Pepper to sea cucumbers: Chinese gustatory revolution in global history, 900-1840

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Epilogue

Now, let me first address the question raised at the beginning of this dissertation: "Why did pepper and sea cucumbers feature so prominently in China's maritime trade with Southeast Asia?" I can now conclusively answer that it was because these two edible exotics were essential to two important food cultures in China, namely, a hot-spicy foodway that favoured pepper and a clear-broth-infused foodway that favoured sea cucumbers. These two food cultures were not timeless. They emerged and flourished at different time and in different contexts. They were also not only important to China and Southeast Asia, but had global implications for two broader worlds, namely, a trans-Indian Ocean world of pepper spanning from South India to China, and a cross-China Seas world of sea cucumbers spanning from the Japan Sea to northern Australia.

Situating the change of Chinese taste within these two worlds, I want to propose a Chinese gustatory revolution in global history. This concept aims to rethink how food mattered to global history from a non-western perspective. It contends that for the global connections from the Mongol Conquest through the Dutch and British colonial expansions, the shift from pepper to sea cucumbers in Chinese cuisine played a transformative role. To unpack how this transformative shift worked, I will first revisit how the worlds of pepper and sea cucumbers emerged, evolved, and were connected to each other, and then discuss how these changes shed new light on taste and global history.

From the World of Pepper to the World of Sea Cucumbers

To begin with, the emergence and expansion of the trans-Indian Ocean world of pepper mainly took place in the two decades following the Mongol Conquest of South China (1279). As chapter two has elaborated, in the 1280s and 1290s, the Great Khan in China and his supporters in Persia jointly built a trans-Indian ocean empire, which facilitated the rise of a trans-Indian Ocean trading network.

Through this network, pepper from South India flowed to China in large quantities, became unprecedentedly available to Chinese consumers, and gave rise to a Chinese culinary culture in which pepper was commonly used as a popular hot spice.

Such a change took place not simply because of the Mongol Conquest. As chapter one shows, since at least the tenth century, Chinese elite consumers had been favourably receiving pepper and other warming exotics as essential to energising digestion. Thereafter, through a critical change of the cold-damage theory in the eleventh century, the therapy of "warming the centre" with exotics rose to prominence in Chinese medicine. Also, since at least the eleventh century, Java had already managed to transplant pepper from South India. By the early thirteenth century, there had been a burgeoning export of Javanese pepper to China, which induced a large-scale outflow of Chinese copper coins, forcing the Southern Song dynasty to impose a trade embargo on Java. Moreover, in the early thirteenth century, there was a subtle change of Chinese cuisine represented by the rise of the hot-spicy Sichuan stir-frying, in which pepper was used as a main condiment. Piecing evidence together, it is safe to argue that Chinese demand for pepper had already been surging before the Mongol Conquest and that even, according to Yamada, China's age of pepper had dawned in the early thirteenth century.

It was, however, only through the Mongol Conquest that China's long-accumulated demand for pepper was eventually unleashed. For the first time in history, the pepper land of Malabar became a major destination for ships from the China Coast, who received sponsorship or even direct investments from the Mongol ruling elites. With these ships, traders from China also participated in the trans-Indian Ocean trade of fine spices, which were collected by them from the eastern Indonesian Archipelago and sold to West Asian traders in South India. As a result, they took the Malabar Coast not only as a pepper-supplier, but also a redistribution centre for selling Chinese merchandise and Southeast Asian fine spices to merchants from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes.

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However, into the second half of the fourteenth century, China's Indian Ocean trade would be subject to temporary setbacks amid the collapse of the Mongol Empire and the erratic maritime policies imposed by the founding emperor of the Ming, Hongwu (r. 1368-1399). Thereafter, when Emperor Yongle (r. 1403-1424) dispatched Zheng He's fleets (1405-1433) to the Indian Ocean World in the early fifteenth century, Malabar once again became the principal pepper supplier of China. It was only after the end of Zheng He's voyages in 1433 that Southeast Asian pepper would eventually regain its long-lost primacy, for the Ming Empire turned to Melaka as its principal trading partner for tropical exotics. Melaka, as well-known, would tranship pepper from an emerging pepper frontier in northern Sumatra to China. Taking these changes into consideration, I suggest that it was not the beginning of the Zheng He's voyages, but their ending that triggered the Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, for it eliminated competitions from the trans-Indian Ocean trading system.

