The culture of food and drink occupies a central role in the development of Chinese civilization, and the language of gastronomy has been a vital theme in a range of literary productions. From stanzas on food and wine in the *Classics of Poetry* to the articulation of refined dining in *The Dream of the Red Chamber* and Su Shi's literary recipe for attaining culinary perfection, lavish textual representations help explain the unique appeal of food and its overwhelming cultural significance within Chinese society. These eight essays offer a colourful tour of Chinese gourmands whose work exemplifies the interrelationships of social and literary history surrounding food, with careful explication of such topics as the importance of tea in poetry, "the morality of drunkenness," and food's role in objectifying women.

Cover image: The Night Revels of Han Xizai *by Gu Hongzhong.*

Scribes of Gastronomy

Representations of Food and Drink in Imperial Chinese Literature

Edited by Isaac Yue and Siufu Tang

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6
The Obsessive Gourmet
Zhang Dai on Food and Drink[1]

Duncan Campbell

[F]or the people, food is Heaven (民以食為天)[2]
A greedy Dongpo,
Starving at Solitary Bamboo.
饞東坡餓孤竹

—Zhang Dai 張岱,
'Inscription for My Own Tomb' (Zi wei muzhiming 自為墓志銘)[3]

A dandy in white silk breeches will never starve.
紈褲不餓死

—Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), 'Twenty-two Rhymes Presented to Wei Ji, Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs' (Fengzeng Wei zuocheng zhang ershier yun 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻)

Among the rich, frugality is considered to be a virtue, but one that is observed intermittently, as periods of fast alternate with those of feast; at this level a frugal diet is associated more with fasting and voluntary denial than with famine and the ineluctable elements; abstinence was internalized as a way to grace rather than the result of external pressures that heralded starvation.

—Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*[4]

Of the various books that the late Ming dynasty historian and essayist Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597–1684?)[5] either wrote or compiled over the course of the long and prolific second half of his life, many did not safely negotiate that passage from manuscript to imprint that so often spelled the difference between survival and loss of text in China.[6] Although, somewhat unusually in this respect, the late 1980s and 1990s saw the first publication of a number of his manuscripts, found preserved in various libraries,[7] sadly, given both Zhang Dai's privileged upbringing and his finely-honed instincts for fine living, one work that now seems lost forever is his book of recipes, entitled the *Old Glutton's Collection* (*Laotao ji* 老饕集), which was based on an earlier compilation put together by his grandfather. Fortunately, however, Zhang Dai's preface (*xu* 序) to this work, translated below, was included in the major collection of Zhang Dai's prose writings, his *Paradise Collection* (*Langhuan wenji* 琅嬛文集), and has thus survived.[8]

It is a preface of some considerable interest, quite apart from the insights it provides into Zhang Dai's own life and preoccupations. In his preface, Zhang Dai provides something of an insider's digest history of the traditional Chinese discourse on food and cooking, a tradition that, in the opinion of the anthropologist Jack Goody, represents one of the world's most complex of cuisines and associated culinary discourses. Goody speaks of the culinary differentiation of culture (between private and public, and along regional and hierarchical lines) which, in China, as much as in the classical world, was 'linked to a particular kind of hierarchy, with distinct "styles of life", a hierarchy that is in turn based upon a certain type of agricultural system', and which engendered opposition at both the conceptual and the political levels.[9] Goody notes a set of specific characteristics of such cuisines: the link between cuisine and class; contradictions, tensions and conflicts connected with this differentiation; an increased range of ingredients and menus resulting from exchange, tribute and commerce; the specialization of cuisine encouraged by the collection and publication of recipes; an elaboration of the gendered division of culinary labour with high-status tasks often being transferred from women to men; a close and long-standing link between food and sex; and finally, a link between eating and health.[10] We can observe many of these characteristics at work in Zhang Dai's preface.

K. C. Chang has argued that 'perhaps one of the most important qualifications of a Chinese gentleman was his knowledge and skill pertaining to food and drink'.[11] In these terms, Zhang Dai seems splendidly qualified. He was a man of many and varied obsessions: rocks and gardens, actors and operas, books, handicrafts, painting and calligraphy, friends and flowers, birds, dreams, tea and medicine and, perhaps above all else, the West Lake of Hangzhou. Eating was one of his abiding preoccupations as well, and his voluminous writings are studded with memories of eating and of food, all of them recalled to mind and recorded at a time when Zhang Dai was suffering, by his own account, from extreme privation: 'If starvation too is such a common-place affair, / Then how marked a feature of my life it has now become!' 餓亦尋常事尤於是日奇, read the first two lines of a set of two poems entitled 'Birthday of the Jiawu Year: On this Day, I Starve' (Jiawu chudu shi ri e 甲午初度是日餓) written in 1654, a decade after the fall of Beijing, the northern capital of the Ming.[12] He ends this poem with the lines: 'When poverty becomes as real as this, / Recalling the past, oddly, affords a modicum of joy' 一貧真至此回想反開頤.

Here, before I turn to Zhang Dai's preface, for instance, is an item from his *Dream Memories of Taoan* 陶庵夢憶 that reveals the extent to which his own obsession with food was one that was very much a function of the circumstances of his gilded upbringing.

Zhang Donggu's Addiction to Wine 張東谷好酒

Ever since the time of my great-great-grandfather, Zhang Tianfu [1513–1578], my family had been renowned as great drinkers; over the generations, however, this ability has been lost.

Neither my father nor his brothers could drink much more than a single goblet of wine, accompanied by a plate of pickled eggplant, before their faces would turn a bright red. At family meals and banquets they paid attention solely to the food. As a consequence, the fare of our kitchen was the best to be had throughout the region east of the Yangzi River. As soon as a platter of food appeared on the table my uncles would tuck in. In an instant the food would disappear, and my uncles, their bellies now bulging, would get up and wander off on their own various pursuits, having not raised a cup to their lips throughout the entire meal. Even when guests happened to be present, my uncles would quit the table before they had a chance to bid their hosts goodbye.

That man of the mountains, Zhang Donggu, was a great drinker who was often left most frustrated by this habit of my family. On one occasion he rose to his feet and, exasperated, exclaimed to my father: 'You brothers really are most eccentric! The meat you eat, regardless of whether it is good or not; the wine you don't drink, without even knowing if it is worth drinking or not.' His was a finely turned sentence or two, embodying all the refined and insouciant air of the men of the Jin dynasty. More recently, however, some reprobate included Zhang's bon mot in a work entitled *A Record of the Glories of the Tongue* but so mangled is it in the retelling that it becomes the stiff and lifeless: 'The brothers Zhang are eccentric in the extreme by nature! Regardless of whether or not the meat is good to eat, they will not eat it, and regardless of whether or not the wine is good to drink, they will not drink it.' So many there are in this age of ours who seem to have at their disposal a reverse version of the Midas Touch, invariably turning whatever they touch into stone!

