

From Capital to Metropolis

Urbanization and the Transformation of Market Spaces in Late Ming Nanjing

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Abstract

The transformation of Nanjing from a political capital to an economic and cultural center in the 14th and 16-17th centuries is well recognized. However, there has been limited focus on the changes in market spaces that were closely linked to urbanization and economic activities during this period. This article first examines the historical development of markets in Nanjing before the Ming Dynasty, analyzing the characteristics of market formation under the influence of urban layout. It then delves into the markets under state management and construction in the early Ming Dynasty, highlighting that the distribution and form of early Ming street markets were consistent with the government's political intentions. Finally, it explores how urbanization in the later Ming Dynasty led to the reorganization of market spaces, reshaping the cityscape of street markets and infusing them with greater urban significance.

Keywords

Late Ming Nanjing; urbanization; market space; street market; urban space

How to cite

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INTRODUCTION

The market is an integral part of ancient Chinese cities and a space closely linked to the urban economic condition. The term “market” referred to specific commercial areas within cities from the Qin and Han Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty¹. Abundant research indicates that the urban revolution during the Song Dynasty transformed market forms from enclosed areas to open street markets. This urban revolution also marked the beginning of China’s market-oriented urbanization. However, the development of markets was not autonomous; ancient Chinese cities, especially the capitals, always maintained a certain degree of control and management over market spaces.

Nanjing, a city with a rich history, has been a prominent metropolis in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River region throughout various historical periods. Particularly in the mid to late 16th century during the Ming Dynasty, Nanjing experienced significant changes in its urban development. The substantial economic transformations during this time are sometimes called the “sprouts of capitalism,” reflecting profound and widespread shifts in population, agricultural production, commerce, and wealth across China². It can be said that during the Ming Dynasty, Nanjing evolved from a political center to an economic and cultural hub, signifying the ascendancy of commercial forces³.

Research on Nanjing during the Ming dynasty has received significant attention, primarily within the realm of economic and cultural history. Fan points out that the economic development of Nanjing during the Ming Dynasty can be divided into three stages: early Ming, mid-Ming, and late Ming. In the late Ming period, Nanjing’s economy entered its peak era⁴. Wu considers Nanjing markets in the late Ming to be consumption spaces, discussing changes in shopping streets and suggesting that consumer demand was one of the driving forces behind urban development during the Ming and Qing dynasties⁵. Wang focuses on urban scrolls from the late Ming period, exploring the urban concepts these images convey⁶. Fei argues that urbanization in Ming Nanjing was not merely a byproduct of commercial development but was influenced by the institutional framework and cultural trends, emphasizing the significance of urban space construction for urbanization⁷.

The relationship between urbanization, commercial development, and market space is noteworthy. However, there is a dearth of research on market spaces during the Ming Dynasty. This prompts the question: What were the distinguishing features of market space distribution and forms in Ming Nanjing? Specifically, during the latter part of the Ming Dynasty, how did market spaces evolve and transform as Nanjing transitioned from a political center to a cultural and economic hub?

THE FOUNDATION OF MARKET DEVELOPMENT: HISTORICAL LAYERS PRECEDING THE MING DYNASTY

NATURAL DEVELOPMENT AS THE MAIN DRIVER: THE FORMATION OF MARKETS IN JIANKANG CITY DURING THE SIX DYNASTIES

It is generally believed that in 229 AD, Sun Quan established his capital at Jianye, initiating the construction of Jiankang City during the Six Dynasties period and thus bringing Nanjing onto the historical stage as the capital of southern China. Before Sun Quan moved the capital to Jianye, most city residents lived along the Qinhuai River, with the densely populated area primarily on the southern bank, especially in Greater and Lesser Changgan regions. After establishing the capital, Sun Quan founded the “Grand Market” (Da Shi) and the “Eastern Market” (Dong Shi). The Grand Market was established in front of Jianchu Temple, Nanjing’s earliest Buddhist temple, located in Lesser Changgan. The exact location of the Eastern Market remains unknown. At this time, however, the palace city was situated north of the Qinhuai River, quite a distance from the markets, not conforming to the Zhouli system of having the court in front and the market behind. In fact, the initial market layout of the city was constrained by the terrain and built upon the foundation of already-developed markets.

