. The title for the formula on facial powder in *Xiang Lian Run Se* reflected how Hu Wenhuan captured the taste of the book consumers.

Another interesting commonality shared by these two formulas is the way in which they describe the efficacy of the formulas. The “Facial Powder of Peach Blossom to apply on face” used “clean and vivid”(xian yan 鮮潔) and “very efficacious” (da yan 大驗) to describe women’s bodily experience after using the facial powder. The latter formula used “glamorous like jade” (jiao ran ru yu 皎然如玉). The pictorial description of the formulas’ efficacy suggests that how private book compilers in late sixteenth century endeavored to engage their readers in their works by adopting multiple descriptive techniques. In Craig Clunas’s exploration on the language of the Ming connoisseurship, he analyzes how the terminology of aesthetics in Ming taste manuals delineated the framework of antiques and artifacts and endowed them with social importance.¹²⁴ The way of how Hu Wenhuan and other daily-use encyclopedia compilers organized and titled the formulas of makeups shows the dynamic interaction between cultural practice and commercial publications. The overlapped language use in the writings of poetry and daily-use encyclopedias suggests how frequent the culture and commercial environment interacts with each other.

The meticulous and subtle deliberation on terms used in *Xiang Lian Run Se* holds implication for scholars who wanted to learn more about how women evaluated and appreciated

¹²³ Fusheng Wu, *The poetics of decadence: Chinese poetry of the Southern dynasties and late Tang periods* (Albany NY: State University of New York Press), 81-82.

¹²⁴ Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 78.

their everyday experiences even though it was through the voice of a male author. It is hardly possible for scholars to actually know what languages women would use to describe their makeup or their beautiful appearance. The terms used in the items listed in a daily-use encyclopedia on women's beauty and body maintenance help us understand the social importance of women to decorate their appearance. However, the vivid tone applied in both formulas reveal a cultural phenomenon: the knowledge system of male elites which includes the appreciation of motifs in the poetry was now accessible to female audiences in the late sixteenth century. This cultural phenomenon was accordant with the uprising of female education. The talented women of elite families during the sixteenth and seventeenth century received education from their female seniors in families. Women were able to use poetry to voice their will and subjectivity just as their male contemporaries did. The revival of the tradition of poetry which was rooted in the female education in the sixteenth century played an important role in how Hu Wenhuan and other book compilers constructed knowledge in the daily-use encyclopedias. The encountering of the enrichment of women's knowledge repository helped Hu Wenhuan to readjust his publications to the actual needs of female audiences.

XLRS vs. Medical Prescription Books

In this section I will compare XLRS and QJYF (Qian jin yi fang *Thousand Golden Subsidiary* Formulas) to explore modifications Hu Wenhuan have made. The comparison between XLRS and QJYF bring about several interesting phenomenons to consider. Different from the comparison between XLRS and other household encyclopedias, NO formulas in XLRS are exactly the same as the ones collected in QJYF in terms of their content, title and ingredients. As the table 2.2 shows, even though the titles of XLRS's ten formulas were identical with the ones in QJYF to some degree, XLRS did not directly source from QJYF. Hu Wenhuan made great changes to the original formulas in QJYF in order to satisfy the needs of the populace. In this section, I argue that

the distinctions between XLRS and QJYF continuously represents Hu's efforts of shaping XLRS as a commercial product catering to the demands of populace readers. I also propose two assumptions: XLRS belongs to a knowledge system different from the authoritative medical book, secondly, Hu Wenhuan's tailoring his formulas in XLRS from QJYF reflects a popularization process of medical knowledge.

Different from the *Thousand Golden Subsidiary Formulas*, *Xiang Lian Run Se*'s order put "Hair and Eyebrows" and "Face" sections in front of the "Pregnancy Section". However, in the *Thousand Golden Subsidiary Formulas* (qian jin yi fang), the priority of female treatments (furenfang) was attributed to the formulas on how to help women bear sons to the patrilineal family, the first section for the "Formulas for Women" (furenfang) was "First: Females asking for sons" (furenqiuzidiyi). Getting an heir became an important task for patrilineal family in Ming dynasty, the practice of adopting a son outside the agnatic lineage was common even with the prohibition of state law.¹²⁵ As Yi-Li Wu has stated, "Chinese male doctors focused their energies on articulating pharmacological remedies and behavioral regimens to ensure female health in all other areas related to reproduction: menstruation, conception, pregnancy, postpartum."¹²⁶ As Francesca Bray argues, "boy preference was clearly expressed at every cultural level, from medical advice on 'planting sons' to popular imagery."¹²⁷ Prioritizing women's reproductive body in the *Thousand Golden Subsidiary Formulas* presented the mainstream perception on women's bodily function throughout Chinese history, which was childbearing.