Zhang Donggu was a most jocular figure, but he happened also to be desperately poor with, in the saying of old, 'not the ground to stick an awl'. On one occasion he took a case against a local young good-for-nothing who accused him of being an old moneybags. Zhang Donggu rushed off to see my grandfather, complaining: 'Shaoxingers are such a hateful lot—lying to my very face, calling me a moneybags!' My grandfather would always laugh out loud whenever he retold this story.

余家自太僕公稱豪飲，後竟失傳。余父余叔不能飲一蠡殼，食糟茄，面即發赬，家常宴會，但留心烹飪，庖廚之精，遂甲江左。一簋進，兄弟爭啖之立盡，飽即自去，終席未嘗舉杯。有客在，不待客辭，亦即自去。山人張東谷，酒徒也，每悒悒不自得。一日，起謂家君曰：「爾兄弟奇矣！肉只是吃，不管好吃不好吃；酒只是不吃，不知會吃不會吃。」二語頗韻，有晉人風味。而近有傖父載之《舌華錄》，曰：「張氏兄弟賦性奇哉！肉不論美惡，只是吃；酒不論美惡，只是不吃。」字字板實，一去千里，世上真不少點金成鐵手也。東谷善滑稽，貧無立錐，與惡少訟，

指東谷為萬金豪富，東谷忙忙走愬大父曰：「紹興人可惡，對半說謊，便說我是萬金豪富！」大父常舉以為笑。[13]

After the fall of his dynasty, however, recalling to mind such memories also induced in Zhang Dai an intense and, one assumes, not entirely insincere sense of guilt, as can be seen in the following item from the same work: [14]

Crab Society 蟹會

Of all the various foods, only the clam and the river crab embody, in and of themselves, the Five Flavours,[15] requiring the addition of neither salt nor of vinegar.

In the tenth month the river crabs grow fat, as do the grains of the paddy rice, and their shells become as large as dishes as they pile up, one on top of another. The purple ones are as huge as a clenched fist, their little claws bursting with flesh and as oily as those of the millipede. Lifting their shells exposes layers of congealed fat, in appearance like jade lard or powdered amber, in taste sweeter even than the Eight Treasures of the kitchen.[16]

As soon as the tenth month had arrived, then, I would form a Crab Society with a group of my friends and we would arrange to meet up shortly after noon, boil up the crabs and eat them, each person having been allocated six crabs. Fearing that the crabs would become cold before we ate them, we would cook them one by one in turn. For accompaniment, we would prepare a fatty salted duck and red curds. The drunken clams would be like amber and vegetables such as bamboo shoots would be boiled in duck stock. For fruit we would have Xie's tangerines[17] and wind-dried chestnuts and water chestnuts. To drink, we would have Jade Pot Ice and our vegetables would consist of bamboo shoots from Bingkeng, our rice would be the whitest of White Yuhang, newly harvested, and we would rinse our months with Orchid Snow tea.[18]

Thinking back on this today, it is as if we had supped upon the immortal provisions of the Kitchen of Heaven, filling our bellies and befuddling our heads; how shameful, how very shameful!

食品不加鹽醋而五味全者，為蚶、為河蟹。河蟹至十月與稻粱俱肥，殼如盤大，墳起，而紫螯巨如拳，小脚肉出，油油如螾蜑。掀其殼，膏膩堆積如玉脂珀屑，團結不散，甘腴雖八珍不及。一到十月，余與友人兄弟輩立蟹會，期於午後至，煮蟹食之，人六隻，恐冷腥，迭番煮之。從以肥臘鴨、牛乳酪。醉蚶如琥珀，以鴨汁煮白菜如玉版。果蓏以謝橘、以風栗、以風菱。飲以玉壺冰，蔬以兵坑笋，飯以新餘杭白，漱以蘭雪茶。繇今思之，真如天廚仙供，酒醉飯飽，慚愧慚愧。[19]

Zhang Dai's engagement in this discourse of food and eating, and his compilation of his book of recipes should best be understood in terms of a specific moment in time, the late Ming dynasty. This period (conventionally dated from the middle of the sixteenth century until the middle of the seventeenth) proved a most unsettling time for China's ruling elites. Rapid economic development, fuelled by the growth of commodity markets and the monetization of silver, served to undermine existing status relationships and led to higher levels

of urbanization and social mobility. A commercialized publishing industry fed off of and into an expansion of literacy and educational opportunity and a flourishing popular culture that displayed a greater willingness to question Neo-Confucian orthodoxies. In the eyes of contemporaries, accompanying such socioeconomic changes were those age-old and unmistakable tokens of dynastic decline; at the upper levels, incompetent and extravagant emperors, the expansion of eunuch power, factionalism and corruption at court, and the empire's increasingly obvious inability to deal effectively with threats, both internal and external, to the political order; at the local level, ever increasing conspicuous consumption. The collapse, when it finally came in the form of peasant rebellion followed by 'barbarian' invasion, proved one of the most dramatic and cataclysmic in Chinese history.[20]

Before the collapse, the disordered circumstances of the times induced among the Chinese literati intense anxieties about self-definition and worth, status, learning and money. After the collapse and the establishment of Manchu authority, Chinese men-of-letters were faced with more acute choices concerning those most important of Confucian virtues, loyalty and righteousness.

The economic boom of this period, especially in the lower Yangtze region, made it possible for rich merchants, traditionally a most despised class of people, to buy themselves the trappings of culture and fine living. This spurt in conspicuous consumption, and the consequent breakdown of the hitherto strictly enforced sumptuary laws, seems to have become particularly evident after the 1550s, and, in the minds of contemporaries, provided stark contrast to the simplicity and austerity of early Ming food culture.[21]

To contemporary men of letters such as Zhang Dai, it was good taste and good taste alone that could buttress their status as self-declared defenders of culture and tradition. What exactly constituted good taste was something that they sought to define in countless handbooks of refined living in which they categorized, listed, ranked, praised and blamed the commodities that seemed now so much more available to everyone. Critical to this enterprise were the issues of artificiality and authenticity that Zhang Dai highlights in his preface.[22] As Craig Clunas has argued in his analysis of such handbooks, they must be understood as 'consciously constructed attempts to reduce the confusion of the Ming world of goods to order',[23] and the unprecedented number produced in this period 'points to a heightened awareness of the production and consumption of luxury goods as an arena for potential social conflict, if not correctly handled'.[24] The handbooks sought to differentiate between people on the basis of what and how they consumed, and as such they serve to engender in their contemporary

readers a sense of reassurance in an otherwise rapidly changing world, whilst for us they betray the social anxieties and political insecurities of a male elite threatened by new sources of wealth and power.[25] The discourse on food, in the hands of men such as Zhang Dai, was a highly moralized one that had implications of the most serious kind about political legitimacy and historical continuity.