Starting in 331 AD, the Eastern Jin government commenced large-scale construction of Jiankang City. In addition to building the palace city and a series of urban facilities, the government established the Douchang Market on the southern bank of the Qinhuai River. Later, the Northern Market was also established during the Liu Song period. These markets were clearly documented and government-regulated. Records indicate that numerous smaller markets existed around the Grand Market in Jiankang City⁸. Furthermore, Jiankang City saw the emergence of specialized markets distributed on both sides of the Qinhuai River.

The above shows that the markets in Jiankang City were unlike the specific commercial zones typically built within cities from the Qin and Han Tang dynasties. Instead, they exhibited a naturally developed and scattered distribution. Market formation depended on transportation, particularly water transport in ancient Chinese cities, and transportation nodes such as bridges were more likely to become market sites. Additionally, market formation required population concentration, with densely populated residential areas and temple vicinities being more likely to develop markets. The market layout in Jiankang City followed these natural development patterns.

It is also noteworthy that due to the terrain and rivers, the residential areas in Jiankang City likely did not feature the orderly, high-walled enclosed wards found in other regions, nor did they have the curfew system that closed ward gates at night, differing significantly from the closed ward system of the Central Plains cities⁹.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARKETS FROM THE SOUTHERN TANG TO THE SONG AND YUAN PERIODS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF NEW URBAN LAYOUTS

After the Six Dynasties period, another peak in Nanjing's urban development occurred when it served as the Western Capital of Jinling Prefecture for Yang Wu (902-937) and later as the capital of Jinling City for the Southern Tang (937-975). During this time, the capital and palace city underwent several large-scale constructions, making Jinling the most important political, economic, and cultural center in southern China.

Overall, the urban layout placed the palace city at the capital's center, further south than Jinkang City of the Southern Dynasties. More importantly, the commercial and residential areas on both sides of the Qinhuai River were incorporated into the capital for the first time. The avenue from the palace's southern gate to the capital's southern gate, known as Imperial Street, became the north-south central axis of the southern part of the capital. Various government offices lined both sides of Imperial Street, and an east-west avenue in front of the palace divided the capital into northern and southern parts. The main street between the northern and southern gates of the capital could only be situated west of the palace, forming a north-south avenue from the present-day Beimen Bridge (originally the northern gate of the Southern Tang capital) to Shengzhou Road during this period.

The new urban layout and the reconfiguration of the water system and streets influenced the distribution and development of markets. Near the northern gate of the capital, Qinghua Market emerged. South of the north-south avenue, a street spanning a river featured the Da Bridge, around which a bustling market developed. Important bridges also lined the east-west avenue between Longguang Gate (west gate) and Baixia Gate (east gate). The area around Doumen Bridge to the west, close to Longguang Gate and near the intersection of the north-south and east-west roads, had an advantageous transportation position, facilitating the formation of a market documented as a fish market. The east-west roads connecting Imperial Street with the inner Qinhuai River were also crucial traffic routes. Since this area had been heavily populated since the Six Dynasties, several specialized markets emerged, such as banking, flower, and silk.(Figure1)

During the Song and Yuan periods, although Nanjing served as a provincial or circuit capital rather than an imperial one, it remained an important city in the southeastern region, retaining the urban layout of the Southern Tang capital. As the city developed during the Southern Song period, its population increased, leading to more residential wards. Nanjing during the Southern Song had four quarters and twenty wards, with residential areas concentrated along Southern Tang's Imperial Street, the streets east of Longxi Gate, and both sides of the east-west avenue. The markets continued the distribution pattern established during the Southern Tang. Market distribution saw little change in the Yuan Dynasty's Jiqing Road city. However, specialized markets no longer restricted themselves to specific trades, with some, like the banking street, becoming general merchandise hubs.

