About the Birthplace of Wang Feng-yü (1594)
the Compiler of the Atlas Kuang-yü-k'ao

By Chang Hao

I

The Postscript and the two Prefaces

1. There are at least three copies of the Ming atlas of China, Kuang-yü-k'ao, or "Amplified Atlas with Statistical Commentaries" 1, later referred to as KYK, which have been the object of research and discussion by scholars from divers countries since 1814 2:

1. The copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (Manoscritti II, I, 226), brought from China into Florence in the year 1606 by Francesco Carletti (1574–1636), a Florentine traveller and merchant.

The first five pages of this copy had been lost probably before the year 1827, the year in which the researches by G. B. Baldelli were published in Florence 3. Those lost pages contained two prefaces which are of great importance in relating data. Fortunately a postscript by Wang Tso-chou, the son of the compiler Wang Feng-yü, is still in an excellent state of preservation. It tells the whole story of how he had witnessed, since his childhood, his father's constant and laborious research work on the atlas until the last moment when "in the tenth moon of the winter in the year chia-wu (1594) my father was seized by the disease of consumption. He ordered me to stand near his bed. He called me by my name and dictated his will to me saying: 'These researches upon the Atlas represent my life-long desire and the labour of ten years. As for the parts which are not yet engraved, I have prepared a duplicate copy in the bamboo case. I bid you to deliver it for me to the engravers, in order to fulfil this desire of mine.' At the moment of hearing this, I answered him tearfully." 4

The text of this postscript continues thus: "After ten days or a month 5 I started to unroll the atlas and look at it. Then I saw that there are mount-

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3 See Muccioli, op. cit. 1, p. 398.

4 See Muccioli, op. cit. 1, p. 402.

5 There are two possible interpretations of this phrase of four characters: The first is to interpret it as "after more than ten months". The second is the way in which I have put it here. The reason will be seen later.
ains and rivers in it. . . . So I have discussed and planned the engraving project with Mr. Hu Te-mei, *tzu* Hsing-ch’üan, and Mr. CHIN Kung-ch’en, *tzu* Pen-jen. Only after a cycle of one hot and one cold season [the engraving work] has been brought to completion (*keng i han-shu erh shih ch’eng*).

At the end of the postscript there is the date: Tenth moon, winter, 23rd year of Wan-li, *i-wei* (1595).

From the tenth moon of the year *chia-wu* to the tenth moon of the year *i-wei* was a period of just twelve months or a whole year. That means the postscript was written just twelve months after the sad will-reading episode. It also means that the engraving work was finished one year after the death of his father. The character of the present-perfect tense of the sentence *keng i han-shu erh shih ch’eng* demonstrates that the engraving work, which occupied "a cycle of one cold and one hot season", had already been finished by the time he wrote the postscript. This conforms perfectly to the rule that a postscript should be written only after the whole work (and the prefaces) has already been completed. Therefore the engraving work of KYK must have been started immediately after the funeral and mourning period which lasted about one month. That would conform well with the old Chinese ritual tradition and his eagerness to fulfill his father's will as soon as possible.

The work of engraving must have taken about eleven months which corresponds well with the expression "a cycle of one cold and one hot season". The most difficult part of a private publication enterprise is the engraving on wooden boards. Once it is completed, the printing and binding work goes very quickly.

Putting all these fragmentary facts together, we may conclusively establish the date of publication of the KYK as in the winter of 1595.


A seal which contains two characters Pu-ch’iu concludes the postscript.

This postscript was translated into Italian by M. Muccioli in op. cit. 1, p. 402-405.

2. The copy in the Peking National Library was incomplete too. Only the first part of the postscript has been preserved.

3. The copy in the Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, map division, No. E 604, is the only complete one. The two prefaces, as well as the postscript have been preserved in perfect state.

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4 This is an approximate translation of the term *hsiang-sheng*, a student who has successfully passed the lower examination in the district or has been recommended by some authoritative scholar of the district, then obtains a long-period scholarship and is allowed to stay and continue to study in the college of the district and to prepare his further examinations. A district college used to contain and support 20 to 40 such *hsiang-sheng* or *sheng-yüan "government-students"*, see *Jih-chih lu* of Ku Yen-wu, ch. 17 (Vol. 6, p. 56, ed. *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts’ung-shu*, Taipei, 1967).