Preface 自序, *The Old Glutton's Collection* 老饕集

The various flavours of the fowl and the beast, the insect and the fish, the plants and the trees were only differentiated, the one from the other and throughout the empire, during the age of Shennong.[26] Thus it is that our mouths can now distinguish immediately the salty from the sour, the bitter from the pungent. As to such flavours as the sourness of chicken, the pungency of the goat, the saltiness of the cow's curd and of grain, however, these the sage alone can distinguish. During the middle age of antiquity, then, only Confucius truly understood flavour, and the two words 'finest' and 'finely' from the line in his Analects [X.8] that goes: 'Even if his rice is of the finest quality, he does not gorge himself; even if his meat is finely minced, he does not gorge himself'[27] serve to encapsulate the profundities of food and drink. In terms of the eating of cooked food, Confucius' own behaviour served to sum things up for, after all, we are told that: 'If it is badly cooked, he does not eat it', whilst the same is true of raw food for we are also told that: 'If it is not served at the right time, he does not eat it', these sentences constituting a veritable Classic of Food and Eating, being also therefore a theory about the nourishing of life.

With the death of Confucius, however, schisms developed, resulting in the production of works such as He Zeng's *Menus*,[28] Wei Juyuan's *Classic of Food*,[29] Duan Wenchang's *Food Regulations*[30] in 50 *juan*, Yu Cong's *Recipes*[31] in 10 *juan*, Xie Feng's *History of Food* also in 10 *juan*, and Meng Shu's *Food Statutes* in 100 *juan*. In the processes of frying and boiling, roasting and broiling, food becomes adulterated with the blood of sacrificial animals, with intestinal fat, with the odour of the goat and with fragrant herbs, and the basic tastes of the various foods are lost completely. Nowadays the Grand Provisioners to the Court use sugar to mask the proper taste of imperial meals and this has given rise to all sorts of artificiality and affectation, their crime in this respect being as heinous as that of those who eat their food raw and unprepared.

In later ages, it was only the Song dynasty scholar Su Shi who understood such matters. Both his 'Prose-poem on the Old Gourmand'[32] and his 'Song of Pork' so comprehend the delights of gluttony that they set the mouths of readers watering. To understand the single word 'cooked', as found in both these pieces, is already to apprehend more than half the story. Towards the end of the Song dynasty, however, when the Learning of the Way began to prevail and scholars did not want the mouth and the stomach to overburden their understanding of the Nature of Man and his Destiny, this art was discarded and little discussed, even common folk having a laugh at Su Shi's expense for his practice of marinating his meat with a pinch of tea. By the time of the Yuan dynasty with their habit of eating their game unskinned and still bloody, food was eaten almost uncooked. With the flourishing of our present dynasty, it was only with the advent of the reign of the Xuanzong Emperor [1426–35] that the usages of the various eating and drinking vessels were again fully understood, hence the saying: 'The third generation of officials wore clothes and ate cooked rice.' Although the discourse of the age refers to the common people, in essence the family habits of the Imperial Household are no different.

My grandfather Zhang Rulin formed an Eating and Drinking Society with Bao Yingdeng[33] and Huang Ruheng [1558–1626] of Wulin[34] in order to investigate the proper tastes of things. He compiled the *History of Cooked Food* in 4 *juan*, taking much of his content from Gao Lian's *Eight Treatises on the Art of Living*, but without, it seems, neglecting the peppers, the ginger, the shallots and the onions.

I, for my part, am dissatisfied with the cooking methods of the Grand Provisioners and so I have edited and supplemented the text of my grandfather's work, and have thus corrected its faults. How can a poor pedant such as myself ever hope to surpass the efforts of my forefathers? It is just that I have been blessed with the ability to distinguish between the taste of the water of the Sheng and of the Zi rivers,[35] to tell when the flesh of the goose is that of a black or a white one, know whether the chicken has perched in the open air[36] or when the meat has been cooked over firewood that is already worn-out,[37] and have become so besotted with such things that I could not resist this editing task. Thus it is that I have taken up his book and rearranged it, ensuring that it is 'properly cut',[38] retaining what is fresh in taste and deleting all the artificiality of the methods of seeping and broiling. Although this present work has none of the exhaustiveness and refinement of either the *History of Food* or *Food Statutes*, a troop of three thousand hand-picked mounted cavalry may nonetheless occasionally defeat an exhausted army of ten thousand men. It is only in the mouths of those who eat it, after all, that the excellence or otherwise of the entire meal may be understood at the first bite.

世有神農氏，而天下鳥獸虫魚草木之滋味始出。蓋鹹酸苦辣，着口即知。至若雞味酸，羊味辣，牛酪與粟之味鹹，非聖人不能辨也。中古之世，知味惟孔子。「食不厭精，膾不厭細」。「精細」二字，已得飲食之徵。至熟食則概之失飪不食，蔬食則概之不時不食。四言者，食經也，亦即養生論也。

孔子之後，分門立戶，何曾有單？韋巨源有《食經》，段文昌有《食憲章》五十.卷，虞宗有《食方》十卷，謝諷有《食史》十卷，孟蜀有《食典》百卷。煎熬燔炙，雜以膟膫羶薌，食之本味盡失。於今之大官法膳，純用蔗霜亂其正味，則彼矯強造作，罪且與生吞活剝者等矣。

後來解事，只有東坡。《老饕賦》與《豬肉頌》，清饞領略，口口流涎。但知有「熟」之一字，則思過半矣。嗣後宋末道學盛行，不欲以口腹累性命，此道置之不講，民間遂有東坡茶撮泡肉之誚。循至元人之茹毛飲血，則幾不火食矣。我興，至宣廟，始知有飲食器皿之事。語云：「三代仕宦，著衣食飯。」世雖概論平民，要知帝王家法亦不能外也。

余大父與武林涵所包先生、貞父黃先生為飲食社，講求正味，著《饗史》四卷，然多取尊生八箋，猶不失椒薑葱。用大官炮法，余多不喜，因為搜輯訂正之。窮措大亦何能有加先輩！第水辨澠淄，鵝分蒼白，食雞而知其栖恒半露，啖肉而識其炊有勞薪，一往情深，余何多讓？遂取其書而銓次之，割歸於正，味取其鮮，一切矯

揉泡炙之制不存焉。雖無《食史》、《食典》之博洽精腴，精騎三千，亦足以勝彼羸師十萬矣。鼎味一臠，則在嘗之者之舌下討取消息也。

Just as Zhang Dai's excursion into the discourse on cuisine can be understood to have the general and theoretical levels of meaning that I have argued for them above, food (or, more particularly, its absence) can also be said to have had a specific, and painful, significance for him as a 'remnant subject' (*yimin* 遺民) over the course of the second half of his long life.