Whereas the trans-Indian Ocean world of pepper existed only from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries, its gustatory consequence in China was much more lasting. Evidence from both culinary and medical texts indicates that a hot-spicy foodway seasoned by pepper remained popular in China until the sixteenth century. On the one hand, food recipes from the early fourteenth through the early sixteenth centuries continuously show the popularity of pepper in Chinese cuisine. It was widely used together with Sichuan pepper for making a strong flavour, which is known in present-day Chinese cuisine as "numbing- and hot-spicy" (*mala* 麻辣), but was referred to in those fourteenth-to-sixteenth-century texts only as "hot-spicy" (*la* 辣).

On the other hand, evidence from Chinese medical texts testifies that from the mid-fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries there was a widely shared concern among medical practitioners about this hot-spicy foodway. This kind of concern can be identified with the criticisms of pepper in the writings by Zhu Zhenheng (1281-1358) and Li Shizhen (1518-1593). Zhu's concern over warming exotics such as pepper stemmed from medical theories that first emerged in late twelfth-century North

China under the Jurchen Jin dynasty and advocated the use of cooling agents. These theories were originally part of a counter-movement against the above-mentioned "warming-the-centre" therapy. They were spread to the former territory of the Southern Song dynasty in the wake of the Mongol Conquest of South China (1279), and influenced Zhu Zhenheng, who was a southern physician, in the early fourteenth century. Zhu developed these theories and extended the criticisms from medicine to food. He even specifically targeted the use of pepper in the hot-spicy foodway. Zhu's teachings, which were popularised in the fifteenth century, led to an irreconcilable conflict between the supposed fire nature of pepper and the doctrine of "yang is in excess, and yin is deficient". Therefore, Li Shizhen, in the sixteenth century, would take Zhu's criticisms seriously to renounce his own appetite for pepper. That personal experience urged Li to redefine pepper in his highly influential *Systematic Materia Medica* (1596), turning it from a benign warming agent to a dangerous hot spice with a fierce fire nature.

Into the seventeenth century, "China's age of pepper" eventually lost momentum. On the one hand, as the *Systematic Materia Medica* became authoritative in China, Li Shizhen's negative account of pepper prevailed over these earlier positive definitions. Li's account was further cited and popularised by more concise versions of *materia medica*. Collectively, they contributed to a shift towards negative perceptions of pepper. On the other hand, chili pepper began to be integrated into Chinese cuisine from the early seventeenth century. It emerged as a cheap condiment locally cultivated in China and widely used by non-elite families in economically backward regions. It also superseded pepper for its more intense hot-spiciness.

While pepper was retreating from Chinese foodways, sea cucumbers were rising. From the late sixteenth century, sea cucumbers emerged in Chinese cuisine. As chapter three shows, this change should be understood as part of a chain of transformations in Chinese perceptions of seafood. As a result of these transformations, a select group of the preserved marine products, including edible bird's nests, sea cucumbers, shark fins, and abalones, emerged as top sea delicacies in sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century China. Among them, edible nests and sea cucumbers were unknown to Chinese high cuisine until the sixteenth century, and then they suddenly rose from obscurity to top delicacies. To decipher their enigmatic rise, we need to return to the medical debates that led to the retreat of pepper. Like pepper, both sea cucumbers and edible nests were subject to the theoretical debates between the warming and cooling cultures. They bear witness to the revival of the warming culture from the sixteenth century, when a group of physicians reacted against the over-popularity of the cooling therapy. These physicians advocated a reformed warming therapy, known as warming and replenishing, which favoured no longer acrid spices and aromatics but relatively mild medicines that were sweet and warm, such as ginseng.

Sea cucumbers emerged in Chinese cuisine from the late sixteenth-century exactly as "sea ginseng" (*haishen*), a term originally borrowed from Korea. This term, on the one hand, aroused the warming and replenishing efficacy of ginseng, and on the other hand, through the sea link, created imaginative affinities with the kidneys. According to the *Inner Canon*, the kidneys correspond to blackness, the north, saltiness, and water. Black sea cucumbers from the North China Sea perfectly fit these symbols and were conceived by Chinese physicians in the mid-seventeenth century as extraordinary ginseng that was at once "warming and replenishing" and able to nourish the water and yin of the kidneys. As the preservation of the water and yin of the kidneys was essential for the cooling theory of Zhu Zhenheng. Sea cucumbers, therefore, became a perfect therapeutic accepted by both the warming and the cooling medicine.