The first preface, written by Yü I-lung, a high official, was engraved faithfully in his beautiful cursive handwriting. It is not easy to decipher, yet it conserves the ancient literal atmosphere and, above all, it avoids any possible misprint. This preface was also translated in extenso into Italian by M. Muccioli in op. cit. 2, p. 246—248, published in 1970.

In this preface Yü I-lung has shown his erudition by a number of historical allusions to the importance and the evolution of geography and cartography in China, starting with Yü-kung down to the famous Ma Yuan who heaped rice to make a sort of improvised map with three dimensions to demonstrate his strategy to the Emperor Kuang-wu and convinced him.

Yü I-lung continues with an exaltation of the greatness of the Ming Empire and the vast extent of his own travels over "half of the empire" and finished with an eloquent tribute to the KYK.

In reading this preface we discover one odd aspect: he did not say one word about the compiler Wang Feng-yü. He has not even mentioned his name, still less spoken about how his work was carried out. This is strangely inconsistent with the normal custom of preface writing in China.

The only possible explanation of this is: Yü I-lung did not know Wang Feng-yü when the latter was still alive. Probably, one year after his death, when the engraving work was being finished and made ready for publication, the son went to beg this successful and famous man of the same district to write a preface in order to honour the defunct compiler of the atlas and, at the same time, to honour their district. This conforms perfectly to the Chinese custom and mentality.

Near the end of the preface there is a date: "In the winter of the year i-wel of [the period] Wan-li", which means the twenty-third year of the Wan-li period, i.e. 1595. Hence it was written in exactly the same winter (of the same year) in which the son of the compiler wrote the postscript.

After the date, and before his signature, Yü I-lung has written a long series of his honorable titles. They produce a pompous and boring effect to the reader. That is probably why in the Italian translation of M. Muccioli they are not considered interesting and are omitted.

Although the long series of titles is tedious to deal with, in compensation, it may furnish us with precious clues regarding our investigations on the compiler's birthplace.

That is why we here reproduce the whole of the passage which contains all his titles and his signature:

万历乙未冬，赐进士第，通奉大夫正治卿，四川等处承宣布政使司左布政使，前钦差屯田，马政，兼管漕粮，南京江西道监察御史。

新安星源见田余一龙撰

* See Hou Han-shu, ed. Po-na-pen, ch. 24, fol. 8b.

Immediately after the signature there are two seals. The first reads I-ch’ou chin-shih and the second reads Hsien-t’ien. We shall find later that even one of these seals can furnish us with an important clue for our investigations.

From this succinct curriculum vitae we learn that:

1. He passed the highest examination in the Imperial Court and obtained the title of chin-shih. The first seal provides us with the precise date, namely 1565 (i-ch’ou), just thirty years before he wrote the preface.

2. Then he obtained the rank of t’ung-feng ta-lu cheng-chih-ch’ing, i.e. civil official of second rank B, second grade, in the Imperial Court.

3. He was named as Ssu-ch’uan teng-ch’u ch’eng- hsüan pu-cheng-shih ssu lso pu-cheng-shih, i.e. vice governor of Ssu-ch’uan and other province.

4. He became Imperial Commissioner in charge of stationing armies, horse administration and, in addition, the transportation of grain supplies.

5. Finally he reached the post of Censor for Kiangsi Circuit in Nanking.

After those titles comes his name and birthplace:

“Yü I-lung, with the tzu Hsien-t’ien of [the district] Hsing-yüan in [the prefecture] Hsin-an.”

3.

The second preface — a preface by the compiler Wang Feng-yü himself — tells the story of how he started to study with famous scholars at the age of fifteen, and later obtained a modest post in a Confucian temple, which, according to the old tradition, denotes a district college established in such a temple. He had always entertained feelings of patriotism for the land of his birth and a strong will to serve the great cause of the empire’s public affairs.

But after more than a hundred examinations without further success, it seemed there was no hope of entering high office, so he decided to dedicate his life to research work on the atlas which had been handed over to him by an elder patriarch HUNG of Chüeh-shan.