Zhang Dai had been born to a family of immense wealth, prestige and scholarly achievement, and had grown up in the very lap of late Ming luxury and extravagance, within splendid gardens and surrounded by antiques, a book collection of over 30,000 volumes, family opera troupes and singing girls. We gain glimpses of him and his world in the diaries of his friend Qi Biaojia, and the following entry, dated the 24th day of the 5th month of the Dingchou year (1637), captures the extent to which this world was one of travel and of gardens, of music, poetry, opera and singing girls, of fine food and drink shared with good companions under increasingly difficult circumstances:

> We set off by boat and whilst on board I worked upon my 'Record of the Famous Gardens of Zhejiang'. When we reached Pian Gate, Qi Qizhi paid a call upon me, and we set off together to visit Zhang E. Before long, Zhang Dai turned up and pressed us to join him in attending a meeting of the Maple Poetry Society. Our friends had already gathered in the No-Two Studio[39] by the time we arrived and the meeting was being held in Cloudy Forest Autumn Pavilion that Zhang Dai had recently had constructed and where our friends now often met to talk. Ni Yuanlu[40] was the last to turn up. After our meal, Zhang Dai brought out his lute and began to play, accompanied by the actors with their drums and flutes. At dusk we watched a performance of the *Story of the Red Silk*.[41] Once the party had broken up, I stayed the night on board my boat.
>
> 發棹，舟中作《越中名園記》。抵偏門，齊企之來晤，與之訪張介子。頃之，張宗子來，促遂赴其酌楓社。諸友已集於不二齋，宗子新構雲林秘閣，諸友多晤談於此。倪鴻寶最後至，飯後宗子彈琴，優人以鼓吹佐之。及暮，觀演《紅絲記》。席散宿舟中。[42]

From midlife onwards, however, with the collapse of the Ming dynasty and by his own account, Zhang Dai's life was eked out in arrant poverty, 'his state fallen, his family destroyed' (*guo po jia wang* 國破家亡),[43] shunned by friends and the books he had so loved used to stoke the cooking fires of the marauding troops who had brought such destruction to his world.[44] After the fall, he had only his memories to live off, as he makes clear in a tomb inscription that he writes for himself and in which he speaks of himself in the third person:

> In his youth, he was a dandy in white silk breeches, addicted to luxury and extravagant display, to monasteries, to beautiful maids and seductive serving boys, to gaudy clothes and fine food, stallions, lanterns, fireworks, actors and music, to antiques and flowers and birds. He craved good tea and a game of chess, was afflicted by the love of books and the demons of poetry.
>
> Having expended the energies of half his lifetime on such things, they all became but a dream when, in his fiftieth year, his state fell and his family was destroyed. He fled the chaos to live amidst the mountains, all that remained to him being a dilapidated bed and a rickety teapoy, some chipped antiques and a cracked lute, a few tattered volumes and a broken ink stone. He dressed now in coarse linen and dined off plain vegetables, with often not enough for the next meal. Reflecting on his life twenty years earlier, he seemed now to belong to another world altogether.
>
> 蜀人張岱，陶庵其號也。少為紈褲子弟，極愛繁華，好精舍，好美婢，好孌童，好鮮衣，好美食，好駿馬，好華燈，好煙火，好梨園，好鼓吹，好古董，好花鳥，兼以茶淫橘虐，書蠹詩魔。
>
> 勞碌半生，皆成夢幻。年至五十，國破家亡，避跡山居。所存者，破床碎几，折鼎病琴與殘書數帙，缺硯一方而已。布衣蔬莨，常至斷炊。回首二十年前，真如隔世。[45]

Zhang Dai's celebrated and moving author's preface to his *Dream Memories of Taoan* makes it clear the extent to which his memories of past pleasures were now most uncomfortable ones:

> He wrote his own elegy and frequently found himself on the verge of suicide; but because his *Book of the Stone Casket* was as yet not complete, he continued to gaze upon and breathe within the world of man. But his bin was often empty of grain; he had no firewood for a cooking fire. It was only then that he understood that the story about the two old men of Mount Shouyang, Boyi and Shuqi, and how they determined to starve themselves to death, unwilling to eat the rice of Zhou, was simply the humbug of those who lived after them. For his part, with whatever vigour was left him through his pangs of hunger, he was wont to amuse himself with brush and ink.
>
> 作自挽詩，每欲引決，因《石匱書》未成，尚視息人世。然瓶粟屢罄，不能舉火，始知首陽二老，直頭餓死，不食周粟，還是後人妝點語也。饑餓之餘，好弄筆墨。[46]

Just as the especial importance of Zhang Dai's obsession with food can be readily observed in the ease with which he moves, in his preface to *The Old Glutton's Collection*, from a generalized and moralized history of cuisine to a history of his own family's involvement with food and then on to the nature of his own 'besottedness' (*yiwang shenqing*) with it, it can be seen also in his close juxtaposition, in his author's preface to *Dream Memories of Taoan* and elsewhere, of the processes of eating and those of living and writing.

There is one final and marvellous illustration of my point. Suddenly, towards the end of his 'Inscription for My Own Tomb', Zhang Dai finally introduces himself into his own text in the first person for the first time, in the following manner:

> He was born during the Mao hour [5–7am] of the 25th day of the 8th month of the Dingyou year [1597], this being the 25th year of the reign of the Wanli Emperor of the Great Ming dynasty, the first son of Master Zhang Yaofang [1572–1633], minister of the State of Lu, and his wife, née Tao 陶. As a child, he suffered frequently from asthma and for his first decade he was raised in the household of his maternal grandmother, née Ma [1559–1620]. His great-grandfather on his maternal side, Tao Yunjia [1556–1632], had once served in office in the combined Province of Guangdong and Guangxi and whilst there had stored up enough Bovine Yellow Pills to fill several boxes, and for the first sixteen years of my life I ate my way through this supply of medicine until my condition was completely cured.
>
> 生於萬曆丁酉八月二十五日卯時，魯國相大滌翁之樹子也，母曰陶宜人。幼多痰疾，養於外大母馬太夫人者十年。外太祖雲谷公宦兩廣，藏生牛黃丸盈數簏，自余囡地以至十有六歲，食盡之而厥疾始瘳。[47]

In a sense, then, and particularly in terms of his own representation of himself, Zhang Dai was, quite literally, what he ate, for it was only in the process of eating that his 'self' was born as a subject within his autobiographical text. And, as embodied in the second of my epigraphs for this chapter, Zhang Dai's explicitly final textual representation of himself ('A greedy Dongbo, / Starving at Solitary Bamboo') is as a gourmet transfixed by the moral imperative to starve himself. Fortunately for us all, however, 'he continued to gaze upon and breathe within the world of man' and to 'amuse himself with brush and ink'.