Edible nests, being another top sea delicacy often mentioned together with sea cucumbers, were imagined as a metamorphosis from a marine creature. Among different versions of the metamorphosis, one popular account claimed that edible nests were transformed from a popular cooling agent *haifen* (egg masses of sea hares (Anaspidea)), whose nature was originally cold and salty. Through a process of being ingested, digested, and vomited by a seabird, it turned to be sweet and warm. This

transformation made edible nests also a perfect therapeutic that was both able to clear fire-related phlegm because of the original nature of *haifen*, and to take care of the digestive system because its nature had been "warmed" through the imagined metamorphosis.

Therefore, from the perspective of Chinese medical history, those seemingly unrelated changes of taste, including the retreat of pepper, the rise of sea cucumbers, and the transformation of edible nests, were all gustatory consequences of the theoretical debates between the two rivalling medical cultures in China. Pepper, for its supposed fire nature, became vulnerable to the criticisms from the cooling culture and eventually retreated from Chinese high cuisine after the publication of Li Shizhen's *Systematic Materia Medica* (1596). Sea cucumbers and edible nests, for their imaginative links with the sea, were conceived in the seventeenth century by Chinese physicians as perfect therapeutics catering to both the warming and cooling cultures.

In association with the changing perceptions of these individual edible exotics, there was a fundamental shift of Chinese taste-scape throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As we have mentioned, in the early sixteenth century, the hot-spicy foodway that widely used pepper remained popular in China. The 1504 recipe collection of Madam Zhu (published as *Songshi yangsheng bu*) is arguably the most "peppered" cookery book in Chinese food history. However, by the end of this century, when Gao Lian (ca. 1527-1603) published his 1591 *Discourse on Food and Drink*, pepper became hard to find. As a well-studied topic in Chinese food history, Gao's work played a critical role in the rise of a literati-style foodway. He drew on theories about the detriments of five flavours to the visceral systems to propose blandness as an elegant and exquisite flavour ideal for the literati body. Into the seventeenth century, the literati-style cuisine experienced another critical change. It no longer simply pursued blandness but identified *xian* as an ideal flavour. In this transition, Li Yu's 1671 *Sketches of Idle Pleasures* was crucial, not only because it proposed *xian* as an elusive, delicate, and aestheticised flavour, but also because it suggested to use broths to transmit such a flavour.

This change had a profound influence on the integration of the top sea delicacies into the literati-style cuisine. A common feature of these sea delicacies was that they were all deeply dried and had gelatinous or fibrous texture that was prone to absorb water. Before being used for cooking, they had to be repeatedly washed and soaked with pure water, to soften their structure and to remove unwanted impurities and odours. During this process, they lost much of their original flavours, and could be thereafter reinvented with an aestheticised *xian* flavour through being infused with a delicately prepared broth. They hence became the favourite food ingredients in this new taste-scape, being able to embody the literati's aesthetic values and to address their medical concerns.

Behind the rise of these sea delicacies in Chinese cuisine, there were far-flung networks supplying them to the Chinese consumer market. Different from the trans-Indian Ocean network of pepper, the sea delicacy networks were concentrated around the China Seas region. This was because of the different trading patterns. Whereas there was a long-established pepper trading network in the Indian Ocean World supplying multiple consumer markets including not only China, the preserved marine products almost exclusively served the Chinese consumer market. Therefore, their networks were relatively China-centric. As Chinese demand surged from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, their networks also expanded from the China Coast across the China Seas to the broader world.

In this cross-China Seas world, these sea delicacies had different distribution patterns. Edible nests could only be found in tropical regions. Abalones were mostly collected from temperate waters. Shark fins were from both tropical and temperate waters, but they relied on relatively unpredictable catches. In comparison to them, sea cucumbers had the best potential to be massively collected and traded from a wide geographic range. They had abundant distribution in coastal waters and had rich biodiversity including both temperate and tropical species. Therefore, they offered the best example for understanding how this cross-China Seas world took shape.