Hu Wenhuan's concern was different from the dominant medical narrative on women's health and body. Although he did recognize women's family obligations and the reproductive

¹²⁵ Yi-li Wu, *Reproducing women: medicine, metaphor, and childbirth in late imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 17.

¹²⁶ Ann Waltner studies comprehensively the adoption in the individual household in Ming dynasty, see Ann Waltner, *Getting an Heir; Adoption and the Construction of Kinship in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990)

¹²⁷ Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Philip E. Lilienthal Book. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 287.

function of women's body by including the household management techniques and body treatments after pregnancy in *Xiang Lian Run Se*, his main concern for *Xiang Lian Run Se* was to construct it as a comprehensive manual which helps women present their beautiful physical appearance. In the "Face" Section, Hu included a technique called "the secret medicine used by Consort Zhao to make facial color like cottonrose".¹²⁸ Consort Zhao who lived in Han dynasty as the imperial consort of Emperor Wu embodied the classical beauty standard. The association between women's facial color and the cottonrose, just as the trope of the peach blossom explained in the last section, remains to be a common practice by Hu Wenhuan in order to make XLRs appealing to literati readers.

Xiang Lian Run Se and *Qian Jin Yi Fang* are divergent in terms of their description of a formula called "the formula to make face glamorous" (lingmianshengguangfang). In *Xiang Lian Run Se*, Hu describes the "formula to add glamor on women's face" as:

The formula used by Imperial Consort Yang to add glamor on women's face (yangfeilingmianshengguangfang):

Choose golden lithargite one Liang, grind it to extremely thin powder, mix it with milk or honey into paste, steam it every night, apply it on face and wash it out every morning after the night, after half of a month, the face will be glamorous like the jade mirror. The formula also cure rosacea. This is the first formula in the Tang inner palace, which originated from the Reminiscent stories of Tianbao Period.¹²⁹

密陀僧如金色者一两, 右研绝细用乳或蜜调如薄糊每夜畧蒸带熟, 傅面次早洗去半月之後面如玉鏡生光兼治渣鼻唐宮中第一方也, 出自天寶遺事。

In the "formula to make face glamorous" from *Qian Jin Yi Fang*, it only contains the ingredient lithargite and the procedure of mixing it with milk. The lithargite is some kind of oxidizing lead which was commonly used in women's cosmetics.¹³⁰ Different from the one collected in *Qian Jin Yi Fang*, *Xiang Lian Run Se* particularly points out that the user of this formula and the quality of the lithargite applied in this formula. The procedure of mixing the lithargite with milk is also more detailed in XLRs than QJYF. Hu Wenhuan also identified the historical origin of this formula which originated from the inner Tang palace. The divergence between XLRs and QJYF in terms of the

¹²⁸ SYCS 6: 569.

¹²⁹ SYCS 6:568.

¹³⁰ QJYF 66, "令面生光方": 密陀僧研以乳煎之塗面即生光

formula above serves as a great example of how Hu Wenhuan tried to popularize and promote the “secretly-transmitted” formula which might have been known exclusively in the inner palace.

The formulas in XLRs experienced a number of omissions compared to QJYF. For example, *Xiang Lian Run Se*'s “treatment on black spots” (zhimiangan 洽面黥) only contains one Chinese medicine called “rhizoma typhoonii” (baifuzi 白附子). The stanza cites below:

Make the rhizoma typhoonii into powder and mix it with wine.
白附子為末酒調

While in the similar formula in QJYF called 洽面奸黥方, Sun Simiao (541-682) added Ettringite (fanshi), sulfur (liuhuang) into it. The formula reads:

Ettringite, sulfur and the Rhizoma typhoonii. Take each ingredient one Tael and grind them into powder, mix them with one bottle of vinegar for one night, wash your face and apply it on your face. Be cautious of the wind.¹³¹
礬石, 硫黃, 白附子各一兩, 右參味細研以大醋一盞浸之一宿。淨洗面塗之, 慎風。