7

Tasting the Lotus

Food, Drink and the Objectification of the Female Body in Gold, Vase, and Plum Blossom

Isaac Yue

Food and sex are commonly perceived as two of the most dominant neurotic compulsions in any living creature—a phenomenon that is substantiated by different disciplinary investigations. The anthropologist Richard Leakey, for example, acknowledges the importance of such compulsions and comments that '[i]f our ancestors had not invented the food-sharing economy of gathering and hunting around three or so million years ago, we would be neither as intelligent as we are today, nor so interested in each other's sexuality.'[1] In psychology, the significance of these two compulsions is similarly recognized as libidinal drives. In China, the association of food with sex was recognized at an early historical stage, and carries with it distinctive imprints of a patriarchal culture that reflect the development of the Chinese civilization. For instance, in 'Summoning Back the Soul' 招魂 from the *Songs of the South* 楚辭, the deliberate parallelization of food with women (as sexual objects) is unmistakable in the poet's identification of the two 'items' as equally instrumental to the return of the spirit. That beautiful women are presented alongside a range of delicacies, including the 'aromatic stew of fatty beef tendon' 肥牛之腱臑若芳些 and the 'braised turtle and roast lamb with sugar cane syrup' 胹鱉炮羔有柘漿些, not only reveals the way society perceived women and food as of parallel importance, but helps establish the tradition of chauvinistic hedonism in China, in which women are delegated to the same level of food and objectified by men during the rite of supplication. It is an ideology that endured and intensified through many of the Chinese imperial dynasties.

This chapter examines the legacy of this social gender ideology as reflected in the literary 'tradition' of late Ming society and considers its implementation, and thereby implications, in one of the most representative literary texts of the era—*Gold, Vase, and Plum Blossom* (*Jinpingmei cihua* 金瓶梅詞話, hereafter referred to as *GVP*).[2] As a text that is intended first and foremost to be a piece of social criticism, *GVP* is widely appreciated by today's critics for its critique of a society 'mainly driven by lust, greed, and vanity'.[3] Compared to the powerful discourse evoked by the text with regard to the tension between eroticism and religious morali

29. For Mei Yaochen's two poems, written matching the rhymes of Ouyang's, see 'Ciyun he' and 'Ciyun hezaibai' 次韻和再拜, *Mei Yaochen ji biannian jiaozhu*, 4.1008–10. These poems exchanged by Ouyang and Mei are discussed and partially translated in Colin S. C. Hawes, *The Social Circulation of Poetry in the Mid-Northern Song* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 146–50.
30. Ouyang Xiu, 'Ciyun zaizuo' 次韵再作, *Jushi ji* 居士集, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 1.7.115.
31. Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 92.2611. Ouyang may also be thinking of another *Shi ji* passage, in which Han Gaozu is holding seals of office in his hand, 'fingering them' (*nongzhi* 弄之) as he tried to decide who to appoint censor-in-chief, *Shi ji*, 96.2679.
32. Mei Yaochen, 'Ciyun hezaibai', *Mei Yaochen ji biannian jiaozhu*, 28.1010.

Chapter 6

1. An early version of this paper was presented at the New Zealand International Conference on Asian Studies (12th Conference) held at Massey University, Palmerston North, 26–29 November 1997 and was subsequently included in a series of working papers published by the Asian Studies Institute of Victoria University of Wellington. I am grateful to the Director of the Institute, Stephen Epstein, for his permission to publish this revised version of the paper. More recently, I am most grateful for the enlivening conversations I have had about this paper with the food historian Allen Grieco. Circumstances have prevented me from responding, immediately, to all the comparative questions he raised after favouring me with a close reading of the paper.
2. 'For kings, the people are Heaven, for the people, food is Heaven', opined Li Yiji 酈食其 (d. 203 BCE), the self-styled 'Tippler of Gaoyang' (*Gaoyang jiutu* 高陽酒徒), in the course of advising Liu Bang 劉邦 (247–195 BCE), the future founding emperor of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), for which, see Ban Gu 班固, 'Li Lu Zhu Liu Shusun zhuan' 酈陸朱劉叔孫傳, *Han shu* 漢書 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1970), 5.2108. Li Yiji was later ordered boiled (*peng* 烹) to death by Tian Guang 田廣, the King of Qi, under suspicion of betraying him.
3. *Langhuan wenji* 琅嬛文集, ed. Yun Gao 雲告 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), 201. Dongpo is the great Song dynasty scholar and poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101), a man who, as we see below, Zhang Dai believed was one of the few to have preserved ancient knowledge about the art of eating; the father of the brothers Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊, those two ancient paragons of dynastic loyalty who, by legend, chose to starve themselves to death rather than eat the grain of the Zhou dynasty (c. 1027–256 BCE) once it had replaced their own Shang dynasty (c. 1600–1028 BCE), was Lord of Solitary Bamboo (*Guzhujun* 孤竹君).
4. Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 108.
5. For short biographies of Zhang Dai in English, see A. W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period 1644–1912* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 53–4; and W. H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986–98), 1.220–1. In Chinese, see Xia Xianchun 夏咸淳, *Mingmo qicai—Zhang Dai lun* 明末奇才——張岱論 (Shanghai: Shehui kexueyuan, 1989); Hu Yimin 胡益民, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan* 張岱評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 2002); and Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu* 張岱研究 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002). Philip A. Kafalas, 'Weighty Matters, Weightless Form: Politics and the Late Ming Xiaopin Writer', *Ming Studies*, 39 (1998), 50–85, provides a suggestive discussion of Zhang Dai's *Taoan mengyi* 陶庵夢憶. In his 'Presidential Address: Cliffhanger Days: A Chinese Family in the Seventeenth Century', *The American Historical Review*, 110 (2005), 1–10, Jonathan Spence presents a characteristically insightful reading of Zhang Dai's family biographies. Both Kafalas and Spence have subsequently published full-length treatments of Zhang Dai: Philip A. Kafalas, *In Limpid Dreams: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai's Reminiscences of the Ming* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2007), and Jonathan D. Spence, *Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man* (New York: Viking, 2007).
6. The particular vicissitudes of Zhang Dai's age—the cataclysmic collapse of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and its replacement by the Qing (1644–1911)—meant that only one of his books was published in his lifetime, this being his *Gujin yilie zhuan* 古今義烈傳, published (according to its various prefaces) sometime between 1628–32; for a note on this book and its publication history, see Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai yanjiu*, 206–7.
7. In particular, *Sishu yu* 四書遇 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1985); *Kuaiyuan daogu* 快園道古 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1986); *Ye hang chuan* 夜航船 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987); and most importantly, Zhang Dai's magisterial history of the Ming dynasty, *Shigui shu* 石匱書, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), vols. 318, 319, and 320.
8. The preface is undated; judging from its tone, however, I believe that the work to which it is attached was compiled before the fall of the dynasty in 1644, and the consequent and drastic change in Zhang Dai's circumstances. The prefaces to two other books by Zhang Dai particularly germane to the concerns of this paper, his *Cha shi* 茶史 and his *Taoan zhouhoufang* 陶庵肘後方, have also been preserved in this collection, the manuscripts of the books themselves, it seems, having been lost to us forever.
9. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*, 105.
10. Ibid., 191–2. For an excellent recent treatment of the last of these characteristics in the case of China, see Vivienne Lo, 'Pleasure, Prohibition, and Pain: Food and Medicine in Traditional China', in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 163–85.
11. *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977), 11.
12. Xia Xianchun, ed., *Zhang Dai shiwen ji* 張岱詩文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 73.
13. 'Zhang Donggu haojiu' 張東谷好酒, in Xia Xianchun and Cheng Weirong 程維榮, eds., *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun* 陶庵夢憶：西湖夢尋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 128–9. Zhang Dai's family were of course also Shaoxingers.
14. Zhang Dai's 'Author's Preface' (Zixu 自序) is dated 1646. To a considerable extent, his memories of the culinary indulgences of his youth must have been coloured by his experience of the extreme famine that struck his home district in 1641 and his involvement in local efforts of food relief. For a recent discussion focused particularly