Through the steady development during the Song and Yuan dynasties, the number of wards in Nanjing continued to grow, and the city became known as the Metropolis, indicating significant commercial development. This market distribution laid the foundation for market development in the Ming Dynasty.

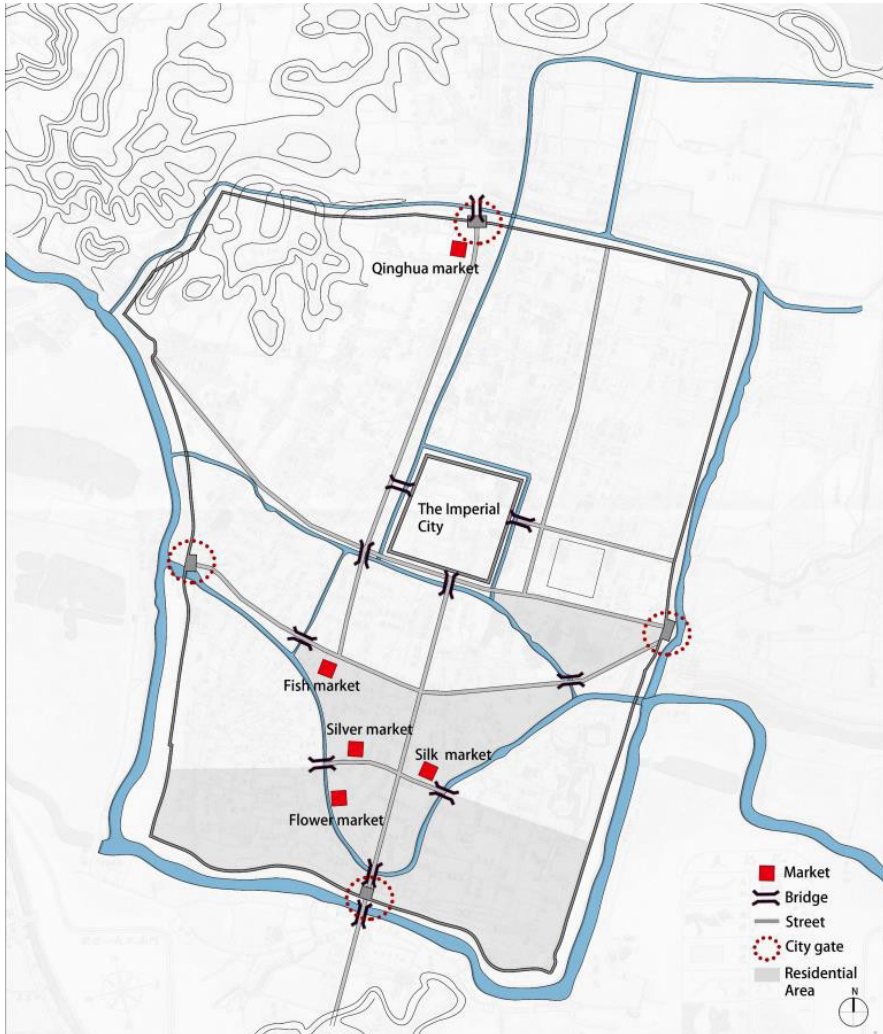


Fig. 1. Market Distribution in Jinling City of the Southern Tang Dynasty (self-made)

THE PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION OF MARKETS AND STREETS IN THE EARLY MING DYNASTY

In the first year of the Hongwu era (1368), Zhu Yuanzhang, the founding emperor of the Ming Dynasty, ascended to the throne. Nanjing served as the capital of the Ming Dynasty for 56 years until the 21st year of the Yongle era (1423), when Zhu Di officially moved the capital to Beijing. Although Nanjing was the capital for only half a century, this period of capital construction gave Nanjing a new physical form. It transformed the city's population composition

and urban-rural relations. Zhu Yuanzhang's capital construction plan expanded the city walls and relocated the palace to the eastern part of the expanded capital. The new capital was divided into the northwest military zone, the central old city, and the eastern palace district.