The work of Wang Feng-yü was to complete the statistic researches of the already existing Kuang-yü-l’u, in order to render it more useful for political, economic and military reference.

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The date and the signature at the end of this preface reads thus:


Having put this preface together with the postscript of his son and read, compared and examined both of them attentively we discover three curious points:

First, in the postscript, his son has attributed to the tragic will-reading scene a precise date: the tenth moon of the year 1594. But this preface, "written" by Wang Feng-yü the father and himself compiler, bears exactly the same date of his death, i.e. tenth moon of 1594, and is written in a very energetic and elaborate handwriting.

Second, he died from the disease of consumption in the same month. His health must have been precarious in the extreme. How could he have composed and written in a strong and detailed hand such an extensive preface?

Third, in comparing the calligraphy of this preface with that of the postscript we can see that both have been produced by the same hand-writing. The corresponding strokes, for example the na or "pressing", a stroke from upper left to down right, are of the same style and touch. There is, however, a difference of nuance between the postscript and the preface, that is: the postscript is written only in normal k'ai-shu or authentic type, while the preface is written in solemn kung-k'ai-t'i or reverential authentic type.

Upon this evidence we may assume that the facts are these:

The compiler dictated the outline of the preface to his son who put it into definite form and copied it out with the greatest reverence a short time before or after his father's death.

II

The Prefecture Hsin-an and the district Hsing-yüan

I.

Since the birthplace of all three authors of the prefaces and postscript is the same, namely "Hsing-yüan in Hsin-an", we may start to treat the bigger place Hsin-an first.

There are, in fact, at least twelve places called Hsin-an in China, but only three of them have achieved the distinction of being named a chüün or a chou, "prefecture".

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[13] Both of these prefaces were translated into Italian by M. Muccioli in his op. cit. 2, p. 242—244.
The earliest Hsin-an chün, originally named Hsin-tu chün, was established in the year of 208 A.D. towards the end of the dynasty Han, in the place now occupied by the district Shun-an in the province Chekiang. It contained six districts. The Chin dynasty (265—420) changed its name to Hsin-an chün. It was finally abolished by the Sui dynasty (581—617).

The second Hsin-an chün was established by the Northern Chou dynasty (557—580) on the east side of the present district of T'ieh-men in the province of Honan in North China. This prefecture too was abolished by the Sui dynasty.

The third Hsin-an chün, originally named She-chou, was established by the Sui dynasty in the year 589 in the city of the present district She-hsien in the modern province Anhui. It then changed its name to Hsin-an chün in the year of 607 and moved into the nearby district city of Hsiu-ning.

The T'ang dynasty moved it back to She-hsien and changed its name back to She-chou.

The Sung dynasty changed its name into Hui-chou, but also called it as "Hsin-an chün chün-shih" (Military Command of the Prefecture Hsin-an).

The Yuan dynasty called it Hui-chou lu and put it under the "Chiang-Che hsing-sheng" (Chiang-Che province).

During the Ming dynasty it was named Hui-chou fu, and contained six districts or hsien: 1. She; 2. Hsiu-ning; 3. Wu-yüan; 4. Ch'i-men; 5. I; 6. Ch'i-ch'i. It belonged to the Chekiang Province at first; but later was put directly under the control of Nanking, which meant, during the Ming, the administrative center of South China. That is why Nanking was, during the Ming, also called Chung-tu, "Capital in the Middle." 17

The Ch'ing dynasty did not change its name, but made this prefecture and its six districts one part of the Anhui Sheng.

The Republic of China abolished the system of chou or fu, or prefecture system. It put every hsien or district directly under the Government of the Province of Anhui.

And in the year 1934, as a particular case, the central government cut off the utmost southern and protrudent district Wu-yüan and transferred it into the Kiangsi Province, disregarding the nostalgic and proud feeling of the local people who still remained faithful to their millenary-old prefecture.

The "third" Hsin-an chün was situated in the north-west of the "first" Hsing-an chün. The distance between them is only about one hundred kilometers. A river called Hsin-an chiang joins them. This is probably the cause of the transference of the name from one prefecture to the other.