on the local charitable activities of Zhang Dai's 'Friend in Landscape' (*shanshui zhiji* 山水知己), Qi Biaojia 祁彪佳 (1602–45), see Joanna Handlin Smith, *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2009).

15. According to the earliest sources, the 'Five Flavours' (*wuwei* 五味) were: the sour (*suan* 酸), the bitter (*ku* 苦), the pungent (*xin* 辛), the salty (*xian* 鹹), and the sweet (*gan* 甘).
16. The specific definition of what constituted this particular category of luxury food (*bazhen* 八珍) seems to have differed over time. One early Ming source, Tao Zongyi's 陶宗儀 (1316–1403) *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄, published around 1366, gives: (1) *tihu* 醍醐 (a type of liquor skimmed off boiled butter); (2) *zhukeng* 麈沆 (said to be either a wine made of horse milk of perhaps of a roebuck); (3) *yetuoti* 野駝蹄 (hoof of a wild camel); (4) *luchun* 鹿唇 (lips of a deer); (5) *tuorumi* 駝乳糜 (camel curds); (6) *tianezhi* 天鵝炙 (roasted crane); (7) *ziyujiang* 紫玉漿 (pulp of purple jade—said to be grape wine from the western regions); and (8) *xuanyujiang* 玄玉漿 (pulp of wondrous jade—said to be horse curds). Allen Grieco makes the suggestion that *zhukeng* here (number two above) is likely to be a reference to *koumiss*.
17. In another item in *Dream Memories of Taoan*, entitled 'The Sweet Tangerines of the Chen Clan of Fanjiang' (Fanjiang Chenshi ju 樊江陳氏橘), Zhang Dai writes: 'The Chen clan of Fanjiang had established an orchard (*guoyuan* 果園) on a patch of land they had cleared, enclosing it with a fence of hardy orange tree. The staple grown here is the betel vine, the leaves of which are made into paste; the glutinous rice is used to ferment wine. This wine, fragrant in the extreme and a dull amber colour, has won the praises of all serious drinkers. The fruit and the melons produced by the orchard are steeped in honey to make comfit. More than a hundred Xie's tangerine trees have been planted here, the fruit of which is not picked when still green or when still sour. Only once the fruit has turned orange on the trees after the first falls of frost are they picked, and even then this is done so by cutting them off the trees with their stems still attached. When such a procedure is followed, the skins of the tangerines prove thick and easy to peel, their colour is deep orange, their flesh firm, their segments easily divided, their taste sweet and fresh. The tangerines produced at Fourth Gate, Tao's Embankment, Daoxu, even Tangxi, cannot stand comparison with them. Each year I would insist on visiting this orchard, even if it was late in the season and the tangerines were expensive and few to be had. Once I had made my purchase, I would store the tangerines in earthenware vats upon a mat of rice straw from Zhancheng or dried pine needles. Every ten days or so, whenever the straw had begun to moulder, I would have it replaced, and in this way the tangerines could be made to last until towards the end of the third month, as sweet and crisp as when first picked. The Master of Hardy Orange Township earns himself a hundred bolts of silk a year from his hundred or so tangerine trees, these trees truly living up to their sobriquet 'Wooden Slaves' (*munu* 木奴)' (*Taoan mengxun: Xihu mengxun*, 82–3). In his annotations to this item, Xia Xianchun notes that Xie's tangerines were produced by the descendants of Xie Xuan 謝玄 in their family orchard.