CHANGES IN MARKET LOCATIONS IN EARLY MING

In pre-Ming local records, "streets" and "markets" were listed separately, even though many markets were actually located along streets. The recorded number of "streets" was minimal, whereas large and small markets were numerous and widespread. However, the "Hongwu jingcheng tuzhi" presents a different picture of streets and markets. Perhaps because many markets were clustered at key transportation nodes such as bridges, "streets," "markets," and "bridges" became interconnected elements in terms of spatial location, thus categorized together in the "Streets and Bridges Map."¹⁰ Here, "streets and markets" included both streets and markets distinct from them and residential wards. The map indicates three specific markets: Dashi Street, Nei Bridge Market, and Chang'an Market, while the text lists thirteen markets, including three explicitly named "streets and markets": Dazhong Street Market, Sanshan Street Market, and Laibin Street Market.¹¹

Most of these markets developed on the foundations of existing markets in the old city. For instance, Sanshan Street Market was formed by Doumen Bridge and Xinqiao Market by Xinqiao Bridge, both of which had been market areas since the Southern Tang period. Dashi Street was named after the Grand Market, which was originally outside Tianjie Temple, a market that formed around the temple. Although Tianjie Temple was damaged in the early Ming, the market function outside the temple continued, becoming a major hub for goods. The market at the Beimen Bridge near the old city's northern gate was also preserved.

New markets emerged in response to changes in urban layout and transportation routes. For example, Nei Bridge was located on the main north-south axis of the old city, highlighting its significance in terms of transportation. Since the former Song-Yuan palace was no longer used, a market formed south of the old palace at Nei Bridge, known as Nei Bridge Market. Baixia Bridge outside the old city's east gate was renamed Dazhong Bridge within the new city's Tongji Gate. Dazhong Bridge became a key transportation node between the city's central and eastern palace areas, with Chang'an Market forming to the east of the bridge and Dazhong Street Market to the west.

Specialized markets also formed near the capital's gates or outer city walls. For instance, Longjiang Market outside Jinchuan Gate focused on fuel trade, Jiangdong Market outside Jiandong Gate was a gathering place for merchant ships, and Laibin Street Market outside Jubao Gate dealt in bamboo, wood, and firewood.

Notably, several markets on the northern bank of the Qinhuai River in the old city disappeared due to the political construction of the capital. To support Nanjing's large-scale construction and development, the Emperor ordered the relocation of numerous artisan households to the city. These artisans were settled in specialized areas named after their trades, such as "Silver fang," "Iron fang," and "Craftsmen fang," reflecting their residential and professional zoning¹².

This method of assigning living areas based on professions altered Nanjing's existing residential structure, particularly in areas like Zhenhuai Bridge and north of Jubao Gate, which became densely populated with various tradespeople. The new residential structure had a high proportion of artisans, turning the urban area into a large complex of craft workshops¹³. However, this functionally zoned urban layout, created by decree, was not naturally formed and could change if the enforcement of orders weakened.

