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A place of placelessness: Hekeng people's heritage
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Appendix

THE RISE OF FUJIAN EARTHEN FORTS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, CHENG, BAO, LOU AND ZHAI

1. Eastern Fujian: the *Mingshenzong shilu*, the *Wanli sanshinian*, or the *Chronicles of the Ming Dynasty*, Shenzong Emperor, the thirty-first Year of the Wanli reign (1603): ‘When Xu Kui administrated Leling county, an intensification of the social chaos resulted in an official decree that ordered the moat be deepened and that the walled enclosures in the county be strengthened. Moreover, the county magistrate also required the peasants who lived in the rural areas of the county to prepare against pillaging by constructing strong walls around their dwellings. It was required that the walls be built higher than the eaves. Gates in these walled enclosures were no more than narrow openings that allowed only one person to enter at a time.’
2. Southern Fujian: the *Yanhai diaobao shuo*, or *A Summary of the Fortifications in the Coastal Areas*, by the Qing dynasty writer Lin Xiechun: ‘From the Jiajing reign era (1522-1566) and thereafter, in the rural areas of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou (close to the sea and the mountains), local communities began to build a large number of earthen forts, the borrow pits were usually adapted to be used as entrenchments, on the banks of which thorny plants were widely grown.’
3. Western Fujian: the *Baozhai ji* or *A Biography of Earthen Walls* by the Qing dynasty writer Li Shixiong: ‘There had been no such earthen forts at all in the villages of Ninghua county until the late Jiajing reign era (ca 1550s to 1560s), with the exception of the site of the foundations of an old fort known as the *Lianfeng zhai* or the Lotus Peak Fort of an unknown date. From the late Jiajing reign of the Ming dynasty, brigands from Guangdong and Liancheng repeatedly came to ravage the village; unfortunately, sometimes they

even came three times in a single year. The rich people sought refuge in the better fortified county town. With no such shelter available, the poor had to hide deep in the mountain forests. Without shelter, the refugees were forced to suffer the bad weather in mountain ranges. Many of the poor were finally captured and killed by the bandits. The ones who had luckily survived their knives and swords could also eventually succumb to the atrocious weather, especially the noxious mists in the mountains. The elder brother of Great-grandfather Sanfeng felt deep sympathy for these poor clansmen... Therefore he led the clansmen in search of the foundation site of the old fort at the Lotus Peak. He raised funds to support the restoration work... later, the revolts were put down... As peace was brought to the village, the new fort was renamed the *Taiping zhai* or the Peace Fort. Since the Wanli and Longqing reigns, the local residents had enjoyed a tranquil life for many years ... they had no awareness of the need to defend the fort... However, in 1628 (the first year of the Chongzhen reign of the Ming dynasty), the situation in Wuping, Shanghang and Jianning again deteriorated into chaos and violence and, under the leadership of Uncle Chunsu, the clansmen reinforced the Peace Fort... but, there was no such a thing as a small house or cottage inside the walled enclosure, as [it was now] a military facility, people could not live for very long inside the fort. From 1644, the whole Empire became even more deeply embroiled in civil wars (of dynastic succession). Urgent messages came from every county. It was no use hiding in the county seat. The people became aware of the importance of the Peace Fort. Therefore, Uncle Panru began to champion the restoration. My *zong* (lineage) was the first to heed Uncle Panru’s call. We constructed cottages inside the fort for our own [use], counting the number of households. Other clansmen followed our example. From 1646 to 1647, more families moved into the fort and built their own cottages