See Ta Ming I-t'ung chih, photolithographic reproduction by the T'ung-i ch'uan kung-ssu, Taipei, of a late Ming ed., ch. 16, p. 12.


See Ta'u-hai, ed. Taipei, 1957, p. 840, title: Wu-yüan; also see T'ung Wen-chiang, Chung-kuo len-sheng hsin t'u, Shanghai, Shen-pao-kuan, 1939, p. 18.

Hui-chou with its six sister-districts. And in the above mentioned recent *National Atlas of China* the district Wu-yuán is, without explanation, re-annexed into Anhui province.¹⁹

The district Wu-yuán became well-known in the time of the Southern Sung because the great scholar Chu Hsi (1130—1200) was born there. He, disregarding the fact that the name of Hsin-an chün had, in his time, already been officially changed to Hui-chou, still stuck to the ancient name of Hsin-an; and he used to sign his numerous important works "Hsin-an Chu Hsi".

The influence of his signature was stronger than that of the administrative institutions. Since then, the prefecture Hui-chou has virtually monopolized the name Hsin-an. Therefore we may confirm with certainty that the Hsin-an of Wang Feng-yü and his son Wang Tso-chou and the censor Yü I-lung is the same Hsin-an of Chu Hsi, that is to say Hui-chou fu, as it was named during the Ming dynasty.

Now comes the problem of the smaller place, namely the district of Hsing-yuán or "Star-Source".

The prefecture of Hui-chou fu contained, as we have said above, six districts during the Ming dynasty (and during the Ch’ing dynasty too). But among the six, we cannot find one which is called Hsing-yuán. Unfortunately, too, to my knowledge, in no dictionary, gazetteer or encyclopaedia of any kind does the name Hsing-yuán appear, except once after the signature of the author of one preface of the *Wu-yuán hsien-chih* ²⁰.

The only possible hypothesis is this: Among the six districts belonging to the prefecture Hui-chou fu there is one district named Wu-yuán. And the birthplace of Wang Feng-yü is named Hsing-yuán belonging to the prefecture Hsin-an. In the two names of Wu-yuán and Hsing-yuán there is one character in common: yuán, "source".

Since we have identified the prefecture Hui-chou fu with the more ancient prefecture Hsin-an chün, we may assume that the same district can possess two different names: Wu-yuán and Hsing-yuán. A place possessing two or more names is very common in China. Therefore the next step is to see if there were any relationship between these two characters wu and hsing.

III

The Identification of the District Wu-yuán and the District Hsing-yuán.

1.

The name of the district Wu-yuán came from the river Wu Shui which has its source in the mountaineous region north-west of the district. It is also called Wu Ho ²¹ or Wu Chiang ²². It flows southward into Kiangsi Province;

20 See below, p. 93.
21 See *Chung-kuo ten-sheng hsìn t’u*, p. 18.
and, after taking the name Lo-an Chiang[29] for its lower part it enters the Po-yang Lake.

The character Wu represents Wu-Nü[30], "Serving-Maid", the name of a group of four stars (α, μ, ν, Γ) Aquarius, with the determinative star ε). This group of stars constitutes the tenth of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions or Erh-shih-pa Hsiu. That is why this group is often referred as Nü hsiu[31]23. It is also called Hsü-Nü[32]24.

The association of particular earthly regions with sections of the sky was a very old idea in China, found in early Han and pre-Han texts. To the fixed stars would correspond the fixed mountains and rivers, not the changeable city names. This coordinate system of distribution of the celestial spaces according to their corresponding territories is called ten yeh[33]25.

According to the Chou-li, the imperial astrologer, Pao Chang Shih[36], an important and hereditary office, concerns himself with the stars in the heavens, keeping a record of the changes and movements of the stars, the planets, the sun and the moon, in order to examine the movements of the terrestrial world, with the object of distinguishing (prognosticating) good and bad fortune. He divides the territories of the nine regions of the empire in accordance with their dependence on particular celestial bodies. All the fiefs and principalities are connected with distinct stars, and from this their prosperity or misfortune can be ascertained. He makes prognostications, according to the twelve years (of the Jupiter cycle), of good and evil in the terrestrial world26.