The comparison between the treatments on black spots in XLRs and in QJYF indicates that Hu Wenhuan omitted “ettringite” and “sulfur” from the original formula in QJYF. It did not include the vinegar either. Additionally, in the formula “beautiful facial color” (haoyansefang), even though Hu's XLRs and Sun's QJYF shared the same title, their formulas were extremely different in terms of their ingredients and procedures. In Hu's formula “beautiful facial color”, Hu only wrote that women need to collect the dew over the hundred kinds of flowers and drink it. However, in Sun's writing, the formula “beautiful facial color” involves two kinds of Chinese medicine: Nuwan (女苑) and the Miniumite. The method in the formula was also different from XLRs, as XLRs recommends, the formula also require uses to mix Nuwan and the Miniumite with wine.¹³²

It seems to me that Hu Wenhuan did not really care about whether or not the formulas in XLRs were scientifically authentic, the omission of ingredients and the re-selection of formulas under the similar titles in XLRs might be a consequence from Hu's pragmatic concern. Ming

¹³¹ Simiao Sun, QJYF 67.

¹³² Wenhuan Hu, SYCS 6:580.

dynasty witnessed the increasing gender segregation between male doctors and female patients which was constructed by the discourse of Neo-Confucianism. Theoretically speaking, the gender boundary between inner quarter and outer quarter made the relationship between male doctors and female patients distant, therefore it was difficult for the male medical masters to accurately evaluate the illnesses of female sick.¹³³ Although many female doctors, who inherited the family medical tradition participated in evaluation of women's illnesses in inner quarter, diagnosing women's diseases remained to be a challenging task for doctors in Ming dynasty. Hu Wenhuan's translation of medical knowledge in prescription book into easy-to-apply medical advice in household encyclopedia might have something to do with his concern on the gender segregation that women experienced. He tried to provide a self-help manual for women in private quarter due to the spatial segregation between female patients and male doctors.

During the reproduction process of medical knowledge, Hu Wenhuan also gathered treatments on illnesses associated with attacks of ghosts. In the "strangeness" section (guaiyibu), Hu collected two formulas: "the trick for women who dream of having intercourse with ghosts" (nurenmengyuguijiaofang 女人夢與鬼交方) and the "the technique for women who were deceived by evil spirits" (nurenbeijingguangmifang 女人被精怪迷方). The penetration of the god, ghost and ancestor's power into the individual household became a common knowledge of people in Ming dynasty. The existence of evil spirits and their power of influencing individual families often appeared in Ming anecdotes and suggests how the Ming populace interacted with occult beings.¹³⁴ Hu Wenhuan's inclusion of the "folk prescriptions" (pianfang), which might be proved of their efficacies and practicability by the commoners without the participation of medical

¹³³ Furth, *A Flourishing Yin*, 139-142. Charlotte Furth argues that the increasing invisibility of women did not make male doctors address the bodily difference, rather the Ming medical masters began to revise the Song-Yuan medical theory and advocated the androgyny body in the medical theory.

¹³⁴ Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 201.

professionals, proving that XLRS belongs to a separate knowledge system which was deeply influenced by the Ming social reality.

Conclusion

The comparison between XLRS and daily-use encyclopedias and medical prescription books provides new lens for us to look into Hu Wenhuan's strategic modifications in XLRS. XLRS stands out as an encyclopedia targeting female audiences and helping women to cultivate their body and to manage individual household. The rhetoric language which associated with the Chinese poetry tradition would be appealing to the cultured female readers, the coherent arrangement of XLRS also provided women with sophisticated guidance in their everyday life. As Zhende Li argues, the publications of books on Life Cultivate in late Ming Period reflected the variety and diversity of the body consciousness.¹³⁵ When *Fuke* was recognized as a male-authored tradition since Song dynasty, XLRS's reinterpretation for medical knowledge on women's body provides new perspective for us to look into the subject of *Fuke*.

After comparing *Xian Lian Run Se* with the household encyclopedias and medical prescription books, the large portion of the formulas in the "Washing Clothing Section" may be controversial with Hu Wenhuan's original intentionality stated in his preface, in which he used the "trivial matters" to describe the washing and storage tasks. In the Washing Clothing Section, Hu Wenhuan included sixty-two formulas, which takes up twenty-third percent of the total number of formula collection in XLRS.¹³⁶ A great number of techniques in the "Washing Clothing Section" of XLRS might indicate how important the family obligations of a woman were in late Ming society even though Hu Wenhuan highlighted the significance of women's physical appearance.