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As chapter four shows, China was first supplied with sea cucumbers from Northeast Asia in the late sixteenth century. In the initial stage, Liaodong (present-day Liaoning province in Northeast China) featured prominently. This region was critical in establishing the first sea cucumber (sea ginseng) economy in China most likely because of influence from Korea, which was adjacent to Liaodong and had already developed its own sea cucumber economy since the early fifteenth century. Besides Liaodong, the Shandong Peninsula in North China, which was opposite to Liaodong, also developed a sea cucumber economy by the early seventeenth century and would play a prominent role in the mid-seventeenth century, when the coastal region of Liaodong was temporarily depopulated amid the Manchu Conquest.

Through the seventeenth century, the Manchu Conquest was a major factor in the rise of the northern world of sea cucumbers. Liaodong first became the centre of the emerging Manchu Regime in the 1620s. After a turbulent period in the mid-seventeenth century, the Manchu Conquest contributed to an important expansion of the northern world of sea cucumbers for it brought the Manchu coast of the Japan Sea into contact with the Chinese consumer market. Besides that, sea cucumbers also emerged in the tribute trade organised by the Korean and the Manchu courts, as well as in Manchu-sponsored maritime trade with Japan. As a result, by the end of the seventeenth century, when the Manchus had managed to establish a new world order in Northeast Asia, the northern world of sea cucumbers had enormously expanded, incorporating both the North China Sea and the Japan Sea. In this process, the typical temperate sea cucumbers from these two seas, with a spiky and black surface, were constructed as the ideal sea cucumbers, known in the Chinese consumer market as Liao/Manchu sea cucumbers (*liaoshen*).

While the northern world of sea cucumbers was taking shape in the seventeenth century, a southward expansion was initially hindered by some deep-seated cultural prejudices. As chapter four shows, in the mid-seventeenth century, when tropical sea cucumbers first emerged in Chinese cuisine,

they were perceived as inferior for their appearance, origin, and texture were considered essentially different from the idealised Liao/Manchu sea cucumbers from temperate waters. As a result, till the end of the seventeenth century, Chinese elite consumers still attempted to exclude tropical species from their perception of perfect sea cucumbers, even though the demand in China had become so strong so that people had to look for more affordable substitutes for the expensive Liao/Manchu variety.

That strong demand was met with a new era in China's maritime trade with Southeast Asia. In 1684, as there was no longer a powerful overseas regime threatening the Manchu rule in China after the conquest of Taiwan (1683), Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1722) decided to open to the sea. The following over a century-long expansion of the overseas Chinese economy is well-known in Southeast Asian historiography as the Chinese Century. That expansion also became entangled with the post-Spice Wars transformation of archipelagic Southeast Asia. After the fall of the former spice trading centre, Makassar, to the Dutch in 1669, eastern Indonesian littoral society retreated from the previously profitable trade of fine spices with the Indian Ocean World because of the monopoly by the VOC. The open of China from the 1680s offered them new trading opportunities. Eventually, mediated by overseas Chinese living in Makassar, they joined the cross-China Seas world of sea cucumbers from around the 1690s.

The major challenge that the eastern Indonesian littoral society faced was not the long distance across the China Seas, but the above-mentioned cultural prejudices against tropical species. Their southern origin and often non-black colour excluded them from the theoretical framework that associated the natural features of black sea cucumbers from temperate waters with the medical efficacy of nourishing the water and yin of the kidneys. Against these prejudices, Southeast Asian collectors in eastern Indonesia explored a rich diversity of tropical species and produced various types of products with their own food-processing techniques. Some sorts closely emulated the black and spiky

Liao/Manchu sea cucumbers, some sorts superseded the latter for their larger size, and some deeply processed sorts even transformed originally low-value white tropical sea cucumbers into meaty and chewy products, catering to Chinese consumers' gustatory preferences. These diverse sorts of tropical sea cucumbers, with distinctive features, gradually destabilised Chinese conception of the perfect sea cucumbers and cultivated a new consumer market for tropical varieties.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, white sea cucumbers deeply processed by *trepangers* from Makassar in northern Australia had been sold together with spiky and black sea cucumbers from the Japan Sea in "sea taste" or "southern goods" ships in China, both perceived as desirable sea delicacies by Chinese consumers. The China Seas were now encompassed by the world of sea cucumbers. Thereafter, by the dawn of the Opium War (1839-1942), it further expanded far beyond the China Seas and drew sea cucumbers from the southern Pacific Islands.