THE IMPACT OF OFFICIAL CONSTRUCTION AND MANAGEMENT ON THE SHAPE OF STREETS AND MARKETS

In the early Ming period, the residential areas for military personnel, civilians, artisans, and households in Nanjing were subject to unified planning. Besides the aforementioned wards, in the tenth year of the Hongwu era (1377), the Emperor ordered the construction of official housing for residents. Initially, the capital was crowded, and the government provided the military and civilian residences, with continuous rows of corridors and no vacant land. This included dwellings specifically for officials, such as the order to the capital guards to build military barracks and officials' residences, as well as dwellings designated for civilian use: Orders to establish civilian dwellings at Longjiang Yifeng Gate and Zhongfu Gate, with the government providing timber for those able to build their own dwellings." The construction projects spanned over ten years, likely carried out gradually as the city developed and its population increased. Luo believes that the official corridor dwellings, meaning buildings constructed on government land, were government properties but used by many people, including officials, soldiers, civilians and artisans. Initially, the dwellings built during the Hongwu period were primarily for residential purposes. Still, those located along main streets gradually turned into shops, giving rise to names like "Bookstore Corridor" and "Silk Corridor."¹⁴

The scope of the official corridor dwellings was extensive, covering the main streets that connected the important city gates. Early Republican era scholar Chen (1873-1937) wrote, "From Cheng'en Temple Street to Guozi Lane, the imperial path of the Ming period ran through here, with corridor houses on both sides, such as Bookstore Corridor, Silk Corridor, and Black Corridor, all covered with tiles. Pedestrians could walk along these corridors, sheltered from the sun and rain, which was very convenient."¹⁵

Both sides of the official streets were likely lined with single-story corridor dwellings, presenting an orderly appearance of the market streets. According to Qing dynasty scholar Gan Xi: "In the early Ming capital, the streets were wide and accessible, presenting a grand sight. From east to west, from Huoxing Temple to Sanshan Gate, from Dazhong Bridge to Shicheng Gate; from south to north, from Zhenhuai Bridge to Nei Bridge; from Pingshi Street to Mingwa Corridor; from Gaojing to Beimen Bridge. The official streets were extremely wide, accommodating nine tracks, and lined on both sides with official corridors to shield from wind and rain."¹⁶ (Figure 2)



Fig. 2. Market Spaces and Official Streets in the Early Ming Capital of Nanjing (self-made)

The government collects usage taxes for the official corridor dwellings, manages residents, and obtains certain economic benefits in this manner. Additionally, people engaged in commercial activities were strictly regulated through a series of commercial management systems. These measures indicate that the early Ming emperor attempted to establish a city primarily focused on agricultural production, with other industries under strict control. This intention was also reflected in the form and cityscape of the market streets.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MARKET SPACES AND FORMS IN THE MID -TO-LATE MING DYNASTY UNDER URBANIZATION

In the nineteenth year of the Yongle (1421), Emperor Chengzu of the Ming Dynasty moved the capital from Yingtian Prefecture(Nanjing) to Shuntian Prefecture(Beijing). Nanjing was thus downgraded from the capital to the secondary capital. Although Nanjing retained the political institutions of the early Ming period, the city's functions evidently changed. The relocation of the capital resulted in a significant migration of artisans and residents from Nanjing, causing the population within the city to be halved. This change in political status greatly impacted the city's economic development.

CHANGES IN MARKET SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

The population decline initially caused a temporary setback in market development, but the markets soon revived. Although the records from the Zhengde period (1506-1521) indicated that the number of markets remained largely the same as in the early Ming period, the types of goods traded in the markets became more distinct. For instance, the "Nanji Gazetteer" recorded: "There are twelve types of stalls in the market: flower stalls, drum stalls, fan stalls, bed stalls, hemp stalls, watch stalls, handkerchief stalls, headscarf stalls, incense stalls, raw medicine stalls, paper stalls, and old clothes stalls."¹⁷The items traded were predominantly handicrafts, closely tied to the significant development of local handicrafts at the time. Industries such as weaving, fan-making, book printing, and dyeing and coloring thrived and gained considerable fame. The prosperity of market trade was also reflected in the variety of stalls. During the Zhengde period, Jiangning County alone had 104 types of stalls, with their business activities closely related to the residents' daily lives. This diversified stall format indicated that Nanjing's economic development had shifted from the strictly regulated trade methods of the early Ming period to more ordinary everyday life.