in tight rows, like an epitome of the village.’ Some scholars such as Zheng and Chen (1993) believe that this is the earliest evidence of a real residential use of earthen forts. However, it should be emphasized here that this residential permanency was by no means firmly guaranteed. What really matters is that it does prove a likely link between the changes in building function/form and the inexorable heightening of the social pressures. Adaptive use is a common phenomenon, and it does not necessarily mean the fort has been entirely transformed into a permanent residence. This strategy might have been more complicated and more flexible than architectural specialists have considered. The residential use of the fort in the late Ming dynasty should not be overstated. We should be aware of the fact that the temporary adaptive use of an old fort could have had little impact on the settlement pattern and the landscape. These modifications only make sense in their original context; by the late Jiaping reign, village society had been highly stratified. It is very likely that the wealthy people in the village might have owned properties in a town or a county seat. In other words they invested in the urban area on higher administrative levels. The changes in their residential patterns might have resulted in a bleeding of the village wealth and a subsequent lack of financial support that would have enabled the fort to be fully renovated. In the 1620s, their county seat was still possibly the first choice of wealthy people as a place of refuge. About twenty years later, however, when the rich urban areas began to offer a greater inducement to the bandits, they had to change their strategy. This change in their living patterns might have led to the success of these adaptive use in the 1640s. In short, residential strategy was by no means unconditional and unilinear. From 1654, a great change occurred in western Fujian; more brigands, sometimes even the soldiers of the Qing government, began to pour in in great numbers to plunder the village. The fifty-three-year-old local gentleman Li Shixiong, also known as the author of the *Baozhai ji*, advocated the construction of more thick-walled enclosures to protect the clansmen. Li led his clansmen in the building of

the construction of the *Quanshang tubao* to the northeast of the village. This is a huge square fort. Each wall measures about 130m long, 7m wide and over 10m high. According to the *Baozhai ji*, more than 120 households finally moved into the fort. Outside the huge walls were deep moats. Soon after the establishment of the *Quanshang tubao*, more of these *bao* buildings mushroomed around the village. Among those still extant are the *Haoheng tubao*, the *Yanxiang tubao*, the *Chenjiadi tubao* and the *Tieluokeng tubao*. In short, only from the early Qing dynasty did the local people in Quanshang and Quansha begin to live more regularly and more frequently inside the earthen enclosures. This pattern diverges sharply from the actual situation from the middle to late Ming dynasty.

4. Western Fujian: the *Chongxiu tuzhai gaoshi* or *Bulletin about Restoring the Earthen Fort* and the *Shenbao tuzhai gaojun wen*, or *Declaration of the Completion of the Earthen Fort Project*, are both extremely important to building up an understanding of the structure and functions of earthen forts in the early years of their use in Liancheng in the western Fujian area. The two documents were both written during the Wanli reign (1573-1620) of the Ming dynasty. As stated in the text, there had not been any earthen fortifications in Liancheng until the Jiaping reign. ‘As it commands the strategic passage between the Yangtze River basins and Guangdong, Liancheng has always been a barometer of social security on this trade route... during the Xuande (1426-1435) and Zhengtong (1436-1449) reigns of the Ming dynasty, the notorious bandit leaders Luo Tianlin and Deng Maoqi and their followers exterminated seventy-two families in all among the local communities. During the Jiaping reign, another bandit Li Sannu came from Shanghang...but the local communities still had no fortifications to deter the slaughtering and pillaging; they still lived in their humble thatched residences...finally, for fear of such disasters, the local communities constructed an earthen fort... In the autumn of 1570 (the fourth year of the Longqing reign), the fortification was damaged by a flood...’. From