¹³⁵ Angela Ki Che Leung, "Qianjindai Zhongguo de Nüxing Yiliao Congye zhe" in *A history of healing in East Asia : colonialism, gender, and modernity* ed. by shiyong Liu and Wenji Wang (Taibei Shi: Lian Jing Chu Ban Shi Ye Gu Fen You Xian Gong Si, 2017), 334.

¹³⁶ See Appendix

Table 3.1 The overlapping Formulas in XLRS and Other Daily-use Encyclopedias

XLRS	JBYSLQJ	BMTZ	DNBS
Hair and Eyebrows	Stuffs of Boudoir		Volume Six Catalog of Hundres Medicine 卷之六 百藥類 理容體肌體方
梳頭髮不落方	梳頭髮不落方	不落髮方	梳頭令髮不落方
常用長髮藥	常用長髮藥		長髮常用方
又法	又法		又治婦人髮禿方
除頭上白屑方	除頭上白屑方	頭生白屑	除頭上白屑方
洗頭方			洗頭方
浸油治頭風並脫髮			浸油治頭風並脫髮
醒頭方			醒頭方
掠頭油水方			掠頭油水
治婦人蒜髮方			治婦蒜髮方
搽頭竹油方			搽頭竹油
幹洗頭去垢方		幹洗頭方	幹洗頭去垢方
倒梳油方			倒流油
Face 面部			
雞子粉方	雞子粉方		
敷面桃花末	敷面桃花末		
癍痣部 Mole			
夜容膏	夜容膏		
取靨五灰膏	取靨五灰膏		
治面黑方			治面黑方
唇齒部			
治冬月唇面皸裂方			治冬月唇面皸裂方
身体部 Body			
洗衣香	洗衣香		
治針入皮膚方	治針入皮膚方		治針入肚不出方

手足部			
金蓮穩步膏（又方） （607）	金蓮穩步膏		
宮內縮蓮步法 （605-606）	宮內縮蓮步法		
經血部blood			
治血淋			治血淋
洗練部	洗練部		服飾類 洗練法
洗毛衣	洗毛衣法	洗毛衣	
洗竹衣	洗竹衣法	洗竹衣	洗竹布法
洗蕉葛	洗蕉葛法	洗蕉葛	洗蕉葛布法
又方	又方		
洗皂衣法	洗皂衣法	洗皂衣	洗皂衣法
洗糲铁骠布法	洗糲铁力布法		洗糲铁骠布法
洗罗绢衣	洗罗绢法	洗罗绢衣	洗罗绢法
洗彩衣	洗彩色法	洗彩衣	洗彩色法
洗白衣法又方	洗白衣法	洗白衣	洗白衣法
洗墨污衣法又法3	洗油墨污衣	去墨污衣	
洗青黛污衣法		洗青黛污衣法	
洗油污衣			
	閨閣事宜		
洗珍珠法	洗真珠法		
洗油浸珠法	洗油浸珠法		
洗焦赤珠法	洗焦赤珠法		
洗赤色珠法	退赤色珠法		
洗象牙等物	洗象牙等物		
洗玳瑁魚魷法	洗玳瑁魚魷法		
藏貯部			
收翠花朵法		收翠花朵法	

Table 3.2 Overlapping Titles in XLRs and QJYF

XLRs	QJYF Volume 5 Formulas for Women
hair and eyebrow toufabu fume	sheng fa hei fa di ba
止髮落方 (558)	治髮落方 又方 (71)
Face	
楊妃令面上生光方(568)	令面生光方 (66)
好顏色方(574)	治婦人令好顏色方 (66)
治面黧 (580)	治面肝黧方 (67)
乳部	婦人三 卷7
婦人無乳(587)	治婦人乳無汁 (82)
Yinbu (vagina)	婦人雜病第四
女人產後玉門不閉方 (628)	灰坐瀆法主產後陰道不閉方 (73)
女人過忍小便致胞轉方 (617)	治丈夫婦人轉胞不得小便八九日方 (64)
胎部	婦人一
女人無子秘方 (622)	婦人求子
女人產後小便不禁方 (630)	治產後小便數(86)