By the Wanli period, the "Shangyuan County Gazetteer" recorded nine markets, six of which were newly established, indicating a significant increase in the number and variety of markets. Meanwhile, the policies of controlling commercial activities and population movement from the early Ming period had also changed¹⁸. The most direct impact of these changes was to alleviate the burden on merchants and facilitate the development of commercial activities. The government's reduced control over urban industrial and commercial activities eliminated previous regional restrictions on artisan concentration, leading to increased fluidity and freedom in commercial activities. According to "Kezuo zhuiyu," the distribution of street markets during the Wanli period deviated significantly from the early Ming layout, with former artisan workshops becoming mere place names devoid of substantive significance¹⁹. In the middle and late Ming periods, numerous street markets were scattered throughout the regions, with specific industries concentrated in different areas, but most were specialized markets. Only a few could truly be considered "general merchandise markets," such as the Guozi Hang in the Sanshan Street area, which served as the comprehensive market. (Figure 3)



Fig. 3. Distribution of Market Spaces in the Late Ming Dynasty (self-made)

TRANSFORMATION OF STREET FORMS: FROM OFFICIAL STREETS TO LIBERALIZED MARKETS

In the early Ming period, most street markets were within the scope of official streets, with commercial and construction and managed by the government. However, by the later Ming period, the loosening of official control allowed some street markets to break free from their previously regulated forms.

A series of urban images from the late Ming period provide us with a diverse and rich portrayal of street landscapes. Two representative images are “Shangyuan dengcai tu(Shangyuan Festival Lantern Scenes) “ and “Nandu fanhui tu(The Prosperous Scene of the Southern Cap-

ital).” Both scrolls include depictions of the street market scene in the Sanshan Street area, with a degree of realism. The street market goods and trade depicted in “Nandu fanhui tu” are considered consistent with the economic prosperity and social changes of late Ming Nanjing. Similarly, “Shangyuan dengcai tu” illustrates a thriving antique market, corroborating historical accounts of Sanshan Street.

In contrast to the single-story dwellings that characterized early Ming street markets, “Nandu fanhui tu” depicts several multi-story pavilions in the core market areas. Each pavilion hosts different commercial activities or functional attributes, all facing directly onto the street. This scene had not appeared in earlier urban scrolls. Along the sides of the streets are closely arranged single-story shops representing traditional stall-based businesses. (Figure 4)

Unlike the generalized depiction of various trades in “Nandu fanhui tu” “Shangyuan dengcai tu” focuses on the diverse antique trade and includes book trading, highlighting Sanshan Street’s role as an important book market. The streets in “Shangyuan dengcai tu” are lined with contiguous multi-story pavilions. This scroll is unique in Ming urban imagery, depicting all street market buildings as multi-story buildings. The arrangement of street-facing multi-story pavilions is highly varied and flexible, presenting a distinctively rich street interface. (Figure 5)

These two scrolls depict urban spaces for hosting festive events and public gatherings, reflecting the city’s character from a market perspective. Of course, the content of the scrolls is carefully considered; official buildings symbolizing power are placed in the corners of the paintings, while temples and mosques, which exist in reality, are omitted. The scrolls reflect the author’s attitude towards depicting urban life and praising urban life, which is primarily centered around various commodity trades and leisure activities. Although urban scrolls depicting market landscapes appeared before in the Song Dynasty, in the late Ming period, scrolls emphasizing the street market scenes in Nanjing became particularly unique. Wang compares the urban scrolls of Nanjing during this period with other renowned metropolitan cities such as Suzhou and Hangzhou. These cities tend to portray their unique natural scenery when expressing urban impressions through painting. This renders the depiction of street market scenes in Nanjing during the late Ming period quite distinctive, reflecting contemporary understandings and concepts of the city and further expressing the intent to construct urban imagery through scrolls.²⁰ This urban concept differs from economically developed rural areas and results from urbanization in the late Ming period.