- the statements in the two documents, it seems very likely that the so-called *bao* was indeed a thick-walled enclosure inside which the local villagers could find a place to hide/shelter when social upheavals erupted; unfortunately, it is possible that huge earthen works were viewed by the government with suspicion; certainly, they could be used as a temporary shelter for refugees, but they could also equally provide a lair for brigands and be hotbeds of sedition. The upshot was that the construction of these buildings was strictly controlled by the local government. Cogently, anyone who wanted to construct/restore/reconstruct/re-use the forts would have very likely been required to make an application in writing to the local government, and this is how these two documents came into being. Moreover, from this sort of a simple discourse analysis, we can draw the following conclusions: (1) Peasants were compelled by circumstances to look for a place to seek refuge without moving too far away from their own land and property; (2) the local government did not want the unsophisticated country folk to spend too much time on these military-orientated structures; (3) until the Wanli reign, there is no evidence to support the continued residential use of the earthen forts in Liancheng in the western part of Fujian.
5. Eastern Fujian: the *Mingshenzong shilu*, the *Wanli sishiyinian*, or *The Chronicles of the Ming Dynasty*, Shenzong Emperor, the forty-first Year of the Wanli Reign (1613): the procurator of Fujian province, Ding Jisi (1545-1623), clearly stated in his memorial to the Throne, ‘Anxi, and some other places in Quanzhou county [at least at this point Zhangpu, Pinghe and Yunxiao should be added to the list], have been used to construct fortifications to prepare against [incursions] by sea rovers (since the middle-sixteenth century)...in peacetime, the forts can be adapted for use as storehouses...the central government should make every effort to have this strategy popularized amongst all the counties in Fujian’. This proposal was indeed finally approved by the central government.
 6. Southern Fujian: According to the *Quanzhou fuzhi*, or the *Quanzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, there was also another type of *bao* building in the rural areas of southern Fujian. These constructions were quite different from the forts built inside or near the settlements. ‘During the Jiajing reign (1522-1566), in the north-western part of Quanzhou, adjacent to Zhangzhou, Tingzhou and Yanping, forts were built principally by the local peasants and usually occupied advantageous terrain, keeping a look-out on the paths the bandits might take.’ Therefore, peasant militiamen could serve the government during emergencies by transforming their forts that controlled the strategic points into the lookout posts on the regional level in order to deter intruders from invading deeper into the county proper.
 7. Southern Fujian: the *Zhangzhou fuzhi*, or the *Zhangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*: in 1505-1506 (the eighteenth year of the Hongzhi reign to the first year of the Zhengde reign, Ming dynasty), ‘No walled enclosures had ever been established around Yunxiao county, so people living far and near all relied heavily on the only earthen walled enclosure (*cheng*) to survive the violence in 1507.’ This suggests a relatively large space enclosed by reinforced walls/embankments. It sounds just like the strong enclosures recorded in the *Baozhai ji* as mentioned above.
 8. Southern Fujian: the *Quanzhou fuzhi*, or the *Quanzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*: during the Jiajing reign (1522-1566), in Anxi county, ‘In the past the local residents had been disturbed by the brigands; when the latter pillaged the villages, peasants usually fled into mountains to hide; (during the Jiajing reign) a local gentleman, Lin Chang, raised funds to erect a building complex...placing the major buildings at the center, surrounded by a ring of earthen buildings; granaries, wells, cooking and whatever other facilities were needed for daily life were all prepared inside; males and females lived separately.’ This evidence deserves to be paid some attention. It suggests the temporariness of these fort dwellings, and that people would finally go back to their land after the ravages of