V. Concluding Thoughts

At the end of eighteenth century, two-hundred years after Hu Wenhuan's lifetime, Wang Chutong (1729-1821) compiled another encyclopedia which exclusively dealt with "women's matters"—*Lian Shi* (Trousseau history). This unprecedented book project, as scholars have discovered, is exclusively for women.¹³⁷ Although it followed classical encyclopedia form, LS implied that "women" was a subject narrated and studied in the daily-use encyclopedias.¹³⁸ The preface described the compiling process of LS, but did not mention anything about women as readers. The preface stated that LS was recognized by contemporary scholars as the "beginner of elegance" (fengyazhizong 風雅之宗), which clearly suggests it was a cultural product enjoyed mainly by male audiences.¹³⁹ Compared to LS, this thesis might show that XLRS was a tailored encyclopedia which went beyond treating women just as passive subjects. It directs straightforwardly in its preface that ladies would be part of its targeted audiences. The intentional arrangement of sections, adaptations of the formulas and comprehensive content in XLRS all directed to one important implication: XLRS was a cultural product projecting into women's everyday life experience. The topics in XLRS were familiar to both male and female audiences, but it is the women who had the opportunity and privilege to practice the methods listed in XLRS. It highlighted women's subjectivity by providing multiple and practicable items.

¹³⁷ Harriet T. Zurndorfer, "Women in the Epistemological Strategy of Chinese Encyclopedia: Preliminary Observations from Some Sung, Ming and Ch'ing Works" in *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past, New Perspectives* edited by Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Brill, 1999), 354-385.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 384.

¹³⁹ Yonghu Li, *lian shi xuan zhu—zhong guo gu dai fu nv sheng huo da guan* (Beijing: Zhong guo ren min da xue chu ban she, 1994), 7-8.

Some New Perspectives

XLRS bridges the medical knowledge and popular encyclopedias by translating medical prescriptions into easy-to-apply medical advice acceptable by female audiences. It also points to the possibility that the circulation of knowledge did not necessarily rely on the authoritative classics. In Dorothy Ko's recently published work *the Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China*, she discussed the process of how the knowledge was formulated and materialized into the encomiums through the hands of ink-stone carvers.¹⁴⁰ The exploration on material and visual evidences of shaping women's health and beauty will be a topic for future research.

The study on XLRS also reminds me of the possibility in the cross-cultural dialogue. As Alisha Rankin has discovered, the sixteenth-century Germany witnessed the noblewomen undertook the medical care as a responsibility.¹⁴¹ They were admired for their effective medicine. The medical writings of the noblewomen in early modern Germany in Alisha Rankin's research make me ponder on the question: how we should understand the female medical practices when situating in different cultural contexts? Although this thesis mainly deals with the formulation of knowledge on women's body and beauty, the knowledge making process with the participation of female medical practitioners during the late Ming period needs to be further investigated.

The third perspective will be the association between vernacular writings and the daily-use encyclopedias. Historians feel cautious against the analysis of fictions because they were not historically authentic and sometimes were filled with literary imagination. But the vernacular writings during the late Ming period provided us clues for looking into individuals' everyday life.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Dorothy Ko, *the social life of inkstones*, 90-92.

¹⁴¹ Alisha Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 3.

¹⁴² Wei Shang, "The Making of the Everyday World Jin Ping Mei cihua and Encyclopedias for Daily Use" in *Dynastic crisis and cultural innovation: from the late Ming to the late Qing and beyond*. ed. by Wang Dewei and Wei Shang. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 64-78.

The diagnosis experiences and medical treatments in the Ming vernacular writings would help us re-examine the knowledge constructed in daily-use encyclopedias.

Shortcomings in this Thesis

This thesis is able to restore the reconstruction process of medical knowledge and household techniques in Hu Wenhuan's *Xiang Lian Run Se*. It is able to discern the features and distinctions that XLRs embraced in the late Ming society. It also supplemented into the scholarly discourses of the book history during the late Ming time. However, this thesis is far from an excellent historical writing since a lot of works need to be done. I have not been able to address several crucial problems in this thesis. This thesis did not go very deeply into the analysis in comparing the medical prescription books and XLRs. The numerous medical textbooks were accessible to the Ming contemporary readers, in Charlotte Furth's work, she addressed *Ji Yin Gang Mu*, which was a comprehensive medical book for the medical treatments on women.¹⁴³ I was not able to pay enough attention to the Ming medical prescription books which lead to the lack of evidences for the proposed assumptions in Chapter 3. But I hope in the future I can take on this task and comprehensively presented the interactions between the medical prescription books and the daily-use encyclopedias to the academia. The second shortcoming in this thesis is the lack of attention paid to the local history behind Hu Wenhuan's publication of *Xiang Lian Run Se*. Previous scholars detailed their research by bridging the book businesses with the development of local communities.¹⁴⁴ But this thesis was negligent to the local voices. Any investigations on the local history of Hangzhou and the book publications would be opened up in the future. The third question is about the very concept of "knowledge" in Ming history. It is an important concept to my thesis topic which I was not able to explore it thoroughly in this thesis. The exploration on the making of

¹⁴³ Xiumin Zhang, *Zhongguo Yinshua Shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe 1989), 385.