BEYOND COMMERCIAL SPACE: THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LATE MING MARKETS

The formation of new street markets in the late Ming period transcended the mere concept of commercial spaces. By the late Ming, the area from Yinhong Bridge to Wuding Bridge, including the vicinity of the Jiuyuan and Chaoku Street, had developed into an extremely prosperous market district. This prosperity was closely related to its unique location: the north bank, opposite the Jiuyuan, gathered scholars from several southeastern provinces, while the area near Wuding Bridge was home to renowned figures and officials with their gardens. Since the mid-Ming period, the Jiuyuan has become a gathering place for celebrated scholars and a hub of cultural activity in Jiangnan.



Fig. 4. The representative painting scroll “Nandu fanhui tu” (partial) from the late Ming Dynasty reflects the street market conditions in Nanjing, showcasing the trade activities around the Sanshan Street area.



Fig. 5. The “Shangyuan dengcai tu” (partial) from the late Ming Dynasty, which rarely depicts the details of street market buildings and human activities, features a bridge believed to be the “Nei Bridge,” indicating that it also portrays the market area around Sanshan Street.

The mutual promotion of the Jiuyuan's and the market's prosperity was evident. By the late Ming, the old courtyard market had evolved into a commercial district offering a variety of refined consumer goods. Late Ming literati also recorded the commercial activities around Chaoku Street, noting the elegant taste of the goods offered in the market. Chaoku Street was also known as a famous area where courtesans resided, with the courtesan Li Xiangjun from the great Chinese drama “The Peony Pavilion” living there. These residences of famous courtesans were living spaces and venues for late Ming literati socializing and gatherings.

Notably, the image of Chaoku Street was also depicted in the “Jinling tuyong”. This city guide was published in the early 17th century and featured illustrations of various scenic spots with accompanying text. Research indicates that the late Ming period saw increased tourist guides due to economic prosperity and cultural development. However, the uniqueness of “Jinling tuyong” lies in its presentation of popular tourist landscapes and urban spaces as part of the scenery, with one illustration depicting Chaoku Street as part of the scenery along the Qinhuai River. (Figure 6) The formation of the Chaoku Street market is partly due to its unique geographical location, serving as a gathering place for the literati. Additionally, the prosperity of Chaoku Street itself reflects the allure of Nanjing as a cultural hub. As a result, Chaoku Street, alongside the Qinhuai River, Confucius Temple, and Gongyuan, constitutes a composite cultural and commercial space (Figure 6). This distinctive market space is embedded in the proactive practices of literati in constructing Nanjing's urban space, playing a role in promoting the shaping of Nanjing's urban culture.