- the bandits. 'Windows and holes were opened in the walls of the outer buildings that enabled the residents to fire...outside the building complex there was a ring of deep entrenchments.'
9. Southern Fujian: the *Jinjiang xianzhi*, or the *Jinjiang County Gazetteer*: 'In the late Jiajing reign (1522-1566), in Jinjiang county, a local gentleman, Lin Shangxin, advocated fort construction in his hometown.'
 10. Southern Fujian: the *Anxi xianzhi*, or the *Anxi County Gazetteer*: during the Jiajing reign (1522-1566), in Anxi county, a local gentleman, Chen Yingchen, '...organized the local people to build the first *zhai* of the village to resist the depredations of the pirates.'
 11. Southern Fujian: the *Zhangzhou fuzhi*, or the *Zhangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*: 'During the Jiajing reign (1522-1566), in Zhao'an county, the incursions of Japanese pirates resulted in serious social chaos...the local gentleman, Zhang Qijie, summoned the people of the whole lineage to search for an appropriate location on which to build a fort in order to survive the Japanese pirates attacks.'
 12. Southern Fujian: the *Hegan ji*, or *River Bank Records*: 'During the Jiajing reign (1522-1566), the southern Fujian rural areas were drastically plundered, and in view of this, the local gentlemen began to raise funds and organize the construction work.'
 13. Southern Fujian: the *Tong'an xianzhi*, or the *Tong'an County Gazetteer*: 'In 1548 (might be a wrong date, because was no *wusi nian* in the Jiajing reign era), the pirates came from the sea...the county magistrate organized the local people to build an earthen fort to the east of the county proper for reception of refugees from far or near...After the construction was finished the magistrate paid a lot to buy beef and rice wine in local markets to reward the labors.'
 14. Southern Fujian: the *Tianxia junguo libing shu*, or *A Statement of the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Administrative Management in Prefectures and Counties of the Chinese Empire*, 'Since the fortieth year of the Jiajing reign (1561), crimes committed by ruffians had been increasing sharply, in response the local peasants began to construct *tuwei* (rammed earthen enclosures) and *tulou* more frequently.' Here by *tulou*, the famous writer and author of this book, Gu Yuanwu, might be referring to the square earthen buildings, like the first *tulou* buildings distributed in the river valleys of Nanjing county.
 15. Southern Fujian: the *Wensu lu*, or *Inquiries into Habitudes*: 'In Zhao'an county of Zhangzhou prefecture, since the Jiajing reign of the Ming dynasty... the people living in Sidu have constructed *bao* as if they were building county enclosures...four gates each opening on to one side... whereas the people living in Erdu had no such square enclosures (*cheng*) and they chose to build *weilou* (literally enclosed storied-buildings).' This might also be a reference to the first square *tulou* buildings in southern Fujian. The record here was written by the Qing dynasty writer Chen Shengshao (1775-1861), therefore, what he chose to include in this book is very probably based on the stories he had learned about the fort constructions since the middle Ming dynasty. What he had gleaned reconfirms the purpose of the constructions, namely: they were initially built to resist Japanese pirates, but later they were used in the private wars between different surname clans. However, all such information cannot be used to confirm a continual residential use in the middle Ming dynasty.
 16. Southern Fujian: the *Nan'an xianzhi*, or the *Nan'an County Gazetteer*: in 1648 (the fifth year of the Shunzhi reign), 'The pirates continued to rob the villages around Nan'an county ... a local gentleman, Dai Yinggun, paid several hundred *jin* to fund the construction of a fort at Getou Mountain... In 1722 (the sixty-first year of the Kangxi reign) once again he paid several thousand *jin* to construct a fort at Fu Mountain for the reception of relatives living far or near...'
 17. Southern Fujian: the *Fujian tongzhi*, 'In the early years of the Shunzhi reign (the 1650s), in Anxi County, a local gentleman, Zheng Kezan, led

the whole Zheng lineage in a fight against the brigands in the nearby mountains...the lineage built a new *zhai*...the whole township hence remained intact...