Taste and Global History

The transformation from the world of pepper to the world of sea cucumbers had important consequences for the global connections from the Mongol Conquest to the Dutch and British expansions. As just mentioned, the emergence of the trans-Indian Ocean world of pepper caused a shift of spice trade from the trading entrepôts in Southeast Asia to the Malabar Coast of South India. This shift urged us to rethink the Mongol hiatus in Southeast Asian historiography. Taking the activities of the Mongol Empire in the Indian Ocean World into consideration, I suggest that it was not the negative maritime policy of the Mongols, but their pro-active involvement in the construction of their trans-Indian Ocean empire that contributed to the Mongol hiatus between the two ages of commerce in Southeast Asia. It is even possible to consider the period from the Mongol Conquest of South China until the end of the Zheng He's voyages, namely, approximately from the 1280s to the

1430s, as a trans-Indian Ocean age of commerce, when ships from China bypassed Southeast Asian intermediaries and directly participated in the Indian Ocean trade.

The rise of the cross-China Seas world of sea cucumbers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries created new connections for seemingly irrelevant regional developments from Northeast Asia to northern Australia. In Northeast Asia, it sheds light on the ignored global history of the Japan Sea. From the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, the littoral society of the Japan Sea was subject to three different political powers, namely, the Manchu Empire, the Chosŏn dynasty, and the Tokugawa shogunate. Sea cucumbers offer a unique angle to re-envision the connected past of this region beyond the segmentation caused by these powers. In the seventeenth century, with a long-established sea cucumber economy, the Japan Sea joined the Chinese consumption-centric world of sea cucumbers via three different channels: the Manchu trading town of Hunchun, the tribute missions of Korea, and the Nagasaki trading system. Nevertheless, by the end their sea cucumbers still converged in the Chinese consumer market and might even be collectively sold as Liao/Manchu sea cucumbers in a "sea taste" shop in China, because of their shared feature of being black and spiky.

Into the eighteenth century, such a shop would also offer various types of tropical sea cucumbers from Southeast Asia and northern Australia. Throughout that century, thanks to initiatives from fishers and traders in Southeast Asia, the southern world of sea cucumbers shed off the dominance of the Liao/Manchu sea cucumbers and proposed diversified and deeply processed tropical products, which gradually found market in China. That change exactly took place between the VOC's monopoly of the spice trade in the late seventeenth century and the British expansion in Southeast Asia and northern Australia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It points to a transitional period in Southeast Asian history when the Age of Commerce had ended, and the local society was searching for new trading opportunities outside the monopoly of the VOC.

In this context, the emerging trade of sea cucumbers with China became crucial. The Dutch empire, while controlling several strategical ports in this sea cucumber world, could do little other than occasionally check junks and *padewakangs* sailing along the loosely patrolled waters of archipelagic Southeast Asia. On the same waters, Chinese traders in Makassar had been organising sea cucumber fishery since the 1690s. Iranun and Balangingi slave-raiders had been actively capturing coastal populations since the late eighteenth century for fuelling a prosperous sea cucumber economy on the Sulu Islands. Bugis sailors were weaving a cross-Java Sea network throughout the eighteenth century to carry sea cucumbers from the eastern Indonesian Archipelago to their trading bases along the Melaka Straits. That trading pattern inspired some EIC officials from the late eighteenth century and eventually contributed to the rise of the British Empire in Southeast Asia.[1]

The rise of these expanding empires and far-reaching networks are, however, what can be observed on the surface. Underneath them, there was an evolving Chinese microcosm. In the aforementioned medical debates, pepper and sea cucumbers were associated with two sets of affinities. Pepper, for its hot-spiciness, was associated with fire, heat, and the therapy of warming the centre. Sea cucumbers, particularly temperate sea cucumbers, for their northern origin, black colour, and saltwater habitat, were associated with water, cold, and the therapy of nourishing the yin of the kidneys. Therefore, the transformation from the world of pepper to the world of sea cucumbers corresponded to the shift from a pepper-represented microcosm that favoured warming exotics for raising up yang, replenishing the spleen and the stomach, and energising digestion, to a sea cucumbers-represented microcosm that paid more attention to nourishing yin, preserving water, and taking care of the kidneys. These emblematic terms concerning the nature of the body in Chinese medicine, in fact, provide a

[1] Tagliacozzo, "A Necklace of Fins."

coded language for exploring a global history that could profoundly change our understanding of the world since the Mongol Conquest.