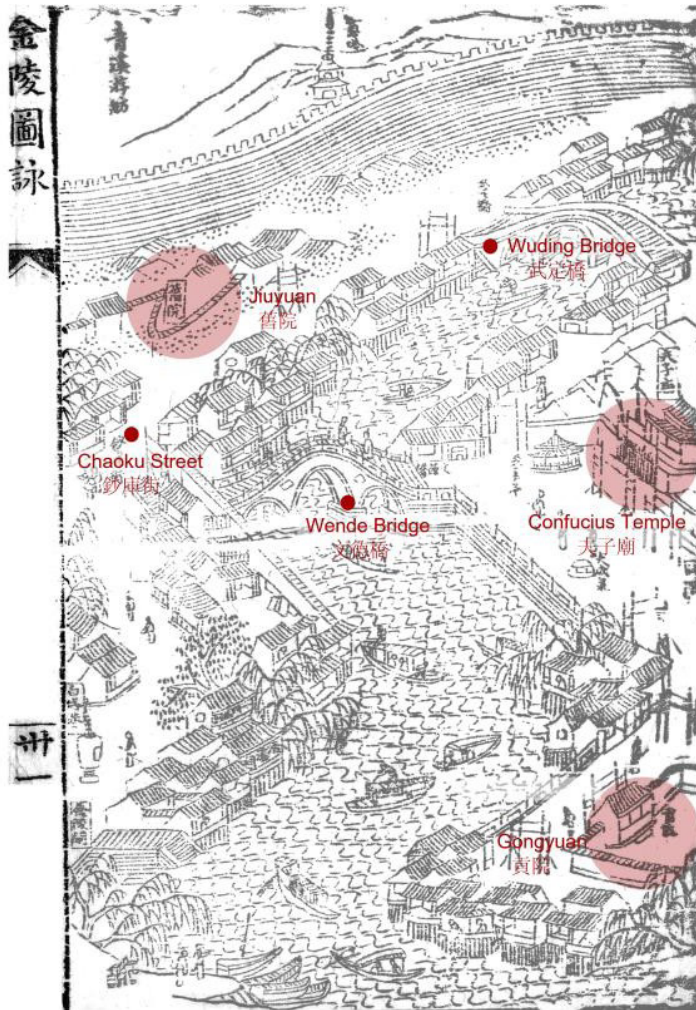


Fig. 6. The representative painting scroll “Shangyuan dengcai tu” (partial) from the late Ming Dynasty reflects the street market conditions in Nanjing, showcasing the trade activities around the Sanshan Street area.

CONCLUSION

Unlike ancient Chinese capitals influenced by ritual regulations in planning market locations, the distribution of markets in southern capitals and metropolises downstream of the Yangtze River was more noticeably affected by natural geographical conditions such as rivers. The historical development of market spaces in Nanjing demonstrates that the distribution of mar-

kets, to some extent, changes with urban development, but markets remain closely linked to residential areas. When the urban area was rebuilt as a new capital in the early Ming Dynasty, the construction and development of markets still relied on the historical scope of residential agglomerations. The state intended to organize urban spaces, including markets, in an orderly manner by dividing residential areas, reflecting the will of management and planning. However, the impetus of urbanization led to the reorganization of market spaces in the Ming and later periods, altering the landscape of street markets. These changes promoted economic development and contributed to the city's cultural construction, ultimately forming the unique urban culture of the late Ming period.

Reexamining the development changes of Nanjing from capital to metropolis through the transformation of market spaces no longer considers market spaces as singular products of planning or grassroots development. The change mechanism in historical market spaces involves multiple political, economic, and cultural influences. Markets in the late Ming Dynasty continued to develop into the Qing Dynasty, and some spaces are still used as markets today. This indicates that the historical study of specific urban spaces remains relevant when examining the history of urban development and planning.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR(S)

Yang Wantian is a PhD candidate at Southeast University's School of Architecture. Her research is on ancient Chinese urban and architectural history, focusing on the historical development of urban spaces and urban buildings in historic districts.

ENDNOTES

7. Shufen liu, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*,142.
8. Frederick W Mote, *The Transformation of Nanking*,156.
9. Xiaoxiang Luo, *Pei Jing Shou Shan*,198.
10. Jinmin Fan, *Nanjing jingji*,76-93.
11. Jen-shu Wu, *You you fang xiang*,20.
12. Zhenghua Wang, *Guoyan fanhua*,38-39.
13. Si-yen Fei. *Negotiating Urban Space*, 262-264.
14. *Jingding jiankang zhi*, 359.
15. Guo husheng, *Zhonghua gudu*.156-157.
16. *Hongwu jingcheng tuzhi*.39-48.
17. Ibid.
18. Qiyuan Gu, *Kezuo zhuiyu*,52.
19. Bing Xue, *Nanjing chengshi shi*.133.
20. Xiaoxiang Luo, *An Examination of the Dwellings*,64-75.
21. Yifu Chen, *Zhongnan Huaibeiquyu zhi*,376.
22. Xi Gan, *Baixia suoyan*,20.
23. *Nanji zhi*
24. Jinmin Fan, *Nanjing jingji*,76-93.
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