¹⁴⁴ Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Published by Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002), 161-172.

knowledge and the definition of knowledge might remain as future task for me by locating more primary sources.

Appendices

(Appendix A)

Preface to the *Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty*

A born beautiful lady has snowy skin and flowery appearance, jade bone and slim figure. If she was like Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang Yuhuan, she would be attractive even if she just painted her eyebrows lightly. Why should one apply rouge and powder to pollute its purity? Therefore it is not necessary to embellish the beauty. However, the skillful craftsman must rely on the handy tools to finish his work perfectly, painting must be added in five colors to make it effulgent, hence the beautiful lady must trim her appearance, clean her clothing like cultivating flowers and carving jade to make them glamorous, that's why women needs to retouch their appearance. Not all women are like Xi Shi and Imperial Consort Yang Yuhuan during our time, that's why I collected/compiled the medical prescriptions in the *Fragrant Toilette* to help them. Among these important prescriptions are instructions on curing disease, medical treatments of strange sickness, menstrual blood regulation, miscarriage prevention. Although storage and laundry are trivial matters, they are also what the beautiful ladies will need, the strategies which will help will also be listed. This encyclopedia will focus on embellishment of the beauty, and methods of self-cultivation and household management techniques. Only gentlemen who paint eyebrows and apply powder for ladies can understand it. If they give this manual to beautiful ladies, the ladies will say: "I'm so lucky! I'm so lucky! Why should I envy the craftsmen's handy tools and painter's colorful pigments?" And I myself who helped them could be identified as a gentleman, almost.

The Postscript to the Fragrant Toilette to Embellish Beauty

Women naturally receive yin energy, and provide necessities in the household. Womanly appearance/deportment, womanly work are included in the four women's virtues. What rivers and mountains create is changeable, they produced half beautiful ladies and half ugly women, half mediocre and half virtuous. If later generations cannot follow rules then they cannot admire honesty and frugality/plainness, they usually simulate others like Dong Shi simulated xi shi and Han Dan learned steps, they competed with each other on makeups to gain affections . Fashions like plum blossom decoration, eyebrow shaped like distant mountain, wing cicada and emerald hair jewelry, are particularly ridiculed by people, how can they be used by women? but it is not appropriate for women to display themselves with dishevelled hair and dirty face and let them suffer from serious disease, that's why we need the categorized content in this book to make women eliminate blemishes then obtain womanly appearance and womanly skills, how painstaking the compiler is! I don't know if the virtuous gentlemen would agree with it.

Grand Nephew Guangsheng respectfully write this postscript.

(Appendix B)

Xiang Lian Run se comprises thirteen sections (*bu* 部)

Sections	The Number of Techniques including additional methods
Hair (tou fa bu) 頭髮部附眉	31
Face (mian bu) 面部	22
Mole (Ban zhi bu) 癍痣部	21
Teeth and Lips (Chun chi bu) 唇齒部	3
Breasts (Ru bu) 乳部	12
Body (Shen ti bu) 身體部	24
Hands and Feet (shou zu bu) 手足部	22
Vagina (Yin bu) 陰部	26
Menstruation (Jing xue bu) 經血部	8
Fetus (tai bu) 胎部	24
Strangeness (guai yi bu) 怪異部	2
Washing Clothing (xi Lian bu) 洗練部	62
Storage (cang zhu bu) 藏貯部	10
Total Formulas	267

Chinese Glossary**Abbreviation**

Shou Yang Cong Shu	SYCS
Xiang Lian Run Se 香奩潤色	XLRS
Ju Jia Bi Yong Shi Lei Quan Ji 居家必用事類全集	JJBYSLQJ
Duo Neng Bi Shi 多能鄙事	DNBS
Bian Min Tu Zuan	BMTZ

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