18. Southern Fujian: the *Zhangzhou fuzhi*, or the *Zhangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*: 'From the late Ming onward (this usually refers to from the Wanli reign, the late-sixteenth century to early-seventeenth century), in Longxi county, the intrusions of Japanese pirates disturbed the local society...a local gentleman, Huang Shilei, summoned the villagers to build a fort at the foot of Shigu Mountain to defend the village.' As Chen (2009) has pointed out, 'the Fortification Movement' in Fujian even extended into the early years of the Qing dynasty.
19. Southern Fujian: the *Zhangzhou fuzhi*, or the *Zhangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*: in the early years of the Kangxi reign [the 1660s], in Changtai county, a local gentleman, Lin Tingyao, gathered together the villagers (neighbors) to construct a fort at Niu Mountain...the new settlers worked on building the defensive system, reaffirmed the regulations and agreements that managed the village and established a self-sufficient economy...the villagers gradually regained their long-lost sense of security.'
20. Western Fujian: According the *Chongxi qiantai zhi*, or *A Biography of the Reconstruction of the Headquarters for Suppressing the Rebellions* [that haunted the mountain range bordering Yong'an and Liancheng]: 'In 1559 (the thirty-eighth year of the Jiajing reign of the Ming dynasty), the brigands Deng Huiquan, Deng Xingzu and Xie Daji gathered 4,000 people (most probably their clansmen), occupied the key positions with any strategic significance on both the river and land routes, built two *tulou* buildings (here, some scholars, among them Huang Hanmin, regard this as the first appearance of the term '*tulou*' in Chinese historical literature, but, it is most likely that these two so-called '*tulou*' were actually temporary storied fortifications) that were surrounded by moats and road barricades, and fought against the government, conspiring with the Longyan bandit, Liao Xuan,... One

of the *tulou* buildings was finally conquered by the government troops, the commander, Wu Changfu, was captured [and] 119 bandits were decapitated. Deng Xingzu still resisted in another *tulou*. A troop of 3,400 soldiers were therefore dispatched from nearby Liancheng county. Under the generalship of Liu Zongyin, the troops were initially stationed at Gutian and deployed at night... the *tulou* had not yet been conquered. The *Zhangnan dao* (Zhangnan Road Administration) dispatched 1,000 *Hmong* soldiers with 400 Yong'an county militiamen to suppress the riot. A bandit named He Wufu secretly crossed over to the government. He was required by the government to help the troops from the inside... Deng Xingzu and Xie Daji came out of the *tulou* and surrendered to the government...The troops conquered the *tulou* and arrested the wives of the two leaders...burnt down the buildings and withdrew...' This record is fairly important. It briefly outlines the characteristics of what had been called a '*tulou*' in its original context during the Jiajing reign. The first feature of a *tulou* was that it had to be a multi-storied building with a reinforced defensive system. It could be built within a very short period of time and easily managed. The second requirement was that the wooden structures and internal fittings had to be prepared inside for day-to-day use. The third aspect is that the *tulou* in the record were isolated on the outside by moats and barricades. Therefore, it is fairly clear that the term '*tulou*' here refers to a fortification built in haste, that resembled an earthen fort (*bao*) in every aspect. Again, it is very likely that until 1559 in the late Jiajing reign, a *tulou* was in effect viewed by the local people as a temporary military facility. It is conceivable that during this period in the rural areas of Yong'an and Liancheng people were still living in ordinary settlements consisting of cottages, farmhouses, courtyard dwellings and workshops...

Character List

<i>bao</i>	堡
<i>Baosheng dadi</i>	保生大帝
<i>budongchan</i>	不動產
<i>cheng</i>	城
<i>chong xiu</i>	重修
<i>chengshi wenhua kongjian</i>	城市文化空間
<i>chengshi mingpian</i>	城市名片
<i>chuancheng</i>	傳承
<i>citang</i>	祠堂
<i>cunzhang</i>	村長
<i>dan</i>	擔
<i>dazayuan</i>	大雜院
<i>dayizhi</i>	大遺址
<i>Dexin-tang</i>	德馨堂
<i>De shi xiang lü</i>	德式鄉閭
<i>difang wenwu bumen</i>	地方文物部門
<i>fang</i>	房
<i>fenjia</i>	分家
<i>fensi</i>	分祀
<i>fengshui</i>	風水
<i>fengzixing mu</i>	風字形墓
<i>Fulao</i>	福佬
<i>Fu Mei Xiangcun</i>	富美鄉村
<i>gongjia</i>	公家
<i>gongtian</i>	公田
<i>guanshi jianzhu</i>	官式建築
<i>guojia</i>	國家