The correspondence between the district Wu-yüan and the lunar mansion Wu-nü is precisely related in the Huai-nan-tzu. In its T'ien-wen hsün[37] or Documents on Astronomy there is a list of twelve principalities plus the central kindom of Chou. Fifth on the list is: "[The mansion] Hsü-Nü [corresponds the principality] Wu"[38]27.

In the Shih-chi there is a list parallel to that of Huai-nan-tzu. Instead of principalities, the Shih-chi takes eleven chou plus Chiang-Iu and San-Ho[39]. It associates two mansions Ch'ien-niu and Wu-nü with Yang-chou[40]28.

The list in the Kuang-ya closely resembles that of Huai-nan-tzu with some variants: "Tou, Ch'ien-niu, Hsü-nü [correspond to the principalities] Wu and

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[29] 楊安江
[30] 姬女
[31] 女宿
[32] 麗女
[33] 王念孫：廣雅疏證
[34] 羅維編書
[35] 分野
[36] 保章氏
[37] 天文訓
[38] 須女呂
[39] 江湖，三河
[40] 楊州
Yüeh". It puts three mansions, namely the Dipper, the Herd-boy and the Serving-maid together to associate with two principalities.

Although there are some differences in detail between these three ancient texts, they agree on the principle that the mansion Wu-nü, or Serving-maid, corresponds to the lower Yang-tzu region where its protected district Wu-yüan, i.e. Source of the Serving-maid or Hsing-yüan, i.e. Source of Stars is situated.

2.

Some supplementary proofs are found in the following source:
1. In the Wu-yüan hsien-chih, revised edition of 1826, although there is no direct statement on the fact that Wu-yüan is also called Hsing-yüan, its first preface by Huang Ying-yün, 1826, proudly relates that "The Hsing-chiang [or Star-river] is the place where the glorious career of Wen-kung (i.e. Chu Hsi) began." Here we find the identity of Hsing-chiang and Wu-chiang.
2. At the end of its second preface written by Chu Yuan-li, also in 1826, the signature is followed by "written in the administrative office of Hsing-yüan". Here the clear identity of Hsing-yüan and Wu-yüan is found.
3. If the name of Wang Feng-yü, the compiler of KYK, and that of his son Wang Tso-chou do not appear in this Gazetteer of the District Wu-yüan it is probably because they were only scholarship students, while the name of the author of the first preface of KYK, namely the censor Yü I-lung, appears with prominence in the ch. 5, fol. 28b, as chin-shih in the year i-chou (1565). And this date corresponds precisely to the seal "I-ch'ou chin-shih" at the end of his preface for the KYK. Even a seal of four characters can furnish us with a precious clue.

Furthermore there is a long biography of Yü I-lung, ch. 15, fol. 10a—b, entitled "Eminent personages".

4. As we read in the beginning of this paper: in the second preface of KYK, by the compiler Wang Feng-yü, he tells the story of receiving the atlas from the hand of the "elder patriarch Hung of Chüeh-shan". And Hung's biography also appears in the Wu-yüan hsien-chih, ch. 15, fol. 6a, entitled "Con-
fucian Scholars" (Ju-lin chuan). It reads thus: "Hung Yuan, tzu Chun-chih [49],
native of [the subdistrict or commune [50]] Kuan-yuan; the scholars called him
Chueh-shan hsien-sheng; . . . He was invested as a censor . . . . He resigned
and lived in the forest as a hermit for 46 years and died in poverty at the age
of 87 . . . . ."

Hung Yuan became chin-shih in 1532 [51], sixty-two years before the death of
Wang Feng-yü (1594). The age-distance between them is evident. Both were
natives of the same district Wu-yuan, and Hung Yuan had lived in retreat
for the long period of 46 years; we can perceive the influence of the virtuous
philosopher and the once high official upon the young, zealous but unlucky
student Wang Feng-yü. By handing over the Atlas Kuang-yü-t'u the sage
had probably invited and encouraged the young student to dedicate his lifetime
energy to fulfilling the mission of compiling the statistics for KYK.
Although he had struggled with over a hundred examinations without success, he had achieved finally a considerable work which rendered his name
permanent.

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Plate 2
Preface by Yü I-jung (1595)