Such an observation encourages us to further break away from the popular assumption that only European consumption of edible exotics, such as spices, sugar, and tea, mattered to early modern globalisation and the emergence of the modern world. Following Craig Clunas's criticism of "consumption and the rise of the west", I completely agree that we shall abandon the idea of exclusively identifying early modern European society as the consumer society, and exclusively associating European "consumer revolution" with modernity.[2] Since at least the eleventh century, along with the rise of the literati as social elites, the consumption of edible exotics in China had no longer been the privileges of the court and the aristocrats. It was after all the literati's concern about their self-perceived weak and partly-feminised body that propelled the evolution of Chinese medicine and contributed to the gustatory shift from pepper to sea cucumbers.

Also, apart from a period from the late fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries, when the Ming imperial state attempted to monopolise overseas trade through the tribute system, Chinese consumers were primarily supplied with edible exotics by private merchants. Some of them, such as the so-called southern goods merchants, specialised in the domestic redistributions of these edible exotics, while others, such as the junk traders based on the China Coast, focused on importing them from overseas. Although many of them also received patronage from the Mongol or Manchu court, their profitability by the end depended on the sale of their imported exotics in the Chinese consumer market, instead of the consumption of the court and the aristocrats. Thanks to the existence of this consumer economy, the changes in Chinese taste for exotics had far-reaching influence on the world beyond the China Coast.

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[2] Clunas, "Modernity Global and Local."

However, we shall also not glorify the global implications of the Chinese gustatory revolution. On the one hand, we have no reason to justify a dominance of Chinese literati culture over non-Chinese society at the margins of a China-centric world. Instead, as this dissertation reveals, Chinese literati culture received influence from everywhere, from Ayurvedic medicine, from the Mongol Conquest, from the Manchu Conquest, from the littoral society in the eastern Indonesian Archipelago, etc. While not denying the consumer power of the literati, we shall beware that their consumption patterns were not determined by Chinese literati culture alone but evolved amid everyday interactions with non-literati culture in China and non-Chinese culture in the world.

On the other hand, I must acknowledge that this research has yet to take the consumption of edible exotics in other non-western food cultures into consideration. As far as I am aware, the existing scholarship in this understudied field is not commensurate to its significance for global history. We may expect that the researchers of the food history of, for instance, India, Persia, Japan, Java, and Mexico to propose different types of gustatory revolutions and different food-defined worlds driven by these regions' evolving taste for exotics. I believe that "gustatory revolutions", like modernities, shall be plural instead of singular.[3] I also believe that the change of taste for exotics in many locations in this world matters to global history. After all, I think that to global history, all taste matters.

[3] For a critical review of modernity, see Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 113-149.

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Abbreviations

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DXYJ *Danxi yiji* 丹溪醫集 [The medical collection of Danxi (Zhu Zhenheng)]. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1999.

EIC British East India Company.

JYSDJYXQS *Jin Yuan sidajia yixue quanshu* 金元四大家醫學全書 [Complete medical anthology of the Four Masters in the Jin and Yuan periods]. Tianjin: Tianjin kexue jishu chubanshe, 1994.

NA Nationaal Archief (National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague).

SKJHSCS *Siku jinhuishu congshu* 四庫禁燬書叢書 [Collectanea of the books prohibited and destroyed by the editors of the *Complete Library in Four Sections*]. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997.

SKQS *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 [Complete library in four sections] (Wenyuange copy). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983.

SKQSCMCS *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 [Collectanea of the books reviewed in the *Complete Library in Four Sections*]. Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996.

VOC Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch United East India Company).

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Curriculum Vitae

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