18. On Zhang Dai's involvement in the development of this type of tea, see 'Orchid Snow Tea' (Lanxue cha 蘭雪茶), *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 44–5.
19. 'Xiehui' 蟹會, *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 132–3. For an alternative translation of this item (under the title 'Crab Parties'), see Yang Ye, trans., *Vignettes from the Late Ming: A Hsiao-p'in Anthology* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1999), 96–7. In her *How to Cook and Eat in Chinese* (Penguin, 1965), Buwei Yang Chao, the wife of the celebrated linguist Yuen Ren Chao (1892–1982), includes the following note in the 'Special Eating Parties' section of her book: 'Crab Parties are for many the favourite form of eating parties. Though often called Plain Boiled Crabs, they are really steamed rather than boiled. Each guest is served a dish of Chinkiang vinegar with minced ginger, with optional soy sauce. The steamed crabs are served whole and each guest eats them in great detail one by one, accompanied by wine or spirit. Six large crabs eaten in about sixty minutes form an average serving. Some restaurants give special tools, nutcrackers and hammers, etc., for eating crabs, but your teeth and fingers are the chief means of eating. The satisfaction you can get out of a meal of crabs depends on how messy you are willing to get. You really must make a mess of it to make a meal of it. According to old traditional Chinese medicine, the crab is one of those things which are supposed to have a "cold nature" and has to be supplemented by a cup of hot drink of brown sugar and ginger. Whatever the truth is, it certainly gives a nice contrasting taste after the crabs. Another popular theory is that crabs will crawl in your stomach, so that the more crabs you eat the hungrier you get. It is therefore customary to serve some light lunch or refreshments or even a full meal immediately after a crab party. Because no fat or starchy food is eaten with the crabs, the stomach with crabs in it does usually feel like having something more meaty to stay it. So a crab party usually turns out to be a sort of overgrown hors-d'œuvre (260–1).' This neglected treasure of a book, first published by Faber and Faber in 1956 and which carries a foreword by Hu Shi and a preface by Pearl Buck, must have been one of the earliest attempts to introduce to American and British homes both the practicalities and the splendours of Chinese cuisine. Buwei Yang Chao's husband's contribution to the book is a hilarious recipe for 'Stirred Eggs': 'To test whether the cooking has been done properly observe the person served. If he utters a voiced bilabial nasal consonant with a slow falling intonation, it is good (168).'
20. For a highly readable treatment of these issues, see Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1999).
21. For this, see Frederick Mote, 'Yüan and Ming', in Kwang-chih Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, 247. Mote argues that this period saw the 'second phase of an agricultural revolution' (198) that had started during the Song dynasty and which was brought about, in part, by the introduction of a range of new crops, including maize, sweet potatoes, peanuts and tobacco. With the introduction of tobacco came also the habit of opium smoking, and not surprisingly Zhang Dai's family seem quick to have picked up the habit, Zhang Dai's grandfather Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 (d. 1625) being apparently the first Chinese person to comment in writing that opium could be smoked, for which see Jonathan Spence, *Chinese*

Roundabout: Essays in History and Culture (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 231. On sumptuary laws, see Craig Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption and the Institution of Correct Morality by the Ming State', in *Norms and the State in China*, ed. E. Zürcher (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 39–49. Other areas of life during the late-Ming period seem equally prone to such lavish and ostentatious display, and the inevitable countervailing discourse. Sarah Dauncey, in her 'Sartorial Modesty and Genteel Ideals in the Late Ming' (in Daria Berg and Chloë Starr, eds., *The Quest for Gentility in China: Negotiations Beyond Gender and Class* [London & New York: Routledge, 2007], 134–54), examines the extent to which contemporary men-of-letters became concerned at what they saw as the increasingly opulent clothing being worn by women. Xia Xianchun, in his *Wan Ming shifeng yu wenxue* 晚明士風與文學 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1994), 62, cites the Shaoxinger Tao Shiling 陶奭齡 (1571–1640) to the effect that: 'When I was a young man there were certainly no gardens to be found in Shaoxing, such things having only become numerous in recent years' and Qi Biaojia as declaring that the construction of gardens in the district began with Zhang Dai's great-great-grandfather Zheng Tianfu. For an important analysis of this garden 'mania', see Joanna F. Handlin Smith, 'Gardens in Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 51 (1992), 55–81.

22. Interestingly enough, such anxieties about artificiality were in evidence during the Song dynasty as well, as shown by Stephen West, 'Playing with Food: Performance, Food, and the Aesthetics of Artificiality in the Sung and Yuan', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 57 (1997), 67–106.
23. Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 9.
24. Ibid., 8.
25. As both Clunas and Timothy Brook have pointed out, such handbooks also served the social and cultural purposes of precisely those they were intended to stigmatize. As Brook puts it: 'The texts of connoisseurship available on the book market in the late Ming, ironically perhaps, served both sides of the cultural barrier between gentry and merchants. They set what highly educated gentlemen of the age felt were the appropriate standards by which luxury goods should be consumed. But they also commoditized the knowledge that was needed to participate in this rarefied realm of cultural exchange', for which, see his 'Communications and Commerce', in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, eds., *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 706.
26. According to legend, Shennong was the second emperor of pre-dynastic China and was attributed with the invention of the first plough, the practice of animal husbandry and the discovery of the various usages of medicinal herbs.
27. Simon Leys, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 46.
28. He Zeng (199–278), an extravagant man whose kitchens, according to his biography in the *Jin shu* 晉書, produced cuisine of a quality that exceeded even that of the palace.
29. A man of the Tang dynasty who served as an official during the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 649–83).
30. A member of the Hanlin Academy, also during the Tang, and a skilled cook.

31. An official in the Kingdom of Qi during the Southern Dynasties whose family was renowned for their recipes. It is said that on one occasion the emperor asked him for some recipes but Yu Cong refused the request.
32. For a translation of this prose-poem, see Cyril Drummond le Gros Clark, trans., *The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1964), 205–11.
33. In his *Dream Memories of Taoan*, Zhang Dai provides the following portrait of this man: 'The storied houseboats that now ply West Lake were in fact the invention of the Surveillance Vice Commissioner of the Education Intendant Circuit Bao Yingdeng. They come in three sizes; in the largest, one can lay out a banquet, accompanied by singing boys; the middle sized ones are sufficiently large to transport one's books and paintings; in the smallest, there is just room enough to hide away a beautiful young maiden or two to keep one company. Bao Yingdeng's singing girls were beyond comparison with ordinary maids-in-waiting, and, in imitation of the practice of Shi Chong 石崇 and Song Qi 宋祁 of old, he frequently ordered them to appear before his guests. Painted of face, they would amble in like ponies with mincing step as sauntering slowly, lingering leisurely, they threaded their way through the willows, all to bring joy and laughter to their audience. Standing in front of the bright railings and windows decorated with silken filigree, they would stretch out their song, play their flutes and pluck their zithers, the music they made akin to the warbling of the golden oriole. As guests arrived, the singing boys would begin the opera, dancing in rows, singing as they kept time with their drums. Their skills quite excelled those of others. When the mood took him, Bao Yingdeng would take his performers touring, sometimes not returning home for ten days or more, and attracting huge crowds, all of whom would ask where the troupe was next to perform. Bao's South Garden was sited beneath Thunder Peak Pagoda, his North Garden below Flew-Here Peak. Rocks abounded in both gardens, heaped up here and piled up there all higgledy-piggledy, but always forming the most eccentrically shaped precipices. In some places, rocks were used to construct a bridge over a brook, but in such instances, unlike the artificial mountains found upon the hill, these bridges were ingeniously designed and crafted. The ridgepoles of the main halls were held in place by cantilevers, thus obviating the need for pillars at all four corners, making the halls spacious enough for lion dancers to perform within. In North Garden, a chamber was built in the form of the Eight Trigrams, with a round pavilion partitioned into eight sections and shaped like a fan. Eight beds were placed horizontally in the narrow corners of each partition, curtained off on both sides. When the innermost curtains were lowered, the beds faced outside, and when the outermost curtains were lowered, the beds would face each other. Old man Bao would sit in state in the middle of the chamber with clear windows in his doors, and as he lay there propped up against his pillow burning incense, he could see each and every one of the eight beds. In such an excess of extravagance and wantonness did he grow old beside West Lake for more than twenty years, the splendour of his gardens not a jot inferior to those of Golden Valley or Mei Village, nothing less than the apotheosis of luxury and magnificence, what the locals of Hangzhou however were wont to dismiss by saying: "Well, that's just how it is." The grand families of West Lake wanted for nothing, and at the time is