<i>huanjing zhengzhi</i>	環境整治
<i>huanjing zhili</i>	環境治理
<i>Huaiting</i>	槐庭
<i>Hakka</i>	客家
<i>Hekeng</i>	河坑
<i>heyuan</i>	合院
<i>heng</i>	橫
<i>hezu gongji</i>	闔族共祭
<i>jianzhu kongzhi didai</i>	建築控制地帶
<i>jiabao</i>	家堡
<i>jiben nongtian</i>	基本農田
<i>jin</i>	斤
<i>jingji jiti zuzhi</i>	經濟集體組織
<i>Jinshi</i>	進士
<i>jiti</i>	集體
<i>jitian</i>	祭田
<i>kanyu</i>	堪輿
<i>keyan jigou</i>	科研機構
<i>lao fangzi</i>	老房子
<i>liang</i>	兩
<i>li hou</i>	利後
<i>lishi wenhua mingcheng, mingzhen, mingcun</i>	歷史文化名城、名鎮、名村
<i>miao</i>	廟
<i>Minnan</i>	閩南
<i>minxi</i>	民系
<i>minju jianzhu</i>	民居建築
<i>Minzhu gongwang</i>	民主公王
<i>minzu wenhua cunluo</i>	民族文化村落
<i>mu</i>	畝

CHARACTER LIST

Nanjing	南靖
<i>nongmin gong</i>	農民工
<i>nongyongdi</i>	農用地
Pinghe	平和
<i>pingzheng tudi</i>	平整土地
<i>qian hai</i>	遷海
Qiaoxia	橋下
<i>Qiyue ban</i>	七月半
Raoping	饒平
<i>quan minzu</i>	全民族
Shanghang	上杭
<i>she</i>	社
<i>shenyi re</i>	申遺熱
<i>shi</i>	世
Shiqiao	石橋
<i>shi qigan</i>	石旗杆
<i>shiye danwei</i>	事業單位
<i>Shiying-tang</i>	世英堂
<i>tan</i>	壇
<i>tang</i>	堂
<i>tang-heng shi jianzhu</i>	堂橫式建築
<i>teji</i>	特祭
<i>toujia</i>	頭家
<i>tudi ziyuan</i>	土地資源
<i>tulou</i>	土樓
<i>wenhua chanye</i>	文化產業
<i>wenwu baohu</i>	文物保護
<i>wufeng</i>	五鳳
<i>wufu</i>	五服

<i>wuxing zichan</i>	無形資產
<i>xian</i>	縣
<i>xian guotu ziyuanju</i>	縣國土資源局
<i>xian tudiju</i>	縣土地局
<i>xian wenhua ju</i>	縣文化局
<i>xian zhengfu</i>	縣政府
<i>xiangzhen qiye</i>	鄉鎮企業
Xizhuba	溪竹壩
<i>xindingji</i>	新丁祭
<i>xingzheng cun</i>	行政村
<i>xiu</i>	修
<i>xiu jiu ru jiu</i>	修舊如舊
<i>yangshi</i>	樣式
<i>yaoqianshu</i>	搖錢樹
<i>yewu zhidao</i>	業務指導
<i>yichan baohu guihua</i>	遺產保護規劃
Yuantang	圓塘
<i>yizixing lou</i>	一字形樓
<i>zhai</i>	寨
Zhangzhou	漳州
<i>zhaijidi</i>	宅基地
<i>zhaoshang yinzi</i>	招商引資
<i>zhengfu zhaobiao</i>	政府招標
<i>zhengfu zhudao</i>	政府主導
<i>zhici</i>	支祠
<i>zhugan cuo</i>	竹竿厝
<i>zhuixu</i>	贅婿
<i>ziran cun</i>	自然村
<i>zongci</i>	宗祠

CHARACTER LIST

<i>zongti baohu guihua</i>	總體保護規劃
<i>zongzu</i>	宗族
<i>zuchan</i>	祖產
<i>zuo dafu</i>	做大福
<i>zutian</i>	族田
<i>zuwu</i>	祖屋

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