seemed as if the West Lake had been encased within a Golden Chamber. It was only the impoverished and pedantic scholars who would mutter amongst themselves: "Tut! tut! What a very strange business".' ('Bao Hansuo' 包涵所, *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 53–4).

34. In his 'Ji Zhou Jianbo wen' 祭周戩伯文, Zhang Dai describes Huang Ruheng as one of his 'Friends in the Examinations' (*juye zhiji* 舉業知己), for which see *Langhuan wenji*, 274.
35. Yi Ya 易牙, a master chef who served under Duke Huan of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period and who was said to have had a palate so fine as to be able to distinguish between the water of these two rivers, both of which are to be found in present-day Shandong Province. It is also said of him that on one occasion, in order to please his master, he used the head of his own son to add flavour to a soup he was preparing.
36. According to his biography in the *Jin shu*, Fu Lang 苻郎 so understood the taste of food that his palate was able to make these distinctions.
37. This relates to an anecdote found in the 'Technical Understanding' (*Shujie* 術解) chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語: 'Xun Xu was once sitting with Emperor Wu of Jin eating bamboo shoots along with cooked rice. He said to those seated with him, "This has been steamed over firewood which has seen heavy service." Someone in the company did not quite believe him, and secretly sending to inquire about it, found that they had indeed used old carriage axles', Richard B. Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 359.
38. Leys, *The Analects of Confucius*, 46: 'If it is not properly cut, he does not eat it.'
39. Zhang Dai provides a description of this studio in his *Dream Memories of Taoan*, for which see *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 33–4. It ends: 'Here I loosened my clothes and gave myself over the place, never wishing to leave it whatever the season. Thinking about it now, it seems as if it was another world.'
40. Ni Yuanlu 倪元璐 (1594–1644), an important late Ming official. He committed suicide on the day that Peking fell to the troops of Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–45). For a short biography of him, see Hummel, 587.
41. According to Zhuang Yifu 莊一拂, this no longer extant opera was written by Xu Sanjie 許三階 of the Wanli period, see his *Gudian xiqu cunmu huikao* 古典戲曲存目彙考 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), 2.952–3.
42. 'Shanju zhuolu' 山居拙錄, *Qi Biaojia wengao* 祁彪佳文稿 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe), 2.1087.
43. 'Author's Preface' (Zixu 自序), *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 3.
44. Zhang Dai speaks of the fate of his family's book collection in an item entitled 'Three Generations of Book Collecting' (Sanshi cangshu 三世藏書) in his *Dream Memories of Taoan* (*Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 37–8). A translation of this may be found in D. E. Pollard and Soh Yong Kian, trans., 'Zhang Dai: Six Essays', *Renditions*, 33 & 34 (1990), 165–6.
45. 'Inscription for My Own Tomb', *Langhuan wenji*, 199.

46. 'Author's Preface', *Taoan mengyi: Xihu mengxun*, 3. For an alternative translation of this preface, along with a characteristically insightful discussion of it, see Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 131–41.
47. 'Inscription for My Own Tomb', *Langhuan wenji*, 200–1.

Chapter 7

1. Richard Leakey, *People of the Lake: Mankind and Its Beginnings* (New York: Avon, 1978), 204.
2. This novel is more commonly known to the Western audience as *The Golden Lotus* or *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, according to its two most famous English translations by, respectively, Clement Egerton and David Tod Roy. However, because part of the aim of this chapter is to refute the conventional interpretation of this title, a more literal translation of the three Chinese characters which made up its original title—gold, vase, and plum blossom—is thus preferred. All quotations from this text are taken from Mei Jie 梅節, ed., *Mengmeiguan jiaoben Jinpingmei cihua* 夢梅館校本金瓶梅詞話 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2007), 3 vols. The translations of the passages from the novel are all mine unless specified.
3. Lawrence S. Cunningham and John J. Reich, *Culture and Values: A Survey of the Humanities* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2002), 526.
4. Dai Hongsen 戴鴻森, 'Cong Jinpingmei kan Mingren de yishi fengmao 從金瓶梅看明人的飲食風貌', in *Mingjia yanzhong de Jinpingmei* 名家眼中的金瓶梅 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2006), 214–25. This article is originally published in *Zhongguo pengren* 中國烹飪 (4–5), 1982.
5. Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱, 'Jinpingmei cihua yu Mingren yinjiu fengshang 金瓶梅詞話與明人飲酒風尚', *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化, 2 (2006), 55–66.
6. Huang Lin 黃霖, *Huang Lin shuo Jinpingmei* 黃霖說金瓶梅 (Taipei: Dadi chubanshe, 2007), 169–89.
7. Zhao Jianmin 趙建民 and Li Zhigang 李志剛, *Jinpingmei jiushi wenhua yanjiu* 金瓶梅酒食文化研究 (Jinan: Shandong wenhua yinxiang chubanshe, 1998).
8. Hu Yannan 胡衍南, *Yinshi qingse Jinpingmei* 飲食情色金瓶梅 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2004), 177.
9. Sigmund Freud, 'Female Sexuality', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth, 1953–74), 7. 149–50.
10. Ding Naifei, *Obscene Things: Sexual Politics in Jin Ping Mei* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 194.
11. Carol J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 47.
12. Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 2.50–1.
13. For example, see Louis Lo and Jeremy Tambling, 'How Excess Structures: On Reading Jin Ping Mei', *Textual Practice* 23 (2009), 119–40.
14. André Lévy, 'Introduction to the French Translation of *Jin Ping Mei cihua*', trans. Marc Martinez, *Renditions* 24 (1985), 109–29, 111–2.
15. Ge Hong 葛洪, *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Shanghai: