

Cover Page



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**Landscape Practices and Representations
in Eighteenth-Century Dongchuan,
Southwest China**

Proefschrift

Ter verkrijging van
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Fei Huang

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Acknowledgements

In 2005, I went to Yunnan for the very first time. I remember how impressed I was when I arrived at the old walled city area of Dongchuan (present-day Huize county), with the majestic Confucius temple compound, magnificent merchant mansions and unpretentious vernacular dwellings. Since then, I started to devote myself to this remote town, and eventually I finished my doctoral thesis which concerns the interdisciplinary study of landscape, space and architecture in eighteenth-century Dongchuan. This could have never happened without the support and encouragement of many institutions and individuals.

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I dedicate my research to my parents Huang Keren and Zhang Lipan who have been alongside me with love and understanding.

Figures

Fig. I.

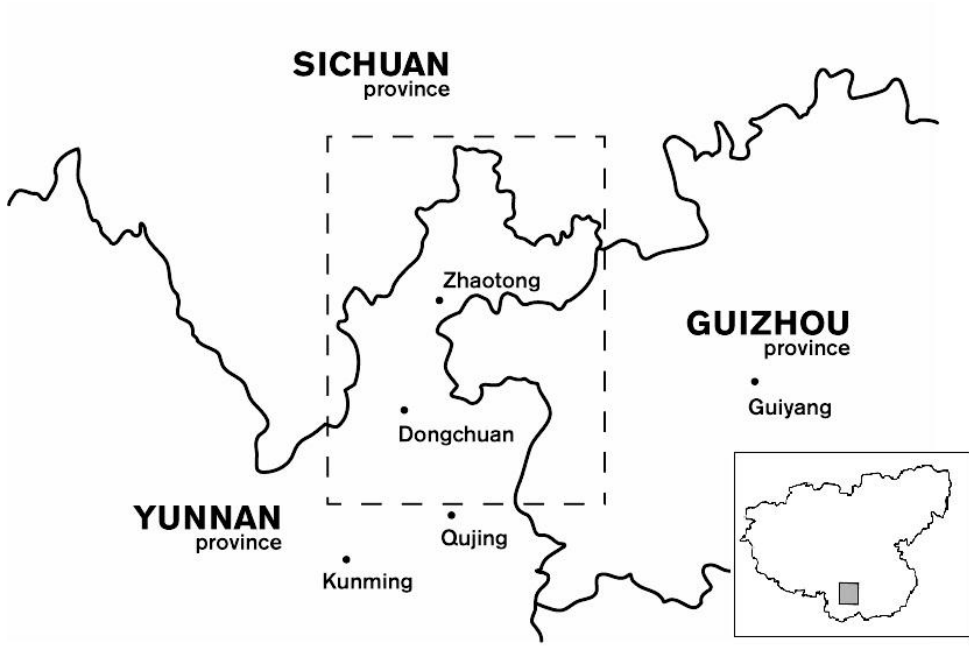


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Fig. 1.3 Dali 大理 kingdom (937-1253)



Fig. 1.4 Northeastern Yunnan in the Yuan dynasty



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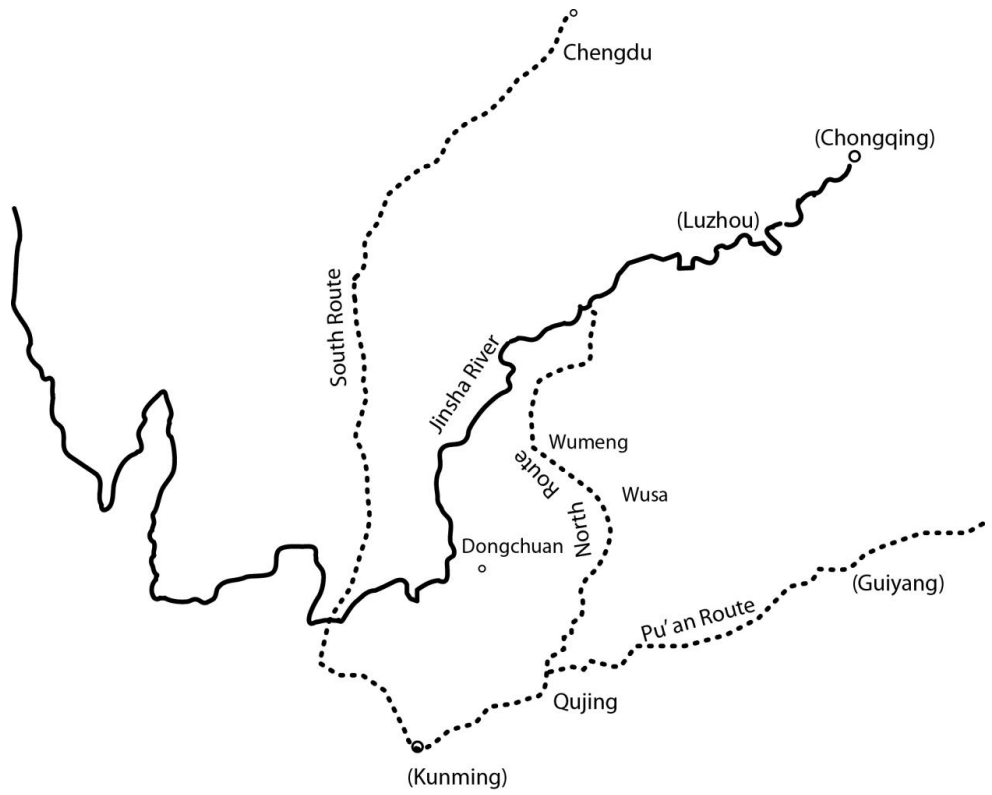
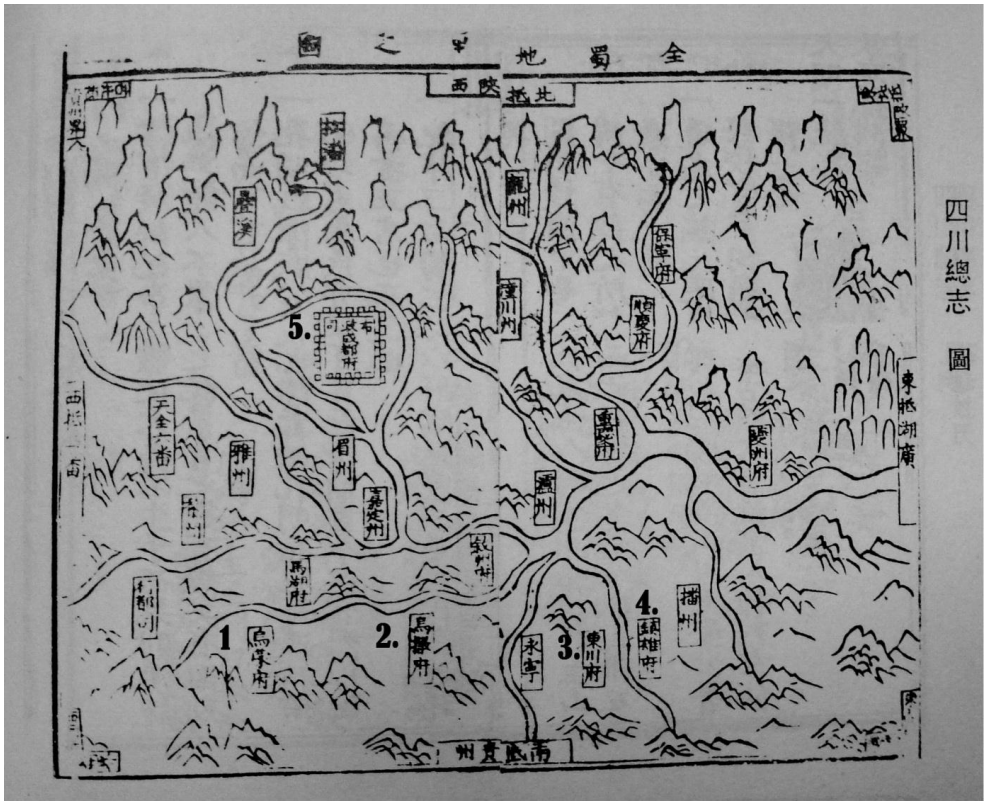


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1. Wumeng
2. Wusa
3. Dongchuan
4. Zhenxiang
5. Chengdu



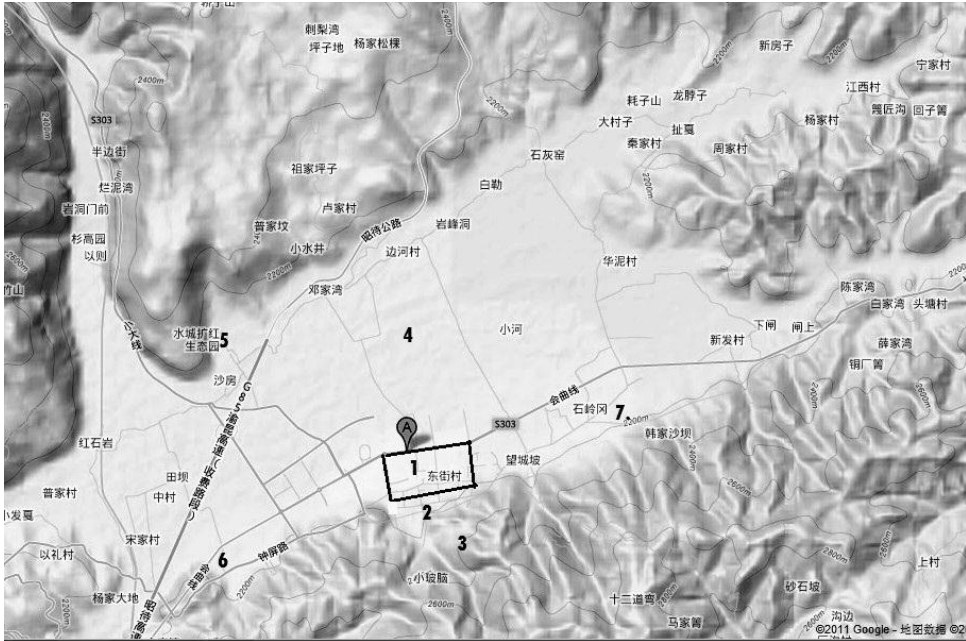
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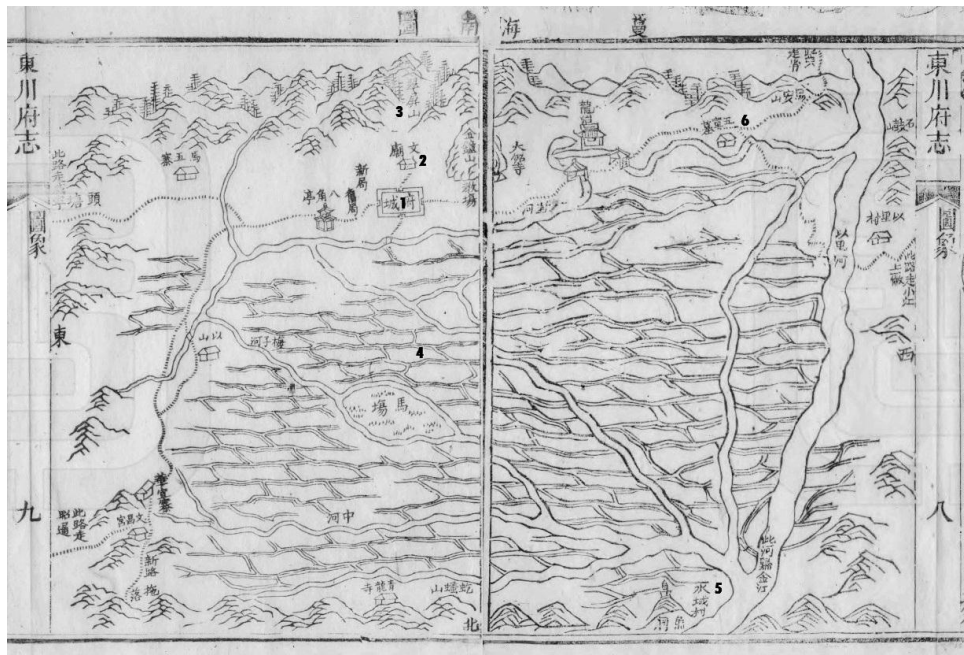
Fig. 2.1 the walled city of Dongchuan on the Google map of Huize County, 2012



1. The walled city
2. Confucius Temple
3. Green Screen Mountain
4. Creeper Sea
5. Water Capital Village
6. Wu Longmu (the Earth Capital)
7. Tucheng Village (the Earth Capital)



Fig. 2.2 the map of Creeper Sea in the Dongchuan gazetteer, 1761.



1. the walled city
2. Confucius Temple
3. Green Screen Mountain
4. Creeper Sea
5. The Water Capital
6. Wu Longmu (the Earth Capital)

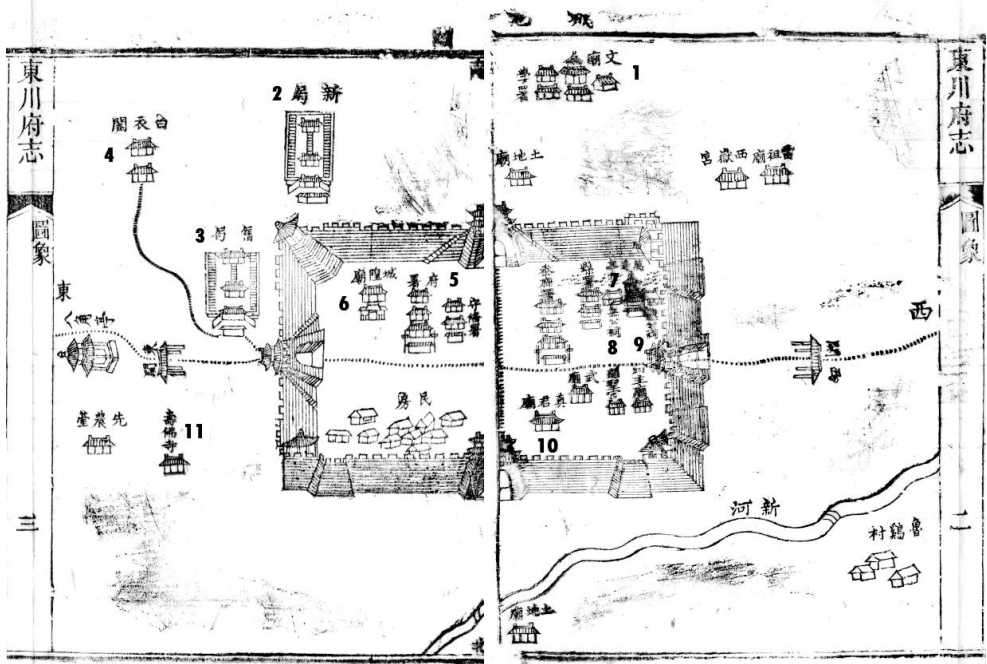


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1. Tianti (the unfinished old walled city of the Qing government)
2. Ermuna (the old indigenous capital and the new walled city of the Qing government)

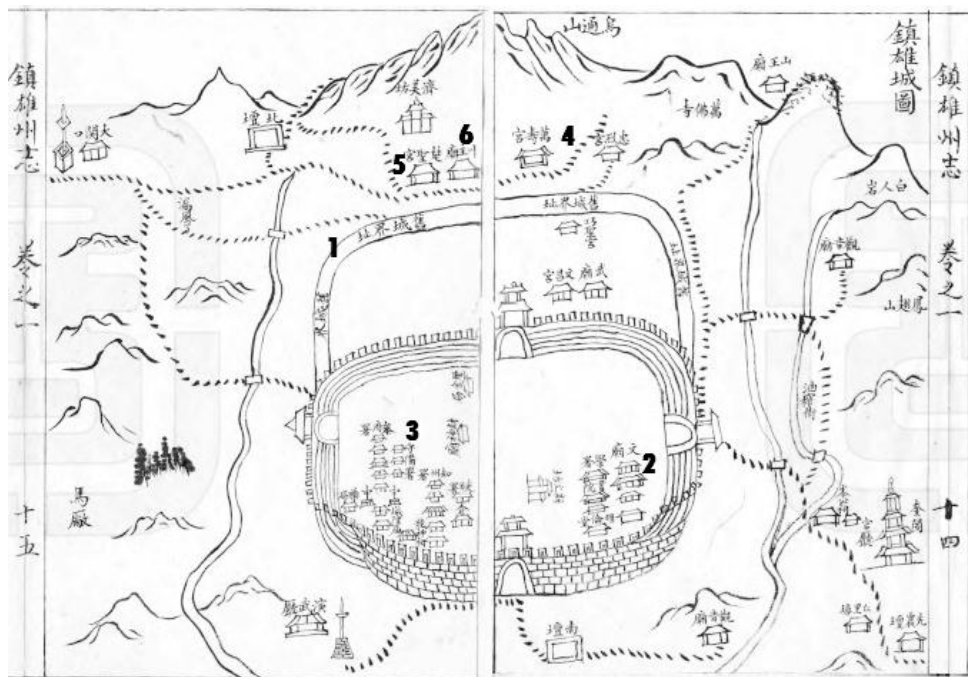
Fig. 2.4 the map of the walled city of Dongchuan in the Dongchuan gazetteer, 1761



- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Confucius Temple | 6. City God Temple |
| 2. The Old Mint Factory | 7. Longevity Pavilion |
| 3. The New Mint Factory | 8. Yue General Shrine |
| 4. White Cloth Pavilion | 9. Wei General Shrine |
| 5. The office of prefect | 10. Jiangxi Guild Hall |
| | 11. Huguang Guild Hall |



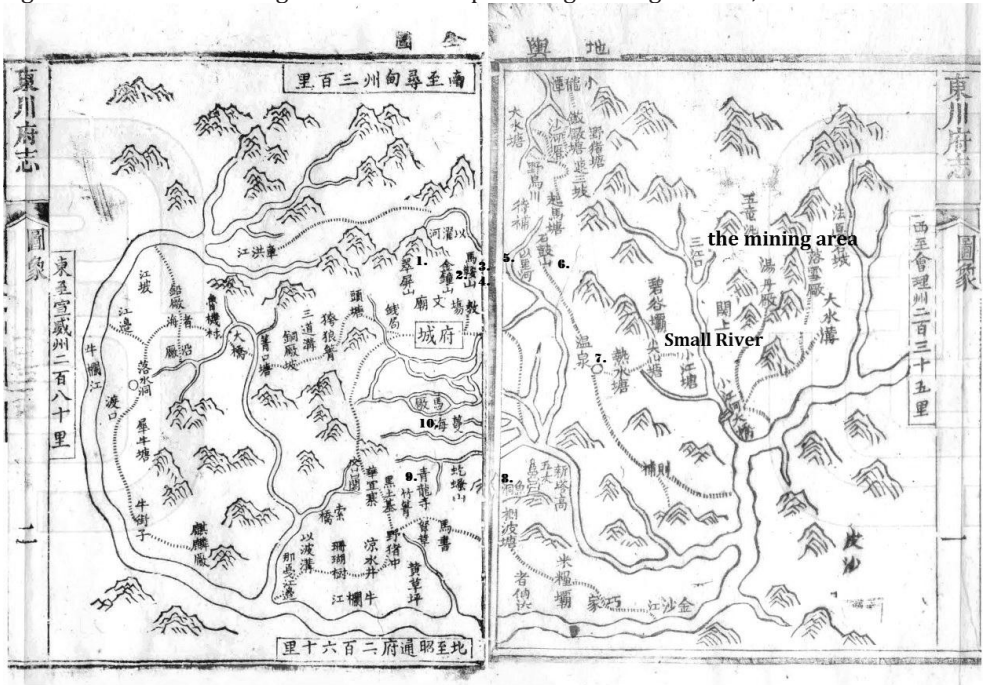
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1. The old walls (unfinished by Cui Naiyong)
2. Confucius Temple
3. The office of sub prefect
4. Jiangxi Guild Hall
5. Huguang Guild Hall
6. Sichuan Guild Hall



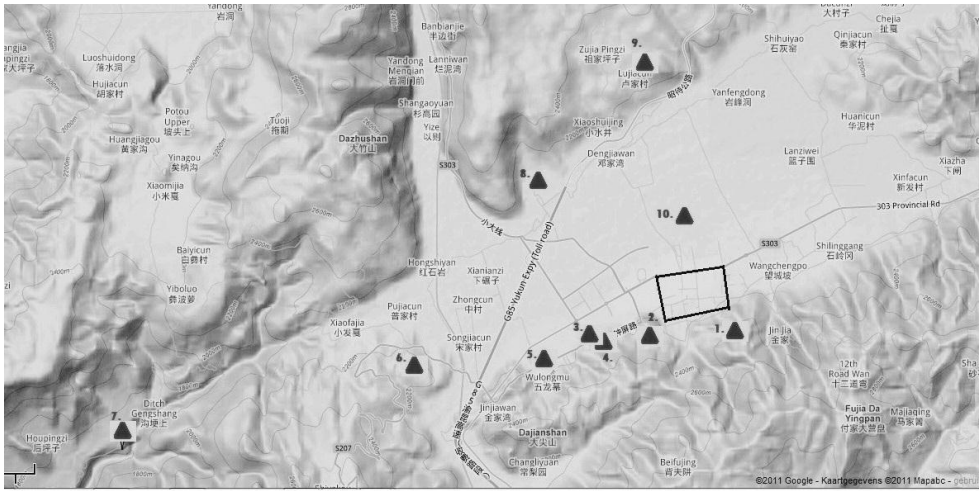
Fig. 3.1 Ten views of Dongchuan on the map of Dongchuan gazetteer, 1761



1. 'Spring Dawn at Green Screen Mountain' (*cuiping chunxiao* 翠屏春曉);
2. 'Evening Glow over Golden Bell Mountain' (*jinzhong xizhao* 金鐘夕照);
3. 'Midnight Moon in the Dragon Pool' (*longtan yeyue* 龍潭夜月);
4. 'Cloud Formations over Rainbow Mountain' (*yinhong yunzhen* 飲虹雲陣);
5. 'Peach Blossoms at Wulongmu Village' (*longmu taohua* 龍霧桃花);
6. 'Woodcutters' Song from Stone Drum Mountain' (*shigu qiaoge* 石鼓樵歌);
7. 'Willow Waves at the Hot Spring' (*wenquan lilang* 溫泉柳浪);
8. 'Fisherman's Flute from Water Capital Village' (*shuicheng yudi* 水城漁笛);
9. 'Remnants of Snow on Black Dragon Mountain' (*qinglong canxue* 青龍殘雪);
10. 'Autumn Harvest at Creeper Sea' (*manhai qiucheng* 蔓海秋成).



Fig. 3.2 Ten views of Dongchuan on the Google map of Huize County, 2012



1. 'Spring Dawn at Green Screen Mountain' (*cuiping chunxiao*翠屏春晚);
2. 'Evening Glow over Golden Bell Mountain' (*jinzhong xizhao*金钟夕照);
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10. 'Autumn Harvest at Creeper Sea' (*manhai qiucheng*蔓海秋成)



Fig. 3.3 Eight views of Xundian on the map of Xundian gazetteer, 1550



1. 'The Phoenix and the Wutong Tree Facing the Clouds' (*fengwu chaoyun* 鳳梧朝雲),
2. 'Midnight Moon in the Dragon Pool' (*longtan yeyue* 龍潭夜月),
3. 'The Eastern River Twists and Turns' (*dongjiang quche* 東江曲折),
4. 'The Lake in the West Clears Up' (*xihai chengqing* 西海澄清),
5. 'Hot Spring in the Southern Valley' (*nangu wenquan* 南穀溫泉),
6. 'Cold Cave on North Creek' (*beixi handong* 北溪寒洞),
7. 'Dark Green Pine at Perfect Enlightenment Monastery' (*yuanjue cangsong* 圓覺蒼松),
8. 'Returning Dragon Ancient Temple' (*guilong gusi* 歸龍古寺)



Fig. 3.4 Eight views of Zhenxiong on the map of Zhenxiong gazetteer, 1784



 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十一 馬家營草</p>	<p>八景圖</p>	 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十二 仙人仙影</p>	<p>數處丹珠象借恩宅省五 名顯運通義得碧螺錫雲 月都虛黃潤芙蓉春種數 蒙雲觸底翠霖植覺生蕤 寧雅潤滋高景授詩如 便呈城頭姑蘇景授詩如 擬演連珠圖</p>
 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十三 月窟禪光</p>	<p>萬翅出頭白髮歸身之斯渺望 之巖然空骨何有豐稔周融 生空月路亭道盡鏡佛火任祥 無取眾生禮讀不台口是科 殿春先禱之靈得常在如 範全成 贊 靈 寶</p>	 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十三 一星拱斗</p>	<p>眼宵月擲懷古 弄卷危果蘇葛 艸吐脫片錫鏡 生似子紅氣化 門乃贈濟意盡 牙長 贊 靈 寶</p>
 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十四 平堪春耕</p>	<p>為控於耕於力於狀於時於 轉危在危氣沈沈瀾包將抱 一三少一一人人三三三三 皆仙首視何可謂莫不矢 研以修農富與阜文化是 一三三三三三三三三三三 大受仰祝俯望</p>	 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十五 二水像珠</p>	<p>謝沃正勃動段後新水生燒 羅古勃蛇果戲罪開鳴滄 婦子勤澤澤秋成豐計維 在春播豐豐秋成豐計維 夫饑播豐豐秋成豐計維 昏不無達達上雲燭爾勞 須慶取明對歡喜克敬 須用聆明對歡喜克敬</p>
 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之一 三十六 柱磯綵釣</p>	<p>水雙環井孤園侶涉世非嚴 湖西域寶明主權合浦金麻 垂遠胡尚能互攫寒湧後教 或爭喧水自流自百閩千古 未不相問漁子藕春驪眼懷 寶照宜暢然 銘</p>	 <p>鎮雄州志 卷之二 三十七 蘇均流雲</p>	<p>雙肅麟神麟臥鬱壓 蚩十樽繁印舌鬱鈞 鍊嵌擊金鬱嵌兩唱 或響百回鼓我來撫把 不是管類一片固固 闕窈窕 韻</p>

Fig. 4.1 Chao'an hill in the geomantic theory

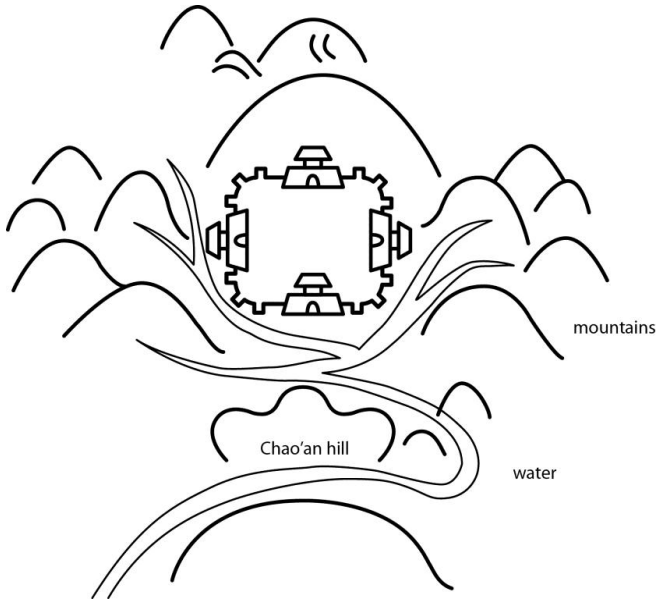


Fig. 4.2 Black Dragon Mountain on the map of the Dongchuan gazetteer, 1761.

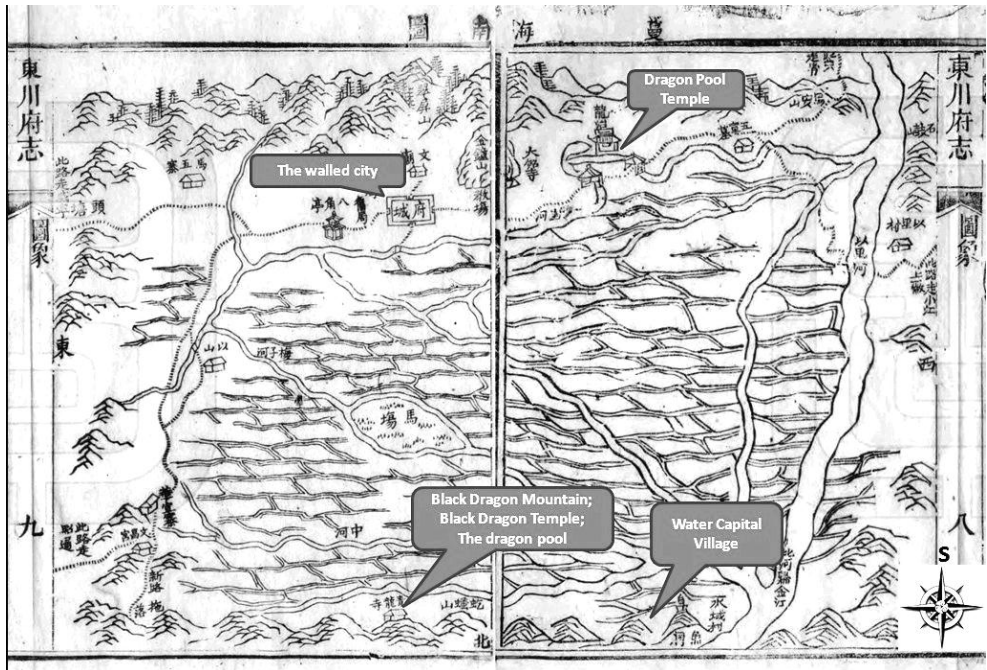


Fig. 5.1 Wenchang temples on the Google map of Huize County, 2012

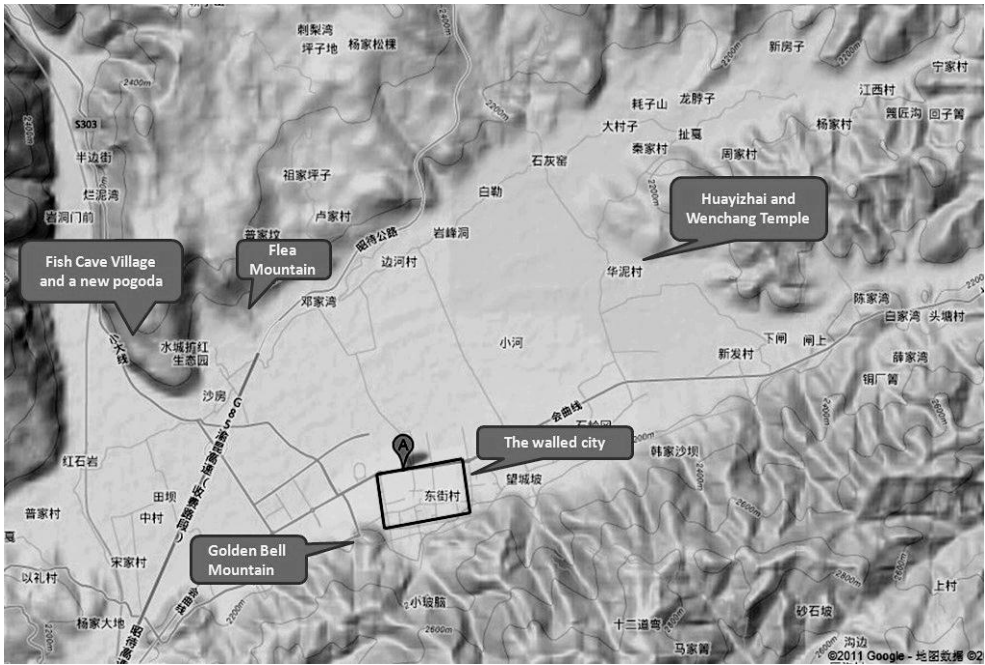
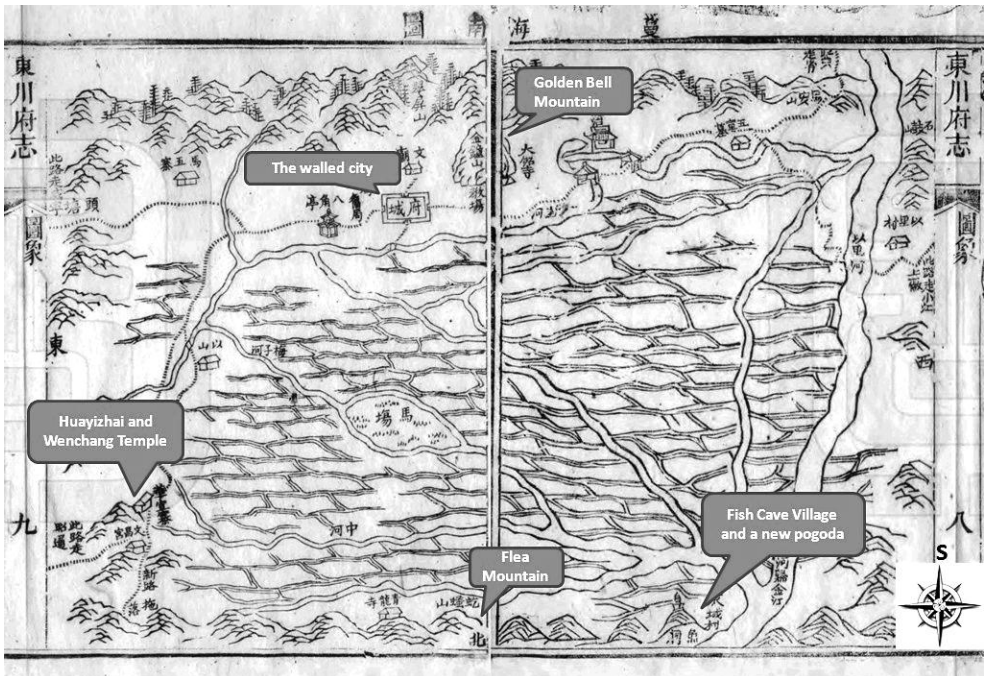


Fig. 5.2 Wenchang temples on the map of the Dongchuan gazetteer, 1761.



Nevertheless, their minds were fixed on the city and its people, for as Pollard lifted his eyes to the apparently endless ranges of mountains which surrounded him, they can have been to him nothing more than magnificent scenery. It was wonderful to see them from a distance; but they were dark and foreboding, known only as the region of wandering bands of brigands, and the haunts of wild animals, and of a wild people.¹

Introduction: Landscape studies of the empire's margin

When the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor (1678-1735) of the Qing dynasty came to the throne in 1723, he immediately realized that much of the land in the southwestern part of his territory was controlled by powerful indigenous chieftains. Unlike his father, the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (1654-1722), he wanted to subjugate these indigenous chieftains in order to fully control this area. To help accomplish this, He Shiji 何世璠, associate provincial governor of Guizhou, cautiously suggested that it would be better to settle quarrels and avoid armed conflict by appeasing the indigenous chieftains. He was deeply worried about the Qing army having to face the difficulties and dangers of a rather harsh climate and the perilous terrain of the deep river-carved gorges and mountains where the indigenous communities of the Southwest lived. However, Emperor Yongzheng soon began to lose his patience after He Shiji's diplomatic attempts at a peaceful solution proved fruitless. At this time, in 1726, a radical suggestion proposed by E'ertai 鄂爾泰, the new governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou provinces in 1725, attracted Emperor Yongzheng's attention. E'ertai claimed that the disobedient barbarians would have to be suppressed by force. And his first target in the Southwest was the indigenous people living in Dongchuan, Wumeng, and Zhenxiong, an area covering present-day

¹ Kendall, R. Elliott, *Beyond the Clouds: The Story of Samuel Pollard of South-West China* (London: Corgate Press, 1948), p. 6. Samuel Pollard (1864-1915) was a British Methodist missionary to China.

southeastern Sichuan, northeastern Yunnan and northwestern Guizhou provinces.² (Fig. 1)

Yongzheng was not the first emperor to be troubled by the ungoverned inhabitants of the Southwest. With its perilous and unwelcome environment, the Southwest had always been populated by indigenous groups and had long remained outside of fully administered involvement by the central state, except for the nominal submission of the indigenous chieftains. Since the Han dynasty (202 BC to AD 220), each successive central regime had tried to build connections and penetrate their power into the Southwest. Step by step, the central state gradually established effective control in the Southwest, especially in the cities and towns near the capital and along the transport routes. Still, before the eighteenth century, there were many 'blank' areas inside the Southwest that remained beyond the reach of the central state. Dongchuan and other parts of present-day northeastern Yunnan formed one of these 'blank' areas.

Situated in the most inaccessible part of the Southwest, with deep river gorges and mountains, Dongchuan had been located within the nominal boundaries of the empire for many centuries; nevertheless, it continued to be ruled by powerful indigenous chieftains and stayed out of reach of effective central control. As E'ertai predicted in his suggestion to Yongzheng, by using efficient forceful and bloody means, the Qing state was able to overpower the indigenous chieftains of Dongchuan, Wumeng and Zhenxiong in 1726–1730. After that, the Qing established their own government with Han or Manchu officials, and Qing garrisons were distributed around the area. By means of institutional and military force, Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan came under the effective control of the Qing.

Among the important consequences of conquering Dongchuan after investing heavily in military expenditures was not only that the rebellious indigenous chieftains had been put down, but also that Dongchuan's rich copper deposits began to be exploited on a large scale by the Qing government. The main purpose for the copper mines was to use the metal for minting copper coins, which was a major currency in the market exchange of the Qing state. For copper coins, the Qing needed around 1,000,000 kg of copper each year. Since the second half of the seventeenth century copper had been imported mainly from Japan. But Japanese copper exports had been greatly reduced in the early eighteenth century because of strict limitations imposed by the Tokugawa

² *QSG*, vol. 34, *juan* 288, p. 10230.

regime. The Qing state had no choice but to undertake a massive effort to exploit copper and other metal deposits in the Southwest.³ As soon as Qing administrative control was achieved, copper exploitation immediately started in Dongchuan. This area quickly became the main source of copper for Qing coinage because Dongchuan contained almost seventy percent of the copper deposits of what is present-day Yunnan province. Dongchuan was transformed in the eighteenth century from a remote hinterland into a pivotal player in the imperial economic network.

Along with copper transport, there was a series of construction projects by the Qing government in the area, such as roads and waterways, a new stone-walled city, official and ritual buildings, and all daily facilities needed for the walled city. Meanwhile, following the flourishing mining business, increasing numbers of Han Chinese immigrants from other parts of China hurried to Dongchuan. Tens of thousands of people were engaged in mining, forging, and transporting copper, as well as supplying all of life's necessities and leisure pursuits. As a small and remote city that was at the same time 'directly' connected to the imperial Qing economy of the eighteenth century, Dongchuan remains relatively unexplored by academics. The important role of Dongchuan in the imperial economy has been researched by modern scholars of industrial and economic studies. They focus on the production and circulation of copper coins and silver both domestically and internationally, to understand the bureaucratic management and control of the monetary system in the early modern period.⁴ However,

³ Yan Zhongping 嚴中平, *Qingdai Yunnan tongzheng kao* 清代雲南銅政考 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1948), pp. 3-5.

⁴ Yan Zhongping 嚴中平, *Qingdai Yunnan tongzheng kao*; Wang Yejian 王業鍵, *Zhongguo jindai huobi yu yinhang de yanjin* 中國近代貨幣與銀行的演進(1644-1937) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jingji yanjiusuo, 1981); Peng Weixin 彭信威, *Zhongguo huobi shi* 中國貨幣史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1949); Xia Xiangrong 夏湘蓉, Li Zhongjun 李仲均, Wang Genyuan 王根元, *Zhongguo gudai kuangye kaifashi* 中國古代礦業開發史 (Taipei: Mingwen shujū, 1989); Zhongguo renmin daxue qingshi yanjiushi 中國人民大學清史研究室, *Qingdai de kuangye* 清代的礦業 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujū, 1983); Peng-sheng Chiu 邱澎生, Shiba shijie diantong shichang zhong de guanshang guanxi yu liyi guannian 十八世紀滇銅市場中的官商關係與利益觀念, *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yanjiusuo jikan* (Taipei, 2001), vol. 72, no.1, pp. 49-119; Nakajima Satoshi 中島敏, 'Shinchō no dōsei ni okeru yōdō to tendō' 清朝の銅政における洋銅と滇銅, *Tōyōshigaku ronshū* 東洋史學論集 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1988), pp. 161-177; Kawakatsu Mamoru 川勝守, 'Shin-Kenryūki unnandō no kyōun mondai' 清・乾隆期雲南銅の京運問題, in *Min Shin Kōnōsei to kyōkudaitoshi rensa—Chōkō to Daiungawa* 明清貢納制と巨大都市連鎖 - 長江と大運河 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 2009), pp. 526 - 629; Hans Ulrich Vogel, 'Cowry Trade and Its Role in the Economy of Yunnan: From the Ninth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century, Part 1', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (1993), 36. 3: 211-252; 'Cowry Trade and Its Role in the Economy of Yunnan: From the Ninth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century, Part 2', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (1993), 36. 4: 309-353; 'Chinese Central Monetary Policy, 1644-1800', *Late Imperial China* (1987), 8.2: 1-52; 'Chinese Central Monetary Policy and the Yunnan Copper Mining Industry in the Early Qing (1644-1800)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Zurich, 1983); Helen Dunstan, 'Safely Sipping with the Devil: The Qing State and Its Merchant Suppliers of Copper', *Late Imperial China* (1992), 13. 2: 42-81; E-Tu Zen Sun, 'The Transportation of Yunnan Copper to Peking in the Ch'ing Period', *Journal of Oriental Studies* (1971), 9: 132-148; *Metals, Monies, and Markets in Early Modern Societies: East Asian and Global Perspectives, Monies, Markets, and Finance in China and East Asia*, ed. by Tomas Hirzel and Nanny Kim, vol.1 (Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2008).

their focus on the mining industry and the monetary system tends to ignore Dongchuan's local society. Apart from a few local amateur historians, no one seems to have studied the tremendous transformation in local society that took place in Dongchuan in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, as an important area formerly inhabited by indigenous people, especially the present-day Yi, Dongchuan has also been neglected by anthropologists concentrating on the Southwest because nowadays only a small number of Yi reside there. Most research on Yi communities focuses on the Liang Mountain area of southern Sichuan, or on the centre or south of Yunnan and western Guizhou, where more Yi are presently living. In addition, studies of the history of China's southwestern frontier focus on southern and western Yunnan, along the border between China and Southeast Asian countries such as Burma, Laos and Vietnam. Located in the hinterland of northeastern Yunnan, Dongchuan is on the periphery, forming a 'blank' area inside the imperial territory, and has been overlooked by researchers focusing on Southwest China.

I believe that Dongchuan deserves closer scrutiny of its local situation instead of only treating it as part of the economic network of the mining industry and the monetary system. My research presents the local society of Dongchuan during its tremendous transformation in the eighteenth century. It is concerned with the study of landscape, space and architecture in eighteenth-century Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan, where indigenous people had been living for many centuries. Here the Qing empire overthrew the indigenous regimes and created new cities and landscapes – new both materially and as representation. The new landscapes overlapped with the territory where indigenous communities lived, yet they did not wipe out all traces of the indigenous past. I found that indigenous conceptions of space and landscape have survived in these communities' stories and myths. Taking into account both state and indigenous perspectives in the eighteenth century, my intention is to explore the interaction between the various discourses on the one hand and, on the other hand, the physical construction of space and landscape by different local groups. This endeavour is innovative both in landscape studies and in pre-modern Chinese society studies, especially for the southwest margin of the empire.

Research on the imperial margins

One of the fundamental issues in studies of pre-modern Chinese society concerns the expansion of the Chinese empire and how this was carried out by military, political, economic and cultural conquest. The dynamic interactive relationship between the state and local societies, between the central government and peripheral indigenous groups, during this period of expansion has drawn the attention of several scholars. The term 'sinicization' (*hanhua* 漢化) seems unavoidable for the study of non-Han groups in China. It implies that the history of the periphery of the empire is mainly the process of the superior Han Chinese culture transforming and assimilating the non-Han peoples situated in the empire's margins. The term 'sinicization' has been debated since the 1990s, one of the best-known exchanges being between Evelyn Rawski and Ping-ti Ho.⁵ Following the rise of 'New Qing history', studies published since the 1990s suggest that the sinicization of non-Han groups does not fit in the Qing dynasty whose rulers were Manchu.⁶ The main participants in the debate, Pamela Crossley, Mark Elliott, Edward Rhoads and James Millard, focus on the Manchu centre to reconstruct the conventional knowledge of the Qing dynasty.⁷ They argue that the Manchu emperors consciously tried to keep their Manchu identity. In the Qing dynasty, Confucian principles are seen in the emperor's outstanding position as Son of Heaven (*tianzi* 天子). The purpose of sinicization was not just teaching indigenous people the cultural values of Han Chinese, but most importantly to teach them to view the emperor as the figurative centre of the empire.

Meanwhile, the term 'colonization' is used in most of the studies of pre-modern China in the Western academic world. Since the Qing is considered a Manchu empire, Western scholars see the Qing as having colonized central Asia, Tibet, the south, and the southwest, as these were areas where other ethnic groups predominated. This concept of colonization corresponds with the characteristics of most Western colonial powers, such as the Romans, the Ottomans, the British, and the United States. Western scholars

⁵ Evelyn S. Rawski, 'Re-envisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History', *Journal of Asian Studies* (1996), 55.4: 829-50; Ping-ti Ho, 'In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's "Re-envisioning the Qing"', *Journal of Asian Studies* (1998), 57.1: 123-55.

⁶ *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. by James Millard, Ruth Dunnell, Mark Elliott and Philippe Forêt (London: Curzon Routledge, 2004).

⁷ Pamela Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Crossley, *The Manchus* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1997); Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). Rawski, 'Re-envisioning the Qing: the significance of the Qing period in Chinese history', *Journal of Asian Studies*, (1996) 55. 4: 829-850. Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Edward Rhoads, *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000).

suggest that we should consider Manchu colonialism in a global perspective instead of as a regional empire, to emphasize that the Qing should be situated in the pre-modern era and not in the late-imperial age. These scholars attempt to overcome the borders drawn on present-day national maps, to retell the history of how the Qing (the Manchus) conquered and established their sovereignty in such a big territory. By highlighting the similarities between the Qing empire and European expansion of overseas peoples and cultures, such parallels are easily identified by Western scholars, yet are difficult to be accepted by Chinese scholars, who are then labelled by Western scholars as 'nationalist' or 'traditionalist' historians. Using the term 'colonization' suggests 'coercion', which is emphasized by Western scholars who suggest that we should not overstate the cultural assimilation between China's central plain and areas colonized by China such as central Asia, the south, and the southwest.⁸

In their recent studies on Southwest China, both John Herman and Laura Hostetler support this argument based on their studies of Guizhou's indigenous people and their communities or kingdoms in imperial China. Herman's intention was to present a different story of indigenous society in the gradual process of the powerful central state militarily conquering and colonizing the southwest frontier between 1200 and 1700, especially Guizhou province during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Herman argues that the indigenous history of the Nosu Yi people in the Southwest deserves to be reconstructed based on recently published Yi historical documents. He traces this history back to the indigenous kingdoms that dominated most of Guizhou province from the fourth century onwards, and how they continually resisted or negotiated with the central state to keep the colonizers out of their homeland. For Herman, Han Chinese in the Southwest dominated both political institutions and economic enterprises, which were not open to indigenous people. Instead of 'civilizing' or 'transforming' the non-Han people into Han, the Ming seems more likely to have intensified the institutional barriers between them. In short, Ming colonization of the Southwest was not a 'civilizing mission'. In Herman's argument, the purpose of using the term sinicization is simply to whitewash the merciless colonization of the Southwest as a noble 'Confucian civilizing mission'.⁹

⁸ Peter C. Perdue, 'Comparing Empires: Manchu Colonialism', *The International History Review* (1998), 20. 2: 255-262; Nicola Di Cosmo, Qing Colonial Administration in Inner Asia, *The International History Review* (1998), 20. 2: 287-309; Joanna Waley-Cohen, 'Religion, War, and Empire-Building in Eighteenth-Century China', *The International History Review* (1998), 20. 2: 336-352; Michael Adas, 'Imperialism and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective', *The International History Review* (1998), 20. 2: 371-388.

⁹ John Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and

Laura Hostetler's research focuses on Qing ethnography and cartography to understand how the Qing represented their territory and the various indigenous groups of the Southwest, especially in Guizhou province. Another main goal of her research is put the Qing empire into a global context, and she shows that the techniques of expansion that the Qing employed were similar to those used in early modern European expansion; how Qing practices of mapping both territory and people were in many ways comparable to those used by European colonial powers. Influenced by recent studies of New Qing history, Hostetler points out that in the Southwest, the Qing's promotion of sinicization of non-Han groups was not limited to Confucian ideology, considering their Manchu background. She emphasizes the production of knowledge, such as detailed maps and ethnographic accounts both in text and image, about the frontier area and its people, as an important way for the Manchus to maintain their control. In this way, the Qing unified their territory and the ethnic groups by representing in mapping and ethnographic description.¹⁰

Another noteworthy recent study of the Southwest comes from C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier*. He focuses on the border area of the Qing state in southern Yunnan and Guangzhou and southeastern Yunnan, and Southeast Asian indigenous regimes in Burma and Siam. It is a region of constant tension and negotiation between the ongoing Qing efforts to gain control and the persistent struggle of local groups to resist this. Giersch argues that the Manchu empire had no historical tradition of interaction with the Southwest, and that many elite Yunnan officials appointed by the central state were not Han Chinese but Manchu. He believes that Qing officials who were appointed to the frontier region never made an effort to achieve the outcome of sinicization and that sinicization was not even part of Qing political ideology. The Qing could not completely overpower the indigenous groups but had to negotiate with indigenous elites in this 'middle ground' or meeting place. Meanwhile, the Han Chinese settlers, especially the merchants who were running international trade and interacting with the indigenous community in many ways, are treated as the important factor in forming this dynamic borderland.¹¹

In short, recent studies have argued abundantly against the concept of

London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

¹⁰ Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

¹¹ Patterson C. Giersch, *Asian Borderland: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2006).

sinicization and instead have used the concept of colonization in their special focus on the imperial borderlands. By questioning the concept of sinicization, studies of New Qing history emphasize that the Manchu emperors tended to view their empire as consisting of various ethnic groups, such as Manchu, Tibetan, Mongolian, Muslim and Han, instead of simply dividing the population into Chinese (*hua* 华) and barbarian (*yi* 夷). However, in the case of the Southwest, the rhetoric of civilization was not much different between the Ming dynasty and the Qing dynasty; scholars admit that this basic division between civilization and barbarity exists in the discourse of the Qing.¹² On the other hand, suspicion from most of Chinese scholars and some western scholars falls on using the concept of colonization for the Qing period. Comparing the Chinese situation to Europeans and their overseas colonies, scholars have had to admit that there had been substantial interaction and historical connections among a diverse population groups in China for ages. Compared with Europe, China seems always to have been a unified political entity over the long term with a huge territory and great diversity of local cultures.¹³

More importantly, the concepts of sinicization and colonization both imply a dichotomy between the state and local or indigenous society. The central state cannot have established its administration of the new territory overnight, although the official records make it sound as though it had. The active role of local society in the process of state-building deserves more attention, as has been emphasized since the 1980s in research on South China, especially the Pearl River delta during the period between 1600 and 1800, carried out by David Faure, Helen Siu, Liu Zhiwei, Chen Chunsheng, Zheng Zhengman. Referring to the sinicization model that had already been challenged, they point out that it is a one-way narrative because it neglects the active role of local society and indigenous groups in the process of cultural change. Instead of only analysing the expansion of irresistible state power or 'Chinese culture', these researchers believe that there were adaptations and accommodation between the state and the various population groups in the periphery. They try to avoid the dichotomy of state and local society. Being located far away from the centre, the Chinese empire at the margins largely appears to be a cultural construct instead of a 'real' empire. The scholars indicate

¹² *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, ed. by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2006), p. 8.

¹³ Michael Adas, Imperialism and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective, *The International History Review* (1998), 20. 2: 371-388, especially pp. 384-387.

that for the people living in this vast empire in the pre-modern period, a Han Chinese identity was usually of little significance to them, but they did acknowledge the existence of something that we now call 'state' or 'empire', a centre of power that was located far away but which they recognized they had to take into account. Moreover, they knew that there were other people like them who all lived under the rule of the central state. And they did have an ideological model of unified empire. This 'unified' was not an unchangeable fact. 'Unifying' may be a better word to describe the ongoing process of state-building.¹⁴

In studies of state-building in South China, scholars have noticed that, situated in the periphery far away from the central court, there was inevitable distortion in the way local actors identified themselves with the state. Questions that should be raised are who represented the 'state' in local society, how did they tell the story of 'state', and how did local people get to know the 'state' and come to treat it as authority. A policy coming out of the central court can only be carried out by local agents, such as local officials appointed by the central court, a local elite who believed they were the agents of the state, or other local groups willing to cooperate with the state, no matter whether the civilized centre was real or imagined. The state-building process largely depended on how local actors understood, imagined and engaged with the imperial metaphor in their society from bottom to top, and not simply by top-down coercion. In other words, the process of establishing state authority is the process of local or indigenous agents finding ways to connect themselves to the centre, the empire, the civilization, while they themselves also establish their own authority or pursue their own interests at the same time.

As the above-mentioned scholars of state-building in South China describe it, the representation of empire was improvised and expressed in kinship records, in daily rituals and religious texts for local deities, and in community festivals by the agency of local persons and communities. In other words, local actors manipulated the concept of 'state', and it was under the interpretation of these local actors that local society was brought into the imperial enterprise. In this way, the state and local or indigenous society are not contrasting concepts but are participants in the same process through their respective local agents. Therefore, the scholars mentioned earlier believe we should pay more attention to the spaces at the margins of empire which allowed

¹⁴ 蕭鳳霞(Helen Siu), 'Nian zai huanan yanjiu zhi lu' 廿載華南研究之旅, *Qinghua shehui xue pinglun* (2001), 1: 181-190.

negotiation for both sides. Instead of asking how the frontier populations were sinicized or colonized, we should emphasize how local actors turned into the makers of Han identity and state authority.¹⁵

Inspired by these studies, another important work on the Southwest comes from Wen Chunlai. Wen's research focuses mainly on northwestern Guizhou, from the tenth to the nineteenth century, and presents the transformation of the institutional system that was established by the central state in the Southwest and the indigenous institutional system within the Yi community. Wen discusses economic development and the changeability of cultural identity in the Southwest during this long process of institutional transformation. He shows the historical process by which northwestern Guizhou was integrated into imperial territory, especially after two hundred years under the rule of the Ming dynasty. Wen points out that whether from the state or the indigenous perspective, most researchers on the Southwest still set up a dichotomy between the active central state conquering and the passive indigenous people responding. Wen argues that not only did the powerful central state directly expand its territory from the top down, but that there were also powerful local or indigenous groups who were willing to join in the imperial system. Wen notes that the indigenous community was not a single, homogeneous unit. Within the indigenous community there were multiple interest groups competing with each other. Some indigenous leaders negotiated with the central state and made use of the concept of the central state to establish their own authority within the indigenous community. During this process of interaction and negotiation, each side took what it needed and formed the 'great unity' (*dayitong* 大一統) in the Southwest.¹⁶

From a different angle, ethnographical studies of Southwest China and Southeast Asia have attempted to reveal the history of indigenous groups from an anthropological

¹⁵ David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity and Frontier in Early Modern China*, ed. by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen Siu and Donald Sutton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); *Down to Earth*, ed. by Helen Siu and David Faure (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). 科大衛 (David Faure), 'Gaobie huanan yanjiu 告別華南研究', *Xuebu yu chaoyue: Huanan yanjiu lunwen ji* 學步與超越: 華南研究論文集, ed. by Huanan yanjiu hui 華南研究會 (Hong Kong: Wenhua chuangzao chubanshe, 2004), pp. 9-30; *Minjian xinyang yu shehui kongjian* 民間信仰與社會空間, ed. by Zheng Zhengman 鄭振滿 and Chen Chunsheng 陳春聲 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2003); Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, 'Diyu shehui de jiegou guocheng: zhujiang sanjiaozhou yanjiu de lishixue yu renleixue de duihua' 地域社會的結構過程: 珠江三角洲研究的歷史學與人類學的對話, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (2003), 1: 54-64; Liu Zhiwei, *Zai guojia yu shehui zhi jian: Mingqing guangdong huji fushui zhidu yanjiu* 在國家與社會之間: 明清廣東戶籍賦稅制度研究 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1997).

¹⁶ Wen Chunlai 溫春來, *Cong 'yiyu' dao 'jiujiang': song zhi qing guizhou xibei bu diqu de zhitu, kaifa yu rentong* 從'異域'到'舊疆': 宋至清貴州西北部地區的制度、開發與認同 (Shanghai: shenghuo dushu xinzhishi san lian shudian, 2008).

perspective. James Scott's latest contribution to Southeast Asian studies introduces the term 'Zomia', which covers a vast region of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Burma as well as Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi and parts of Sichuan. In Scott's discussion 'Zomia' is the largest remaining region of the world today whose population has not yet been fully incorporated into nation-states.¹⁷ Focusing on the encounter between the hill peoples and valley peoples of mainland Southeast Asia, Scott interprets it as the encounter between a settled, state-governed population and a frontier of less governed 'state-fleeing' groups. The non-state space in the ungoverned periphery was treated as a threat to the state; the state wished to integrate the land, people and resources in the periphery in order to benefit the central state. However, Scott insists that this non-state space actually provided an alternative life for those who chose to stay in the hills of 'Zomia' in order to flee state oppression in the valleys. Similarly, livelihoods, social organization, ideologies and oral culture should all be considered strategies for how state-fleeing people can keep their distance from the state. Although the state's expansion seems inescapable, it is still a choice of local or indigenous people's free will to place themselves within or outside the state. In the long view, many groups are mobile and fluid, they have moved strategically within or outside the state, back and forth between the valleys and the hills. In this way, Scott challenges the standard story of civilization or social evolution from state centre to non-state space in the periphery, since he sees people living in the periphery as still holding the initiative.¹⁸

A landscape studies approach

The process of state-building in the eighteenth century by military occupation, administrative management, economic exploitation and cultural reconstruction has been widely examined in studies of pre-modern China, both from the perspective of the state and from that of local and indigenous groups. However, the natural surroundings of the Southwest are treated in most of these studies merely as background information. As Scott points out in his study of mainland Southeast Asia, an important geographical theme is that hill areas are for state-fleeing people and valleys are for the state. Studies on environmental issues of the frontier lands in the eighteenth century have only just

¹⁷ The term 'Zomia' was first coined by Willem van Schendel; see Willem van Schendel, 'Geographies of knowing, geographies of ignorance: Jumping scale in Southeast Asia', In *Locating Southeast Asia: Geographies of Knowledge and Politics of Space*, ed. by P. Kratoska, R. Raben, and H. Schulte Nordholt (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

started to appear.¹⁹ My research takes the perspective of landscape studies, not only dealing with the natural environment, but also considering the interrelations between landscape, space and architecture.

Landscape studies today are most often viewed as belonging to the domain of fine art, architectural design and city planning, for landscapes are most explicitly represented visually in paintings, architecture and cities. On the other hand, because of their close relationship to place, space and environment, landscapes are normally put in the category of geographical phenomena. With the rise of studies of material culture in the last half century, landscape studies have been carried out in such diverse disciplines as art history, archaeology, anthropology, sociology, and historical or cultural geography.

The concept of 'landscape' originated in medieval Germany. The term *Landschaft* meant a feudal peasant landholding – a small, familiar place.²⁰ The word 'landscape' was introduced into English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a technical term to describe the artistic representation of a scene, while in the nineteenth century landscape came to denote a genre of painting.²¹ Not until the mid-twentieth century were landscape studies viewed as a distinct field – by W.G. Hoskins and J.B. Jackson. Hoskins's *The Making of the English Landscape* is considered the starting point of landscape studies in Europe. His concern is to 'take the landscape of England as it appears today, and to explain as far as I am able how it came to assume its present form, how the details came to be inserted'. For him, landscapes are the richest historical record of human activities.²² About the same time, the journal *Landscape* was established by J.B. Jackson, who is considered the forerunner of landscape studies in American academia. Jackson views landscape as composed of the human society and its environment which mutually influence each other. In his works the individual dwelling is seen as the main focus. Thus, understanding a landscape in living terms requires giving primary attention to vernacular architecture.²³ In this way, Hoskins and Jackson outlined a new approach for studying landscape history. As part nature and part culture, landscapes pose tension between objective materials and subjective culture, and it is this that was the focus of discussion in studies of material culture at mid-century.

¹⁹ Robert Mark, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004).

²⁰ Alan R.H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*, Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 109.

²¹ Baker, p. 204.

²² William G. Hoskins, *Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1955), pp.13-15.

²³ John B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

Landscape Discourse in Material Culture

The study of material culture, as we know it now in the British tradition, was promoted in the 1980s by a diverse group of Marxist-inspired archaeologists and anthropologists.²⁴ Having been built by people and involved in people's lives, architecture, town and city planning and all aspects of the human-shaped landscape fall within the field of material culture. Artefacts, objects or things are the principal concerns of contemporary material culture studies: 'objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged.'²⁵ Through these material things, scholars attempt to understand the beliefs, values, ideas and attitudes of a particular community or society at a given time. They emphasize 'how apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purposes of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity.'²⁶ Inevitably, the field of material culture sees a dialectical relationship between people and things, and most importantly, not only that people make and use things but also that the things make and use people. Associated with the rise of post-structural and interpretive theory, studies of material culture in the past ten years have been more focused upon 'the diversity of material worlds which become each other's contexts rather than reducing them either to models of the social world or to specific sub-disciplinary concerns... Studies of material culture may often provide insights into cultural *processes*.'²⁷

Compared with studies of material culture in the British tradition, studies of material culture in America fell into the category of folklore and cultural geography, and emphasized vernacular objects. Studies in folklore and folk life have made especially effective use of material evidence, for they see vernacular objects as offering the

²⁴ Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2007); *The Material Culture Reader*, ed. by Victor Buchli (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002); Daniel Miller, *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000); Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994); *Landscape, Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, Special Double Issue of the *Journal of Material Culture*, SAGE (2006), 11: 1/2. Arjun Appadurai, *The Social life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

²⁵ Jules D. Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 70.

²⁶ Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2007), p. 1.

²⁷ Daniel Miller, *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 3.

opportunity to understand the mind of non-literate societies. Vernacular architecture or folk housing in Middle Virginia is the subject of one of the most important early studies of material culture in America.²⁸ There are multiple approaches to landscapes, each with different ways of viewing the relationship between physical space and cultural imagination, practice and representation, which is the central issue of studies of material culture in America. Although not all approaches to landscapes claim to belong to the field of material culture, landscape studies have been demonstrated to be broad and interdisciplinary by scholars such as Denis Cosgrove, Barbara Bender, Christopher Tilley and Eric Hirsch, who have been involved in material culture studies since the 1980s.

Landscape as Symbol and as Process

Taking landscape as a genre of art, it can be used to represent the world visually where people inhabit or imagine, a focus not only of art historians but also of geographers. Following pioneering inquiries into landscapes by Hoskins and Jackson, Raymond Williams' *Country and City* was the most important work of the 1970s.²⁹ His aim is to turn the 'real' history of 'land' into an 'ideological' history of 'landscape'.³⁰ Art history and geography directly affected a series of studies by Cosgrove on the social implications of imagery and symbolic landscape. To emphasize landscape as 'a way of seeing' – as a new politics of vision, Cosgrove's research on landscape owes much to the ideas of art history. The emergence of landscape art as described by Cosgrove is connected with the development of linear perspective, which was established such as in sixteenth-century Venice in Italy, and industrial Capitalism in European and American from seventeenth century. 'The landscape idea represents a way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world around them and their relationship with it'.³¹ Landscape is thus a way of seeing that has its own history and techniques of expression. Cosgrove's intention is to explore 'landscape interpretation within a critical historiography, to theorize the idea of landscape within a broadly Marxian understanding of culture and society, and thus to extend the treatment of landscape beyond what seemed to me a prevailingly narrow focus on design and

²⁸ Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. 227-354.

²⁹ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).

³⁰ Raymond Williams, 'Between Country and City,' in *Reading Landscape, Country, City, Capital*, ed. by Simon Pugh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 5.

³¹ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), p. xiv.

taste.³² His views have been promoted in the collected volume *Iconography of Landscape*, with essays discussing the status of landscape as image and symbol.³³

Cosgrove contributes significantly to the study of cultural expressions of landscapes, inspiring many scholars to engage in landscape studies and to debate with him in interdisciplinary approaches. Tim Ingold accurately points out that Cosgrove's idea about 'ways of seeing' implies a separation between inner and outer worlds. For Ingold, the landscape is the more familiar domain where we live, in contrast to the formless outside world. Thus, 'the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it'.³⁴ In short, landscape emerges as a cultural process. Looking for a discipline that would somehow close the gap between the humanities and the natural sciences, Ingold focuses on the temporality of the landscape. He argues that 'the landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them'.³⁵ For Ingold, landscapes are 'temporary dwelling activities [which he called the 'takescape'] and never complete – neither "built" nor "unbuilt" – it is perpetually under construction'.³⁶ Similarly, the process of human life is the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived.

Like Ingold, Eric Hirsch argues that Cosgrove's definition 'neglects what exists as a part of everyday social life. Their definition only captures one half of the experience intrinsic to landscape, ignoring the other half and the cultural processes of which both poles of experience are a part and through which both are brought into relation'.³⁷ Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon collected a series of essays exploring how the concepts of landscape form an anthropological perspective. Hirsch further argues that the concept of landscape with the several juxtaposed concepts of foreground actuality and background potentiality, place and space, inside and outside, image and representation are all 'moments or transitions possible within a single relationship'.³⁸ Defined in this way, landscape entails 'the relationship seen to exist between these two poles of experience in any cultural context', and therefore as a dynamic cultural process. For Hirsch, the way

³² Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, p. xiii.

³³ *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. by D.E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

³⁴ Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 191.

³⁵ Ingold, p. 193

³⁶ Ingold, p. 199.

³⁷ *The Anthropology of Landscape: perspectives on place and space*, ed. by Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 5.

³⁸ Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, p. 4.

to a productive analytical application of the concept of landscape is through ethnography, to provide a framework for cross-cultural comparative study linking anthropology and related disciplines.

Landscape in Stratification and Movement

In Barbara Bender's collected volume *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, landscapes are created by people through their conscious or unconscious experience and their engagement in everyday existence. The landscape is a unity and is continually open to change, thus it should be treated as a process or a continuous record of human behaviour. People engage with the landscape and are empowered by it in different ways.³⁹ Bender says that we should look at the gender, age, class, caste, and social and economic situation of people to recognize the multiplicities of experience in the landscape. Her close colleague, Christopher Tilley focuses on prehistoric landscapes in his 1994 book 'A Phenomenology of Landscape'. Considering 'why were particular locations chosen for habitation and the erection of monuments as opposed to others?'⁴⁰ He elaborates the postmodern idea of landscape of Bender and other scholars – where a landscape is a series of named locales, a set of relational places, as well as the events and activities whose meaning is derived from particular places.

Bender develops her ideas further in *Contested Landscape: Movement, Exile and Movement*, in which the landscape of movement, migration, exile and homecoming is given more attention. She notes that most landscape studies focus on familiar places, rather than on 'the density and complexity of landscapes-in-movement'. Landscapes can retain 'the movement of people, labour and capital between town and country, between colony or factory and home country',⁴¹ but she also insists that 'there are always other places, including real ones or those encountered through hearsay, story and imagination', even in the same place 'where people have lived for generations'.⁴² Thus a new question is how people deal with unfamiliar places. To answer this question, Bender points out that 'we need to think about the experiences of place and landscape for those on the move, experiences that are always polymeric (they work at many different levels), contextual (the particularities of time and place matter) and biographical (different for

³⁹ *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender (London: Berg Publishers, 1993), p. 19.

⁴⁰ Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994), p. 1-34.

⁴¹ *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender, p. 3.

⁴² *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender, p. 6.

different people and always in process, happening)'. In addition to this, the landscape of movement is not the end of it: 'Those on the move affect the landscapes of those being moved through. And they affect the landscapes of those being left behind.'⁴³

A recent important work of landscape studies is *Landscape, Heritage and Identity*, edited by Tilley. As a special double issue of the *Journal of Material Culture*, it collects the most important contemporary landscape studies, by scholars including Cosgrove, Hirsch, Massey and Tilley, especially about the themes of landscape, place, heritage and social identity. All the articles, Tilley says, reflect 'that landscapes are contested, worked and re-worked by people according to particular individual, social and political circumstances. As such they are always in process, rather than static, being and becoming. Landscapes are on the move, peopled by diasporas, migrants of identity, people making homes in new places. Landscapes are structures of feeling, palimpsests of past and present, outcomes of social practice, products of colonial and post-colonial identities and western gaze, they are places of terror, exile, slavery and of the contemplative sublime. They get actively re-worked, interpreted and understood in relation to differing social and political agendas, forms of social memory, and biographically become sensuously embodied in a multitude of ways.'⁴⁴

In short, landscapes are always centred in relation to people, where they experience or imagine their life activities; studying this requires cross-disciplinary communication. The model of landscapes has evolved from just an external material object into social and cultural productions. During the last thirty years, landscape studies have been more than a static inquiry into what these landscapes mean and why they are created in human societies, but also consider the dynamics of landscapes by exploring the processes of making such landscapes and, conversely, how landscapes make people and societies. Landscapes are no longer treated as documentary sources or illustrations, but have become a principal issue of interdisciplinary studies today that contribute creative theories and debates to the social sciences and humanities.

Dongchuan: Landscape practices and representations

Most works of landscape studies so far have concentrated on the contemporary period and are limited to the western world. On the other hand, most studies of pre-modern

⁴³ *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, ed. by Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (London: Berg Publishers, 2001), p. 13.

⁴⁴ *Landscape, Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, p. 7.

China have not given enough attention to the landscape. Part of the problem is the lack of obvious written or material sources, resulting in very few researchers focusing on pre-modern Chinese landscape. The handful of exceptions is limited to the imperial political or economic centre, where comparatively well preserved architectures and landscapes are situated. One such exception is Philippe Forêt's *Mapping Chengde: The Qing landscape enterprise*.⁴⁵ His book focuses on landscape, architectural and religious aspects of the summer residence of Chengde, which was built by the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. The imperial gardens, landscape paintings, maps, Tibetan church, Buddhist temples, and hunting area of the summer residence are Forêt's main concern. He argues that the landscape was a technique employed by emperors for representing their private experience with the imperial metaphorical environment. Corresponding with the studies of New Qing history, Forêt tries to show how the Qing emperors promoted their unique Manchu identity and their sovereignty in Central Asia through the representation of landscape in the summer residence. Focusing on an imperial landscape, Forêt's research is a novelty in pre-modern Chinese history. Another important work comes from Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*.⁴⁶ Although Meyer-Fong does not emphasize a 'landscape studies' approach, her research focuses on four famous scenic city sites in late seventeenth-century Yangzhou, just after the Manchu army had conquered this area. She examines the local Han elite affiliated with these sites through their writing, visiting, and promoting, which in turn became anecdotes about the city during the decades after the Qing conquest. Thus, the local elite expressed themselves through the symbolic meanings of buildings and sites and then rebuilt their own community and post-conquest culture in Yangzhou. On the topic of Chinese sacred geography, James Robson recently published a new book *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China*. In this book, Robson looks at the complex history of the sacred mountain Nanyue's religious landscape. He examines the Nanyue and religious sites at the mountain both in terms of physical geography and their representation in historical and literary sources. Then he compares the religious images of Nanyue Mountain in Buddhist and Daoist sources and traces the influences of those co-present religious

⁴⁵ His landscape studies can also be seen in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* ed. by James Millard, Ruth Dunnell, Mark Elliott and Philippe Forêt.

⁴⁶ Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

traditions on the national and regional history of medieval China.⁴⁷ Such research contributes to the discussion of the experience of and interaction with the physical world in pre-modern Chinese studies. However, so far, the most noticeable characteristic of Qing imperial expansion in the frontier lands and its impact on local physical and cultural landscapes has been overlooked. More importantly, indigenous concepts of landscape in the ‘barbarian’ lands conquered later, remain unmentioned. What happened between the different groups in the Southwest – Qing officials, new immigrants and indigenous people – who lived in and reshaped the landscape through physical practice and cultural representation, and how did this cultural product of landscape in turn affect the lives of local people and societies in the empire’s margins? These questions are still unanswered.

Since the inhospitable geography of the Southwest served as a protective barrier for indigenous people and at the same time formed a major obstacle for the Qing state, reconstruction of the landscape was an important issue for the Qing. I believe this factor played an active role in the history of frontier expansion in eighteenth-century Southwest China. A landscape studies approach leads us to rethink a ‘black’ area such as Dongchuan in the Southwest as not just a static place, but also as an imaginary landscape in the eyes of the central state in the past, especially when officials discovered that it would be very hard to enter this area because of indigenous groups and dangerous geographical conditions. Placing the landscape of the Southwest in a dynamic historical process, in the words of Tim Ingold, my research also pays attention to how different discourses of the landscape gradually developed. And my research treats landscape in stratification and movement, as emphasized by Bender, by considering the large population mobility in Dongchuan in the eighteenth century and analysing how people coming from different areas, classes, and ethnicities made their own landscapes in order to create communities and build a local society. My research focuses on the landscape of Southwest China during the eighteenth century in various discourses, to discuss how different groups – both in the imperial government and in local society – understood, memorized, constructed, and represented the landscape.

For my landscape studies in Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan, the main sources are the local gazetteers. Compiled by local officials and elites, local

⁴⁷ James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China* (Cambridge and London: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2009)

gazetteers are treated as the standard of local information on the geography, economy, history, administration, and culture. The earliest popularity of local gazetteers in China can be traced back to the Song dynasty, and the genre flourished in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Local gazetteers are a rich source for local history studies, and are used by most researchers of local history of China. They are also a rich source for landscape studies, but have been overlooked in other studies, or treated only as the source of a few facts. In local gazetteers the natural and constructed landscape – rivers and mountains, buildings, roads, bridges, drains, shrines, temples, government offices and the layout of cities – are carefully recorded, and they also include maps and other illustrations, as well as poems and literature that portray the local landscape. As an additional source, memorials, reports and travelogues of Qing officials and other members of the elite also reveal how they imagine and portray the local landscape. And the travelogues of western missionaries and businessmen later in time, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, provide yet another perspective on the local situation in northeastern Yunnan.

The only three local gazetteers of the Dongchuan area – 1735, 1761 and 1809 – are the main archival sources for my investigation.⁴⁸ As an indigenous area newly occupied by the Qing, the landscape of Dongchuan was physically reshaped in the eighteenth century. All kinds of new construction, such as roads and waterways, the walled city, warehouses, schools, temples, and shrines, became important ways to build connections between local society and the imperial government. It was through the new landscape that the Qing orthodox ideology and imperial order was presented to local society. During this early period of imperial control, most of the sites, spaces and landscapes where indigenous groups once lived vanished. In the middle of the eighteenth century, local officials proudly claimed that Dongchuan now was no longer ‘a nest of barbarians’ but a ‘metropolis’ in imperial territory.

Meanwhile, this new landscape, as I use the term, refers not only to the physical building and material forms, but also to what is conveyed by the representations of the landscape in the records of local officials and scholars in the local gazetteers. In my research, I do not treat these descriptions of landscape in the local gazetteers as a source of facts, but rather as a subjective representation of the landscape. Local officials and

⁴⁸ *Dongchuan fuzhi* 東川府志, 1735 (handwritten copy), Yunnan sheng tushuguan, Kunming; *Dongchuan fuzhi* 東川府志, 1761, Zhongguo guojia tushuguan, Beijing; *Dongchuan fu xuzhi* 東川府續志, 1897, Zhongguo guojia tushuguan, Beijing.

literati recorded the landscape that they intended to show; they did not record things in the sense of modern scientific cartography that ideally reflects every detail. In this way, the Qing state not only transformed the landscape by creating a new (physical) cityscape, but also created a new ideological image of this landscape that was a political-cultural product of various strategies of knowledge.

Even more important, inspired by research on the local history writing of South China, I am not only concerned with how the empire extended its power into the frontier area by building infrastructure, but also with how local agents manipulated and re-interpreted the imperial landscape. My research deals with the question of how local agency represented the imperial landscape in the southwest frontier regions. Besides that, considered from the perspective of the indigenous side, I argue that the new landscape of Dongchuan did not – as local Qing officials claimed – simply take over and overwrite the territory where indigenous chieftains had previously kept a tight rein. Notwithstanding the reconstruction and representation of these local officials and elites, I found out during my fieldwork that indigenous conceptions of space and landscape have survived up until today, in the epic stories and myths of indigenous people. From 2005 to 2009, I had the opportunity to stay in Yunnan for a couple of months each year, mainly based at the Chuxiong Yi Cultural Research Institute (楚雄彝文研究所), which collaborates with Sun Yat-sen University. During these periods, I searched the Yi archives collected at the Institute, and studied and discussed these with several local scholars of Yi studies. I visited Huize 会泽 County, the present-day name of the former Dongchuan prefecture, in the winters of 2005, 2007, and 2011.⁴⁹ During my fieldwork, I collected stele inscriptions dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century that are now kept in local temples, guild halls, and the local archaeology administration department. I collected oral history, local legends, and indigenous stories by interviewing people and by searching local publications. In the Yunnan provincial library in Kunming, I examined the local archives of the main cities and towns of northeastern Yunnan, the earliest items dating from the eighteenth century. These materials helped me to uncover the indigenous conceptions of space and landscape that are hidden in local oral history, legends and written sources. I noticed that the previous indigenous landscapes, still today, were actually also interacting with the new landscape. In addition, as a frontier

⁴⁹ I participated in several research projects led by Dr. Jian Xū of Sun Yat-sen University during this period, such as the British Library, preservation and digitization of Yi archives in public and private collections in Yunnan.

zone where indigenous and newcomer communities encounter each other, conflicting and interacting, the cultural landscape can also be fluid, as the different groups negotiate the local context.

My dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 places Dongchuan in the geographical context of the area along the Jinsha River (part of the river that is known in the West as the Yangtze) and the ever-changing borderlands of Southwest China from the Han dynasty (202 BC –AD 220) to the early Qing dynasty in the eighteenth century. Located along the Jinsha River on the north and south sides, the indigenous people living in present-day areas of southern Sichuan, northeastern Yunnan and northwestern Guizhou were closely connected to each other on a local scale, and the central state incorporated them in the official records only in a strictly administrative sense. By building roads in the Southwest, the central state gradually extended its power into the region, especially in the cities and towns near the capital and along the main transport routes. Far away from these main routes, Dongchuan and other parts of present-day northeastern Yunnan remained 'blank' areas of the imperial territory in the eyes of the central state. Eventually, these blanks were filled in and the region was put under direct control of the Qing state after successfully replacing the indigenous rulers in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Chapter 2 traces the history of indigenous politics in Dongchuan since the late seventeenth century, and the Qing government's establishment of the stone-walled city in the eighteenth century. Dongchuan was transformed from a marginal indigenous area to a booming copper mining town set in the political, economic, and geographic context of northeastern Yunnan. Focusing on how sites were selected for the walled city and for important buildings, this chapter considers the symbolic patterns of the walled city and buildings, designed according to principles of geomancy by Qing local officials and an immigrant Han elite. In the process of city building, the local Han elite, who believed that they represented the Qing state, became key figures in city planning and building projects. In so doing, the Qing seems to have successfully reconstructed this 'barbarian' landscape into a new 'metropolis'. Still-surviving buildings built in or near the walled city of Dongchuan from the mid-eighteenth century onward by Han Chinese immigrants, especially by powerful Han Chinese officials, testify to the area's impressive economic and social development at that time.

Chapter 3 focuses on the 'ten best views' of the surroundings of the new walled city,

which were recorded in local gazetteers and in poetry anthologies edited by the local poetry society. After the walled city was built and imperial institutions were established in Dongchuan, local scholars identified the ten most beautiful views in the surroundings of the walled city. Regardless of the actual locations of these scenic spots, the descriptions of these beautiful views are not only a sign of literary appreciation, but were also consciously written to represent the wild frontier to a 'civilized' Han Chinese world. In this way, the set of best views came to constitute important evidence of the local government's achievements. Beyond that, the basis for the selection of best views is examined in the context of geographical descriptions in the local gazetteers that involved complex political, military and economic interests. In the case of Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan in the eighteenth century, the connection between the walled city and copper production forms the key background for the selection of best views.

Chapter 4 emphasizes the religious space and landscape of Dongchuan to present an unconventional explanation of cultural integration. The Qing officials' new landscape was overlaid on the territory where indigenous chieftains had previously kept a tight rein. In the process of institutional reform, most of the sites where indigenous groups had lived were erased, especially their religious and political spaces in the mountains. Zhenwu shrines and dragon pool cults on Black Dragon Mountain outside of Dongchuan's walled city are analysed as a case study. As the protector of the Qing walled city, the Zhenwu deity occupied the space of the dragon deity worshipped by indigenous groups. This Qing's Zhenwu shrine soon dominated the image of Black Dragon Mountain, as constructed in myths and ritual activities and as given material form in the statue and the building. At the same time, dragon pool cults coexisted in the same space but held different meanings for various local groups. Here, religious space and landscape were reconstructed by the Qing government to establish its legitimacy, but multiple images of the same religious landscape continue to exist today in local society.

Chapter 5 analyses the architectural space of Dongchuan's ritual buildings, especially the temples for the deity Wenchang and the shrines devoted to the local hero Meng Da. This architectural space is explored in order to discover how indigenous people and immigrants created special spaces for expressing their beliefs and identities, and in what way these ritual spaces at the same time brought about changes in local society. The case study of Wenchang temples and Meng Da shrines in Dongchuan shows

how the story of buildings established by city officials and Han immigrants can be retold by local people in a totally different narrative. Indigenous conceptions of space and landscape have survived in present-day stories and myths, illustrating how pre-existing indigenous landscapes interacted with the new official landscapes.

While most studies have treated the natural surroundings of the Southwest simply as static background information, I argue in my conclusion that these landscapes played an active role in the history of frontier expansion in eighteenth-century southwestern China. Notwithstanding the efforts of local officials and elites to recreate the local landscape, previous indigenous landscapes actually interacted with this new landscape. New spaces and landscapes, then, were created not only by the builders, but also by the local people who interacted with them in their everyday life and through their memories of the old days. A diversity of people created multiple interpretations of their landscape and space, instead of simply adopting official representations.

Chapter 1 From 'Black' Area to New Imperial Territory

Dongchuan is located in the area where present-day northeastern Yunnan adjoins southern Sichuan and northwestern Guizhou. Like other areas of Southwest China, it has deep, river-carved gorges and rugged mountains with large local differences in climate, and it continued to be occupied by indigenous groups and escaped effective control of the central state for many centuries. For a very long time, the central state incorporated this area in official records only in a strictly administrative sense. Because of the construction of official roads and by sending envoys into the Southwest, this area had been recorded before the eighteenth century in standard histories, geographic works and travelogues, which mention different roads and place names, and describe surrounding landscapes, but which still contain very limited information.

Presenting Dongchuan in the context of the ever-changing borders of the Southwest, this chapter examines how outside observers portrayed and discussed Dongchuan and other parts of present-day northeastern Yunnan. A hinterland along the Empire's southwestern border, Dongchuan gradually drew more and more attention from the central state, eventually coming under the direct control of the Qing state after it imposed thorough reforms on the indigenous chieftain system in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the booming copper business and the copper transports from Dongchuan to the capital Beijing created a close connection for the very first time between Dongchuan and the central state.

1. Dongchuan and northeastern Yunnan: 'nominal' administration

Dongchuan is first recorded as Tanglang 堂螂 (or 堂狼, 堂瑯, 堂琅) county in Qianwei 犍为 prefecture and later Qianwei dependant State (*shuguo* 属国) during the Han (B.C. 202-A. D.220) and then in Zhuti 朱提 prefecture during Jin dynasties (266-420).¹ The name ‘Tanglang’ came from Tanglang Mountain, which the records place in Zhuti prefecture. According to *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志, the oldest extant gazetteer that focuses especially on the Southwest, compiled by Chang Qu 常璩 (291-361), Tanglang Mountain was a mountain with silver deposits, lead ore, and copper mines, and was a good place to harvest medicinal plants.² According to *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, a classical geographic work from the sixth century that describes waterways and their surrounding landscapes throughout China, Tanglang and other parts of northeastern Yunnan, where indigenous peoples lived, are said to be ‘the most dangerous area’ for outside travellers. It records that Tanglang county was located around two hundred Chinese miles (*li*) to the southwest of the capital of Zhuti prefecture. Walking northwest from there, one encountered countless high mountains that needed to be climbed. The mountain ranges, extending around eighty *li*, looked like the intestines of sheep and twisty ropes. The high mountains with craggy peaks and upright rocks were separated by narrow gorges. Travellers had to climb trees or use ropes to pull themselves up the mountain. The climbers seemed to be setting the stage for reaching the heavens.³ (Fig. 1.1)

Apart from the rugged terrain, awful air quality in the summer brought virulent malaria, making this area less accessible to outside travellers.⁴ According to a tenth-century account of Tanglang Mountain, people believed that there were lots of poisonous weeds on this mountain, and that during the high summer season even birds couldn’t survive trekking through the area and died on the mountain.⁵ Furthermore, Jinsha River running through the mountains in this area was also full of danger. The Jinsha is the main tributary of what in the West is known as the Yangzi River. Nowadays

¹ Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, *Zhongguo xinan lishi dili kaozhi* 中國西南歷史地理考釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 103-104. Fang Guoyu, ‘Diandong diqu Cuanshi shimo’ 滇東地區爨氏始末, *Tianshi luncong* 滇史論叢, vol.1. (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), p. 128.

² *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志, ca. 348-354, comp. by Chang Qu 常璩, *Huayang guozhi jiao bu tu zhu* 華陽國志校補圖注, comm. by Ren Naiqiang 任乃強 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), p. 271. P. 281.

³ *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, comm. by Li Daoyuan 酈道元, ca. 386-534, *Shuijingzhu jiaozheng* 水經注校正, ed. by Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), p. 671.

⁴ For more discussion of malaria in southwest China, see David A. Bello, ‘To Go Where No Han Could Go for Long: Malaria and the Qing Construction of Ethnic Administrative Space in Frontier Yunnan’, *Modern China*, 31. 3 (2005), 283-317.

⁵ *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, ca. 984, comp. by Li Fang 李昉 (Guangdong: Xuehaitang, 1892), *juan* 22, p. 6b.

it flows from the southwestern border of Sichuan province into Yunnan province. The name Jinsha comes from the tenth or twelfth century and literally means 'golden sand', because it is said that people were panning for gold in the river, which also suggests that there were rich mineral resources to be found on both sides of Jinsha River.⁶ With a deep parallel gorge, submerged rocks and sudden turns, the Jinsha was extremely difficult to navigate and posed a huge natural obstacle to transport, adding yet more risks for travellers entering the area (Fig. 1.1).

This difficult environment resulted in a lack of contact with the outside world and meant that the indigenous community long remained autonomous. Located along the Jinsha on the north and south sides, present-day southern Sichuan, northeastern Yunnan and northwestern Guizhou were closely connected to each other locally.⁷ Tanglang Mountain, at one point, was attached to the early memory of some southwestern indigenous groups who after 1949 were called the Yi people. According to Yi historical texts and oral history, the Yi people spread throughout the Southwest and can all be traced back to the 'branches of the six ancestors' (*liuzu fenzhi* 六祖分支), which refers to a famous Yi legend. In this epic, 'Zhongmuyou' 仲牟由 (also written 'Zhuming' 祝明, 'Dumuwu' 瀆母吾 and 'Dumu' 篤慕), an Yi ancestor hundreds of generations back, lived on Luoni Mountain (洛尼山, or *Luoyi shan* 洛宜山, *Luoyebai* 羅業白, *Luoyibai* 洛宜白) in northeastern Yunnan. Zhongmuyou had six sons; two of them moved to present-day southern Sichuan, two of them moved to present-day western Guizhou, and two of them stayed in present-day northeastern Yunnan. The six sons of Zhongmuyou thus became the patrilineal ancestors of the Yi communities throughout the Southwest.⁸ The connection between Luoni Mountain and Tanglang Mountain can be found in only one of the Qing dynasty gazetteers of Guizhou province, and states that Zhongmuyou lived on Tanglang Mountain, which he also called Luoyi Mountain in his indigenous language.⁹ Luoyi Mountain (written 羅衣) is drawn on the map in the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, but without further explanation in the main text.¹⁰ The Yi ancestor's mountain also

⁶ *Yuanshi* 元史, ca.1381, comp. by Song Lian 宋濂 and others (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), vol. 5, *juan* 61, p. 1464.

⁷ Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, *Yizu shigao* 彝族史稿 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 385-386.

⁸ Ma Changshou 馬長壽, *Yizu gudai shi* 彝族古代史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 3, 7-9; Herman, pp. 20-21; Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp. 145-150, 172-180; Wen Chunlai, p. 7.

⁹ Ma Changshou, *Yizu gudaishi*, p. 7.

¹⁰ *DCFZ*, 1761, *tuxiang*, p. 12b. Ma Changshou also mentions this in *Yizu gudaishi*, but he attributes it to the Dongchuan gazetteer during the reign of Guangxu 光緒 (1875-1908), see Ma Changshou, *Yizu gudaishi*, p. 33.

appears in the Yi ritual manuscript (*Bimo jing* 畢摩經) written by the Bimo, who were intellectuals and ritual priests in traditional Yi society.¹¹ In the 'Direction-giving sutra' (*zhilujing* 指路經), one of the Bimo texts used during funerals for leading the ghost of the deceased in the direction of the hometown of their ancestors, present-day northeastern Yunnan is mentioned as the place where their ancestor father had lived.¹² Many scholars nowadays believe that Luoni Mountain refers to Tanglang Mountain in northeastern Yunnan, which is a mountain located in present-day Huize or Qiaojia 巧家.¹³ Tanglang Mountain, then, is considered the holy place of origin of the 'branches of the six ancestors' of the Yi community.

Although Tanglang was recorded as one of the counties of the central state, it was not actually administered by the central state and neither were many other areas in the Southwest before the thirteenth century. After the Han dynasty had gradually declined in the second century, the Southwest had been ruled by the Cuan 爨 family from the fourth century onwards. In the fifth century it was divided into two parts, Eastern Cuan (*dongcuan* 東爨) in present-day northeastern Yunnan, and Western Cuan (*xicuan* 西爨) in the central part of present-day Yunnan. Around the seventh century Eastern Cuan extended its sphere of influence into Western Cuan.¹⁴ After the Cuan family declined, many indigenous tribes fought each other and could not form a unified Eastern Cuan. From the eighth century, most parts of present-day Yunnan, southern Sichuan and western Guizhou were occupied by a local regime called the Nanzhao 南詔 kingdom (738-937) and its successor regime the Dali 大理 kingdom (937-1253). During the confrontation between the central Tang state (618-907) and the local regimes of Nanzhao and Dali, the power of the indigenous tribes in southern Sichuan, northeastern Yunnan and northwest Guizhou was so strong that neither the central state nor the local

¹¹ Wu Gu, 'Reconstruction Yi History from Yi Records', in *Perspectives on the Yi of Southwest China*, ed. by Stevan Harrell (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 21 -34.

¹² *Yiwen zhilujing yiji* 彝文《指路經》譯集, trans. by Guoji Nongha 果吉寧哈, Ling Fuxiang 領福祥 (Beijing: Zhongyuan minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1993), pp. 602, 606, 616, 619, 622, 625, 639, 642, 643, 645, 648, 650, 656, 661, 662, 690, 693.

¹³ Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, p. 150; Ma Changshou, *Yizu gudai shi*, p. 7; Herman, p. 21. There is still debate about the exact location of the mountain. For example, another opinion suggests that Luoni Mountain should be located in the adjoining areas of Luquan, Huize and Huili, see Ma Changshou, *Yizu gudaishi*, p. 23, footnote 8; another opinion holds that Luoni Mountain was located in Luquan 祿勸, see *Yiwen zhilujing yiji*, pp. 616, 619.

¹⁴ More precisely, Western Cuan included Qujing, Makong, Luliang, Lunan, Yiliang, Songming, Kunming, Chenggong Jingning, Kunyang, An'ning, Chengjiang, Jiangchuan, and Lufeng counties, and Eastern Cuan included Zhaotong, Huize, Zhenxiang, Weining, see Ma Changshou, *Yizu gudai shi*, pp. 64-68.

regimes could fully control that area.¹⁵ (Fig. 1.2 and 1.3) The whole area of Yunnan remained outside of the control of the Song dynasty (960-1279) until the coming of the Mongol army in the thirteenth century.

There is little historical information about northeastern Yunnan's indigenous communities because of their isolated location. During the Tang dynasty, the name Cuan gradually transformed from a surname into a general term for indigenous groups. In the records of *Man shu* 蠻書 or *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志, which is the most important work about present-day Yunnan, written by Fan Chuo 樊綽 in 864, Western Cuan was inhabited by the 'white barbarians' (*baiman* 白蠻) and Eastern Cuan was home to the 'black barbarians' (*wuman* 烏蠻).¹⁶ Before the Mongol army conquered the Southwest, four main indigenous groups had formed in northeastern Yunnan. They were 1) Dongchuan (or Bipan 閩畔) and 2) Wumeng 烏蒙 in present-day Zhaotong in Yunnan province, 3) Wusa 烏撒 in Weining, and Hezhang in present-day northwest Guizhou province, and 4) Mangbu 芒布 in present-day Zhenxiang of Yunnan province. All these names were used by imperial observers as names of ethnic groups but also as place-names.¹⁷ These indigenous groups were known as 'black barbarians' and were classified as the descendants of Zhongmuyou. 'Dongchuan' was then called 'Nazha nayi' 那紮那夷 which came from the indigenous language. The name was given by an indigenous chieftain called Matan 罵彈, who was one of the descendants of Zhongmuyou and who established his regime around the eighth or ninth century.¹⁸ In the Yi language, 'Nazha' means 'on the other side of' and 'Nayi' means 'Black Water', referring to the Jinsha River. So 'Nazha nayi' means the place across the Jinsha, which implies it had connections to other

¹⁵ Fang Guoyu, 'Diandong diqu Cuanshi shimo', p. 132. According to fifteenth-century geographic records Emperor Meng Shilong 蒙世隆 (859-877) established Dongchuan prefecture here during his reign, which is probably the first time 'Dongchuan' was used as the official name of this region, but very soon the area was recaptured by indigenous forces. Daming yitong zhi 大明一統志, comp. by Wei Junmin 魏俊民 and others, in *SKQS*, vol. 473, *juan* 72, p. 40a; In eighteenth-century Dongchuan, a mountain named Wulong (五竜 or 烏龍), which was located in western Dongchuan, particularly connected Dongchuan to the Nanzhao kingdom. It is said that Wulong Mountain was located along the Jinsha River and was 112 *li* in height. During the Nanzhao kingdom this mountain was declared by the Meng family to be the 'Highest Mountain in the East' (*Dongyue* 東嶽) and to be connected to the heavens. In this record, during the Nanzhao kingdom, Wulong Mountain was considered to be one of the highest mountains located in the borderlands, which suggests that the power of the Nanzhao kingdom did not reach beyond the mountain, see *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 6.

¹⁶ Fan Chuo 樊綽, *Manshu* 蠻書 (*Yunnan Zhi* 雲南志), ca. 863, in *YSC*, vol. 2, p. 12; Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp. 194-204.

¹⁷ Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp. 184-185.

¹⁸ Cao Xuequan 曹學佺, *Shu zhong guang ji* 蜀中廣記, n. d.(1778), in *SKQS*, vol. 591, *juan* 36, p. 14b-22b.

indigenous tribes north and south of the Jinsha.¹⁹

The Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) is the first period of official central control and administration in the Southwest. The Yuan state set up a new bureaucratic system, the 'indigenous officials system' (*tuguan* 土官), giving official titles to the powerful indigenous chieftains in return for their loyalty to the Yuan. The indigenous officials were obliged to offer tribute and they governed the land and population for the central state. In that way, the Yuan gained local allegiance and indirectly administered the Southwest.²⁰ In the late thirteenth century the Pacification Commission of Luoluosi 羅羅斯 was established in southern Sichuan in 1275, and the Pacification Commission (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司) of Wusa 烏撒 and Wumeng 烏蒙 in northeastern Yunnan under the rule of Yunnan province in 1287, covering Wusa Lu 烏撒路, Wumeng Lu 烏蒙路, Mangbu Lu 芒部路 and Dongchuan Lu 東川路.²¹ (Fig. 1.4) However, within a few years, anti-Yuan activity was on the rise and indigenous officials became less willing to be governed by the Yuan. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the indigenous elites and their tribes in northeastern Yunnan, just like other indigenous tribes in the Southwest, stopped cooperating with the Yuan and reclaimed their autonomy.²²

After that, the close connections between the different groups in northeastern Yunnan were recognized by the central state. The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) adapted the Yuan administrative system in the Southwest by formalizing the indigenous chieftain system (*tusi* 土司) and introducing different administrative levels, such as indigenous prefect (*tuzhifu* 土知府), indigenous sub-prefect (*tuzhizhou* 土知州), and indigenous magistrate (*tuzhixian* 土知縣), who were responsible for governing the non-Han population in their territory. In the process of occupying most of Yunnan, Emperor Hongwu (1368-1398) of the Ming dynasty noticed that the different ethnic groups in northeastern Yunnan all claimed to be descendants of one indigenous ancestor and that they had a close relationship with each other: 'Dongchuan, Mangbu and other indigenous groups, were all the descendants of *Luoluo* 羅羅 [the most common name for

¹⁹ Fang Guoyu, *Zhongguo xi nan lishi dili kao shi*, p.715.

²⁰ Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp.253-258; Gong Ying 龔蔭, *Zhongguo tusi zhidu* 中國土司制度 (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 2-22.

²¹ *Yuanshi*, vol 5, pp. 1466-1467; 1471-1476; 1483.

²² Herman, pp. 45-70.

Yi people before 1949]; they had multiplied into the different groups and occupied different areas, which are now called Dongchuan, Wusa, Wumeng, Mangbu, Luzhao 祿肇 and Shuixi 水西. They fought each other in the absence of external pressures, and supported each other if there was an attack from outside.²³ The Ming state also established the prefectures of Dongchuan, Wusa, Zhenxiong 鎮雄 (called Mangbu Lu in the Yuan), and Wumeng. But with strong indigenous ruling families living in these areas, the central state's control was nominal, that is, limited to the establishment of prefectures and their names. In the eyes of the Ming, the indigenous people were the most stubborn barbarians. In the fifteenth century, the central government decided to directly control the Southwest by replacing the indigenous chieftains with state-appointed Han Chinese officials (*gaitu guiliu* 改土歸流). But the power of the central state could not reach every corner of the Southwest at once, so only the capital area and other places along the transport routes into Yunnan fell under direct Ming rule. In areas such as Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan, the power of the indigenous chieftains could not be taken over by the central state until the early Qing dynasty in the eighteenth century.

2. Transport routes into Yunnan

After establishing an administrative system of sorts, another important way for the central state to penetrate the Southwest was to explore and to construct transport routes entering Yunnan. Being so remote, Yunnan stayed out of reach for the longest time. Since the Western Han dynasty (202–9 BC), road construction had been a crucial task in the exploitation of the Southwest. The routes into the Southwest not only served traffic, but also indicated the extent of the central state's power and how it visualized these areas. Especially in the perilous journey across the mountains, once the routes were blocked the central state would lose its connection with the Southwest. The limited road infrastructure in the Southwest meant that the central state mainly focused on the areas directly surrounding the roads, while most other areas stayed out of reach of the state.

²³ *Mingshi* 明史, c.a. 1739, comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), v.26, *juan* 199, pp. 8003-8004; 8009-8011.

In general, there were two main routes into Yunnan before the tenth century, called the 'North Road' (*beilu* 北路) and the 'South Road' (*nanlu* 南路) by Fan Cuo.²⁴ For a short time during the Qin dynasty (221-207 BC), the starting point of the North Road was based on the 'Bo Road' (*bodao* 燧道) in southern Sichuan.²⁵ Later, the Han state prolonged this road to the south, perhaps passing through northeastern Yunnan and reaching the Kunming area, but the details of this part of the route are not recorded. It was named the 'Five Chi Road' (*wuchi dao* 五尺道) because it was said that it was only five *chi* in width, and alternatively the 'Stone Gate Road' (*Shimen dao* 石門道) during the Tang dynasty.²⁶ The South Road started from present-day western Chengdu 成都, crossed the Min River 岷江 and passed through Qionglai 邛崃 and Xichang 西昌 in Sichuan province, and then Huili 會理 before reaching Kunming City in Yunnan province.²⁷ But both roads were reported to be too difficult to navigate and too dangerous for use by the central state. Especially the details of the route in northeastern Yunnan were not clearly recorded, which shows that the North Road was never or rarely effectively used.²⁸ (Fig. 1.5)

The South and North Roads continued to be the main routes connecting Yunnan to the central state at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty. Later, cooperation by indigenous chieftains in the Southwest offered an opportunity for the Yuan to start a new route. In 1291 a new route opened up, starting from present-day Chenzhou 辰州 in Hunan, passing through Zhenyuan 鎮遠 county in eastern Guizhou province, Guiyang in the central part of Guizhou, present-day Pu'an 普安 in western Guizhou, reaching Qujing 曲靖 and Kunming in Yunnan.²⁹ Importantly, the new route into Yunnan was from Guizhou instead of from Sichuan. Named the Pu'an Route (*pu'an dao* 普安道), this road was

²⁴ Fan Cuo, pp. 12–13.

²⁵ Fang Guoyu, *Zhongguo xinan lishi dili kao shi*, pp. 539-544.

²⁶ Tan Zhongyi believes 'wu chi' is not the specific name but only a description of the difficulty of the road, which could be anywhere. Tan Zongyi 譚宗義, *Han dai guo nei lu lu jiaotong kao* 漢代國內陸路交通考 (Hong Kong: Xin ya yanjiu suo, 1966), p. 59.

²⁷ Fan Guoyu, *Zhongguo xinan lishi dili kao shi*, p. 543; Tan Zongyi, pp. 45-62.

²⁸ Many scholars believe that North Road passed Dongchuan to reach Kunming, but the part of the route described in the records is limited to the route connecting present-day southern Sichuan to Zhaotong. The route going south from Zhaotong passing Dongchuan and Kunming is not clearly recorded, and it is also not clear whether or not this route was really used. I believe that even though the route may have passed through Dongchuan, it was never really used by the central state. Lan Yong 藍勇, 'Yuandai Sichuan yizhan huikao 元代四川驛站考', *Chengdu daxue xuebao*, (1991), 4: 53-61; Fang Tie 方鐵, 'Tang song yuan ming qing de zhibian fanglue yu yunnan tongdao bianqian 唐宋元明清的治邊方略與雲南通道變遷', *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu*, (March, 2009), 19. 1: 73-88.

²⁹ Lan Yong, 4: 53-61; Fang Tie, 19. 1: 73-88.

slightly better because it steered relatively clear of some of the steep, high mountains. The Pu'an Route remained the main route into the Southwest during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Another route which developed during the late Yuan and Ming dynasties was from the Yangzi River to Luzhou in Sichuan, then turning south to reach (present-day) Xuyong, Bijie, Weining, Xuanwei, Zhanyi, Qujing and then arriving in Kunming.³⁰(Fig 1.5)

The routes in the Southwest were very important to the central state in its attempts to establish authority. Using these routes, the central state started to extend its power. The Yuan had started officially controlling and managing the Southwest, and the Ming state developed a system of garrisons (*weisuo* 衛所) in strategic locations along the main routes. The Ming guard garrisons controlled the areas directly along the routes. However, beyond these areas, indigenous elites still ruled.³¹ Along the main route, the state gradually extended its power into the rest of the Southwest. Even though the Pu'an Route was frequently reported to be difficult to navigate, not only because of the harsh environment but also because of troublesome indigenous communities along the road, the Ming maintained the road through Guizhou and Yunnan to keep an eye on the indigenous communities. As long as this road was continually used, the indigenous communities along this road could stay under the supervision of the central state.³²

On the north side of the Jinsha River, southern Sichuan, like northeastern Yunnan, managed to stay outside of central control for a long time. The area along the South Road in Sichuan only gradually fell under the control of the central state. In the Ming dynasty, Jianchang 建昌 and five other guard garrisons were established along the old South Road. After two hundred years of management by the Ming state, these areas along the South Road gradually came under the complete control of the Ming state. However, the Liangshan area on the north side of the Jinsha beyond this route still remained in the hands of powerful indigenous communities.³³ In Wusa and Shuixi, which were located

³⁰ These two routes also constituted the marching routes of the Ming army for conquering Yunnan. In the ninth month of 1381, Emperor Hongwu 洪武 sent General Fu Youde 傅友德 to deploy troops in Huguang 湖廣 province. Hu Haiyang 胡海洋 was sent to lead a surprise attack from Yongning 永寧 county in Sichuan province into Wusa. After Qujing had been conquered, Lan Yu 藍玉 and Mu Ying 沐英 led the army to occupy the Dali area. Fu Youde's army started off in a northern direction to attack Wusa and the Wumeng area. see *MSL, juan* 139, p. 1a. (HW. 14/9). Apart from these main routes, there were also alternate routes from Guangxi province to Yunnan. See *Dianzhi* 滇志, comp. by Liu Wenzheng 劉文征, 1621-27, in *YSC*, vol. 7, *juan*4, pp. 31-34.

³¹ Wen Chunlai, pp. 83-106.

³² *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆朝野獲編, c.a. 1606, comp. by Shen Defu 沈德符 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), *juan* 24, p. 617-618.

³³ Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp. 380-391; 467-481.

close to the official Pu'an Route south of the Jinsha River, indigenous communities started to interact with the Ming government in economics, politics, education and culture.³⁴ But areas such as Wumeng, Dongchuan, Mangbu, which were beyond Wusa and Shuixi, were further from the main road and could not be reached easily. The Ming state could not establish garrisons there, and the indigenous chieftains kept their power and autonomy.

This spatial understanding of the Southwest can be seen in the Ming dynasty administrative division of these areas. Present-day northeastern Yunnan, which was out of reach of the main routes in the Southwest, was administered under Sichuan province; Dongchuan thus became the southernmost part of Sichuan province. However, it remained far outside the control of the Sichuan government during the Ming dynasty, and likewise could not be reached by the Guizhou government. (Fig.1.6) For instance, on the map of Sichuan province in the Sichuan gazetteer published during the reign of Jiajing (1522-1566), Dongchuan is drawn completely in the wrong place, while other sites are identified relatively correctly.³⁵ This shows that the official compiler had only a very vague impression of Dongchuan (Fig. 1.7). Beyond the reach of the central state, the indigenous communities in Dongchuan, Wumeng and Mangbu were thought of as uncivilized barbarians who either obeyed or rebelled capriciously. In 1610, during the reign of Wanli 萬曆 (1572-1620), Deng Mei 鄧美, the governor of Yunnan province at the time, described the barbarian situation on the border between Yunnan and Sichuan provinces. He tells that, apart from the barbarian communities living in western Yunnan (the border between present-day southwestern Yunnan and Southeast Asia), there were also barbarians in the northeast (between Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou). Among them, Dongchuan was separated from Xundian in central Yunnan only by a mountain range. Xundian 尋甸, which was located along the Pu'an Road between Guizhou and Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, lost its indigenous rulers when they were replaced by Han Chinese officials in 1476.³⁶ In the report of the Xundian local government, the indigenous people in Dongchuan were cruel and crafty barbarians, who were too fierce

³⁴ Wen Chunlai, pp. 83-106; Herman, pp.103-189.

³⁵ *Sichuan zongzhi* 四川總志, c.a. 1541, comp. by Liu Damo 劉大謨 and Yang Shen 楊慎, in *Beijing tushuguan gu zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古珍本叢刊(Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1998), p. 14.

³⁶ *Xundian fuzhi* 尋甸府志, c.a. 1550, comp. by Wang Shangyong 王尚用, in *Zhongguo xinan wenxian congshu: Xinan xijian fangzhi wenxian* 中國西南文獻叢書: 西南稀見方志文獻 (Laizhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2004), vol. 22, juan b, pp. 251-258.

to conquer. The indigenous chieftains of Dongchuan, Lu Shou 祿壽 and Lu Zhe 祿哲, were said to be heartless and provocative. Their tribes did not know how to cultivate, and they made their living as bandits. They infested Yunnan province. What's more, they were right on Xundian's doorstep and could march there in a single day. Deng Mei then pointed out that law and order could not be established in Dongchuan. Although Sichuan province had arranged for officials to govern this area, these officials never personally went into the area. The indigenous chieftains and headmen thus retained authority and control.

Given this situation, Deng Mei suggested that the governor of Yunnan should also be in charge of Dongchuan, because it was outside the effective control of the Sichuan government. He believed that if the Yunnan government, which was closer to Dongchuan, were to co-supervise, this new arrangement would make the threat by bandits in the borderlands gradually recede. Moreover, with this peaceful solution, the government would not need to resort to violence, which was beneficial to the inhabitants: a win-win situation. Deng Mei said: 'Some people say that this area belongs to another province and is irrelevant to Yunnan. However, Dongchuan is a barren land, blocked from the enlightenment of our Emperor because the Sichuan government only nominally supervises this area.'³⁷ Deng Mei's description of Dongchuan indicates that the area was still seen as a borderland for the central state at this time. Deng Mei's suggestions were approved by the Ming court, and in the late Ming dynasty Dongchuan came under the supervision of both Sichuan and Yunnan provinces.

3. Dongchuan and northeastern Yunnan during the Qing dynasty

In mid-seventeenth century, the Qing state (1644 -1912) already controlled most of the Ming territory. Emperor Yongli 永曆 (1625-1662), the last emperor of the Southern Ming dynasty, was executed in 1662 in Kunming, Yunnan, by Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612-1678). Wu Sangui was a famous Ming general who turned to the Qing; later he was bestowed with the title of 'West Pacifying King' (*pingxi wang* 平西王) and held administrative power over the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou until this feudal power

³⁷ Deng Mei 鄧美, 'Qing xunfu jianzhi dongchuan shu 請巡撫兼制東川疏', *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20a: pp. 10a -14a.

was recalled by Emperor Kangxi in 1680.

During this period, northeastern Yunnan still belonged to Sichuan province and was controlled neither by the rebel armies of local power of Wu Sangui nor by the central state. An unexpected event happened in Dongchuan in 1679. The conflict happened within the indigenous chieftain Lu's family. Two parties fought each other for power, but power was soon lost by both sides: in the end, the widow of the former indigenous chieftain decided to give up her power to the Qing government in exchange for protection. In this way, the Qing government took charge of Dongchuan in 1679, and placed it again under the administration of Sichuan province.³⁸

However, in the early period of Qing government in Dongchuan, Dongchuan was still in the hands of the powerful indigenous headmen (*tumu* 土目) and their communities. Not only did they hinder the Qing administration in Dongchuan, but they also invaded Wuding and Xundian, to the southwest of Dongchuan. Most of the Qing officials appointed to govern Dongchuan actually still lived in the capital of Sichuan. The Manchu or Han prefects and other officials who were sent to Dongchuan were not really governing local society. This nominal administration finally ended during the reign of Yongzheng (1723-1735).³⁹

In 1725, Emperor Yongzheng was eager to explore his southwestern territories. He gave this difficult mission to one of his most trusted officials, E'ertai 鄂爾泰 (1677-1745). E'ertai was an eminent official during Yongzheng's reign. He was appointed governor (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Guangxi province, and later became governor-general (*zongdu* 總督) of Yunnan and Guizhou in 1725. Unlike other officials who attempted to appease the rebellious indigenous communities, he took an aggressive military stance to improve the standing of the Qing government in the Southwest.⁴⁰ In his memorial, E'ertai reports that there was no bigger problem in Yunnan and Guizhou than the Miao barbarians (*miaoman* 苗蠻), who harboured bandits and all sorts of other criminals. It was the most dangerous borderland of Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan.⁴¹ If Emperor Yongzheng wanted to pacify this area, he first had to suppress the barbarian forces. And for that, he would

³⁸ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 3: p. 5b-8b; QSL, *juan* 191, p. 20. (KX. 37/11/12)

³⁹ E'ertai, 'Qing tianshe dongchuan liuguang shu 請添設東川流官疏', DCFZ, *juan* 20a: pp. 24a-25b, especial 24b.

⁴⁰ QSG, vol. 34, *juan* 288, p. 10230.

⁴¹ YZZPZZ, vol. 7, pp. 11-12. (YZ. 4/3/20.)

have to forcibly impose reforms on the indigenous chieftains.

Moreover, although never admitted by Yongzheng himself, the huge deposits of copper in the area were definitely another important reason for the Qing state to spend so much effort to conquer this area. The central state had started to notice the mineral resources of the Southwest long before this, as evidenced by the descriptions of Tanglang Mountain and the Jinsha River mentioned above. During the Yuan dynasty the abundant local gold and silver deposits provided nearly half of China's total production. The Ming state especially focused on the silver mining industry; silver production in Yunnan reached its peak in the sixteenth century. However, except for a few adventurous merchants, the mining industry of the central state before the Qing dynasty did not go further into Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan. Whereas the Ming dynasty mainly used silver as currency, copper coin became an important medium of exchange for the Qing government in the eighteenth century and was used for commercial exchange of agricultural and craft commodities in local economies. At the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the Qing mainly relied on importing Japanese copper. When the Japanese Tokugawa regime started to strictly control copper exports in the early eighteenth century, the Qing government had no choice but to undertake a massive effort to develop and exploit copper and other metal deposits required for copper cash production in China's remote southwest border regions. As a result, the central government became interested in Dongchuan because of its rich copper mines. Yunnan's copper mines officially became the only source for the imperial mints in Beijing from the 1730s onwards, and almost seventy percent of Yunnan's copper came from the copper deposits west of Dongchuan, especially Tangdan 湯丹.⁴²

Before the reform of the indigenous chieftain system in northeastern Yunnan, the debate about in which province to place Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan for administrative purposes had to be addressed again. Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan were still outside effective control – in many cases, co-administration by three provincial officials did not make things better, only worse. Emperor Yongzheng realized that unclear provincial, prefectural and county boundaries posed a growing problem: 'Whenever a crime such as robbery or murder was committed, the different local officials all tried to put the responsibility on each other.

⁴² Yan Zhongping, pp. 1-5.

However, if there is potential profit in mines, salt or tea, the different local officials will fight each other over these resources, which will make peaceful coexistence impossible.⁴³ Thus, the first thing Emperor Yongzheng needed to do was to redraw the boundaries in the Southwest and clarify the authority and responsibilities of the different levels of local governments. The fact that Dongchuan owned the biggest copper mines in the Southwest made it necessary to clarify the duties of local officials, though that was never directly mentioned by E'ertai when he proposed to bring Dongchuan, Wumeng, and Zhenxiong into Yunnan province.

In his statement, E'ertai specifically pointed out that Dongchuan, Wumeng, and Zhenxiong all belonged to Sichuan province, but should be put under the control of Yunnan. Dongchuan, for instance, was located only four hundred *li* away from Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, but 1,800 *li* away from Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan. In the winter of 1724, the indigenous chieftain of Wumeng led an army to attack the Qing walled city of Dongchuan. Letters requesting military support were immediately sent to both the Sichuan and Yunnan governments. Only after Yunnan's army had already defeated the rebellious indigenous forces did the Sichuan government receive the letter. Wumeng, north of Dongchuan, was just six hundred *li* from Kunming. If Dongchuan, Wumeng and Zhenxiong were placed under Yunnan province, E'ertai would have the opportunity to execute his reforms of the indigenous chieftain system. A new Qing local government would be established and the area would be peaceful.⁴⁴ The Yongzheng Emperor agreed with him wholeheartedly.

Dongchuan was the first area of northeastern Yunnan that was brought into Yunnan. E'ertai immediately sent investigators to Dongchuan to collect information on the military situation (*xingshi* 形勢), mountains and rivers, city walls, government offices, garrisons (*yingxun* 營汛), soldiers and male adults (*bingding* 兵丁), households, rice payment (*liangxiang* 糧餉), tax and corvée (*fuyi* 賦役) and customs, as well as details about mines in Dongchuan.⁴⁵ The reform of the indigenous chieftain system in Dongchuan started in 1726. E'ertai started to deploy troops in Dongchuan, and then removed the indigenous chieftains in Dongchuan by force and replaced them with Han

⁴³ *QSL*, *juan* 30, p. 23a, b. (YZ. 3/ 3/)

⁴⁴ *QSG*, vol. 34, *juan* 288, pp. 10230-10232.

⁴⁵ *YZZPZZ*, vol. 7, pp. 491-492. (YZ. 4/6/20.)

officials.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, E'ertai also started reforms in Wumeng and Zhenxiong which were incorporated into Yunnan province in 1726. In early 1727, E'ertai sent troops to arrest the chieftains and to occupy Wumeng and Zhenxiong. The indigenous chieftain in Wumeng and Zhenxiong and many indigenous headmen in Dongchuan were overpowered by the Qing army. The remaining headmen and other rebellious groups in Dongchuan, Wumeng and Zhenxiong all retreated to the north side of Jinsha River. Soon they joined forces with the indigenous armies from the Liangshan area of Sichuan to start another round of attacks, but this too ended in failure. As a result, the Qing officially started their administration of Wumeng and Zhenxiong in 1727.⁴⁷

However, the situation in northeastern Yunnan was not fully stable. Only three years later, in the eighth month of 1730, the indigenous forces started another rebellion.⁴⁸ This time the rebellion was led by Lu Wanfu 祿萬福, son of Lu Dingkun 祿鼎坤, who lived in Ludian 魯甸, located between Dongchuan and Wumeng. Soon after, his troops took over the walled city of Wumeng and killed the Qing military chief Liu Qiyuan 劉起元 and other local Qing officials. Later, the indigenous forces in Dongchuan, Zhenxiong and northwestern Guizhou all joined this revolt. The Qing suddenly lost control in the area: "They damaged all the passages into Dongchuan; the bridges and roads are all blocked, breaking off any contact with the area."⁴⁹ Later, the rebellious groups in Wumeng also formed an army in the Liangshan area of Sichuan province, and crossed the Jinsha River into northeastern Yunnan in support of the attack on the Qing army.⁵⁰ Until the eighth month of that year, E'ertai deployed six thousand soldiers from Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan to put down this rebellion. Eventually, the indigenous troops were defeated and the rebellion was put down in the twelfth month of 1730.⁵¹

To increase its control over the area, the Qing conducted a bloody massacre between 1726 and 1730. E'ertai stated that he intended to eradicate the criminal indigenous chieftains and headmen. He ordered important strategic posts and military bases to be set on fire, in case the rebels were hiding and planning to attack the Qing again. Hundreds of indigenous stockade villages (*yizhai* 夷寨) were massacred. This

⁴⁶ YZZPZZ, vol. 8, pp. 113-114. (YZ. 4/9/19.)

⁴⁷ YZZPZZ, vol. 8, pp. 923- 926. (YZ. 5/1/25.)

⁴⁸ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 299- 305. (YZ. 8/10/ 17.)

⁴⁹ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 299a. (YZ. 8/10/17.)

⁵⁰ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 299a. (YZ. 8/10/17.)

⁵¹ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 518- 530. (YZ. 8/11/28.); YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 665- 667. (YZ. 8/12/17.)

bloody strategy extended into average people's houses and buildings, which were all burned down.⁵² An extreme tragedy happened in Mitie 米帖, a town located between Dongchuan and Wumeng. In 1728, within one month, almost thirty thousand indigenous people disappeared. They were probably all killed, though some may have escaped.⁵³ After that, the name of Mitie was ironically replaced by Yongshan 永善, literally meaning 'friendly forever'. This bloody war remained in local memory until the twentieth century, evidenced by sites such as the 'ten thousand tomb' (*wanrenzhong* 萬人塚), which contained the remains of rebellious indigenous people killed by the Qing government later, and it is said that people quite often dug up all sorts of old weapons and arms around such sites.⁵⁴ As for the survivors of the defeated indigenous forces, they escaped to other mountain areas and most of them retreated back to the north side of Liangshan along the Jinsha. Still, during their rushed retreat, tens of thousands of people died in combat or drowned in the river.⁵⁵ The Qing then officially settled down in northeastern Yunnan. Since then, the part of northeastern Yunnan that is the focus of my discussion did not see any large-scale revolt in the eighteenth century.

After the reform, Wumeng was renamed Zhaotong 昭通 prefecture, literally meaning 'manifest and clear'. The capital of Zhaotong prefecture was situated in En'an 恩安 county, meaning 'favour (of the Emperor) and peace', where the administrative offices of Zhaotong prefecture and En'an county both resided in the same walled city. Zhaotong prefecture administered En'an county, Yongshan county, Jingjiang county 靖江, as well as Ludian 魯甸廳, Daguan 大關廳 and Zhenxiong sub-prefectures 鎮雄州.⁵⁶ Dongchuan prefecture administered Huize county and Qiaojia county. The capital of Dongchuan prefecture was in Huize county, sharing the same walled city.⁵⁷(Fig. 1.8)

In order to consolidate its authority, the Qing government stationed large forces in northeastern Yunnan after the war, based on a system of *xun* 汛 and *tang* 塘 military units. *Xun* and *tang* were the basic units of the Green Standard army (*lü ying* 綠營), in the Qing dynasty. Instead of the Eight Banner army which included Manchus,

⁵² YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 518- 530. (YZ. 8/11/28.); YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 665- 667. (YZ. 8/12/17.)

⁵³ *Dian yuan li nian zhuan Yunnan shilue* 滇雲歷年傳雲南事略', selected from *Dian yuan li nian zhuan* 滇雲歷年傳, 1737, comp. by Ni Tui 倪蜨, in *YSC*, vol. 11, p. 100.

⁵⁴ *Zhaotong deng ba xian tu shuo* 昭通等八縣圖說, 1919, comp. by Chen Bingren 陳秉仁, in *ZTJZ* 2006, vol. 2, p. 497.

⁵⁵ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, p. 519; 528. (YZ. 8/11/28)

⁵⁶ *En'an xianzhi* 恩安縣誌, 1762(1911), comp. by Wang Bingqian 汪炳謙 and Dai Fang 戴芳 in *ZTJZ*, vol.1, pp. 76-77.

⁵⁷ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 3: 4a, b.

Mongolians and Han, the Green Standard army consisted only of Han soldiers and was intended to support the Eight Banner army. The Qing divided their troops into many connecting *xun* in the main cities and towns where a commander and his forces were stationed, and every *xun* set up several *tang* where soldiers were stationed at strategically important places. There might be anywhere from a few to a few hundred soldiers in a *tang*. *Tang* were settled in remote villages in the hinterland instead of only along the main routes. Their main mission was to maintain public order and serve as guards. Meanwhile, the soldiers and their families would do part-time farming on state-owned land, and populate and cultivate areas to provide food supplies for frontier military units. Compared to the garrison system of the Ming dynasty, the *xuntang* system had more influence in local society, especially in the new territory in the Southwest. However, since the *xun* and *tang* were spread over a large area and did not contain too many soldiers, they could be easily defeated. Moreover, considering the complex geographical conditions of the Southwest, a single *xun* or *tang* could end up totally cut off from communications.⁵⁸ Therefore, a walled city had to be built at an important location as the central gathering place in the event of a possible war with indigenous people.⁵⁹

The Qing government started to build walled cities in this area after gaining full control over the local situation. E'ertai and his successor Zhang Yunsui envisioned the walled cities of northeastern Yunnan as a defence infrastructure for all of Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan provinces, not limited to protecting the cities and towns of northeastern Yunnan itself. A similar conception can be found in all walled cities built in northeastern Yunnan, such as Dongchuan, Zhaotong, Yanjing, Dagan, Qiaojia. More importantly, the bases of the Qing forces were also intended for defence against the fierce indigenous people based on the other side of the Jinsha. The Jinsha River was considered to be the frontier between the 'dangerous barbarian areas' and the Qing territory, which can be clearly seen in the descriptions of 'frontier guards' (*bianfang* 邊防) in the local gazetteers of Dongchuan. They state that the important frontier counties were located along the Jinsha River. Because the indigenous people living 'outside' the

⁵⁸ Qin Shucui 秦樹才, *Yunnan luying bing yanjiu: yi xuntang wei zhongxin* 雲南綠營兵研究: 以汛塘為中心 (Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004).

⁵⁹ E'ertai, 'Qing she zhaotong wubian bingshu 請設昭通武弁兵疏', *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), pp. 77-78. The same situation had been continued in the nineteenth century. see 'Cen Rangqin gong zougao youguan Yunnan shiji, 岑襄勤公奏稿有關雲南事蹟', in *YSC*, vol. 9, p. 485.(GX. 9/4/10.)

Jinsha River (*jiang wai* 江外) were very familiar with the roads and the river crossings, they could sneak up to Zhaotong and Dongchuan quite often without being noticed at all, especially at sites such as Leibo 雷波, Pingshan 屏山, and Mabian 馬邊 in the Liangshan area situated just across the Jinsha River. The sites they inhabited were always in the high mountains, difficult to reach and dangerous to climb. Moreover, they knew secret roads to northwestern Yunnan and Tibet. These indigenous forces were heavily armed. 'Without any exaggeration, if one of them was guarding a pass, even ten thousand people couldn't get through, for the barbarians were very fierce and tough.'⁶⁰

Similar descriptions can be found about other areas of northeastern Yunnan. The gazetteer of Zhaotong states that there were continual troubles on the frontier of Zhaotong with the Babu 巴布 who lived in the mountains across the Jinsha. They always crossed the river into Zhaotong in the autumn in groups. They were in league with the indigenous people living along the Jinsha River, and they robbed the (Han) merchants and inhabitants of Yunnan. They did not just steal livestock and all kinds of products but also kidnapped Han people and kept them as lifelong slaves. Apart from the Babu, there were also bandits with an indigenous background living in Zhaotong who kidnapped people and sold them to the Babu to earn a great deal of money, which was really a big danger for travellers. The area from the capital of Zhaotong to the Jinsha River was clearly not under the full control of the Qing government.⁶¹

These descriptions sound very reminiscent of how the Ming state described Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan in the seventeenth century. Jinsha River, in the eighteenth century, became the new border between the Qing state and the indigenous area, and then as a division marking the different policies applied to indigenous communities. The importance of the river can also be seen in E'ertai's strategy to reform the indigenous chieftain system, especially his concept of 'inside the river' (*jiang nei* 江内) and 'outside the river' (*jiang wai* 江外). In his suggestions to Emperor Yongzheng, he compared the two sides of the river and considered that the indigenous chieftain system could be kept in the territory outside the river, but in the territory inside the river, it would be better to replace the indigenous chieftains by Han

⁶⁰ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: pp. 23a,b.

⁶¹ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), p. 30.

officials.⁶² In this text, the 'river' refers to Lancang 瀾滄 River in southern Yunnan which separated China from Southeast Asia. However, this terminology was also used by E'ertai to describe the Jinsha River in northeastern Yunnan:

In the tenth month of the tenth year of Yongzheng's reign (1732), E'ertai proposed: 'In the Dongchuan area, the Black Luoluo are the most stubborn people and the prime leader of all barbarian groups in the revolt against the government. They collude with gangs such as A Lü 阿驢, living at the foot of Liang Mountain outside of [Jinsha] River (*jiangwai* 江外), and collaborate with the subordinate indigenous chieftains in Qiaojia, Zhejiahai 者家海 in Dongchuan. The revolt was planned by Lu Dingkun 祿鼎坤 and was started by Lu Dingxin 祿鼎新. All those belonging to Lu's family took part in the revolt.'⁶³

A similar distinction between 'inner' and 'outer' can be found in many Qing documents. The idea was embodied in the reconstruction of northeastern Yunnan after the Qing army won the war against the indigenous forces. Emphasizing the line between 'inner' and 'outer' served to define the level of engagement of the government in its different territories, and to make a distinction between 'foreign areas' (*yiyu* 異域), 'normal administrative areas' (*jimi* 羈縻), 'new territories' (*xinjiang* 新疆) and 'former territories' (*jiujiang* 舊疆).⁶⁴ Areas like Dongchuan were 'new territories', recently incorporated in the 'inner' imperial territory, in which the state needed to invest energy and administrative effort. The area along the north side of the Jinsha, on the other hand, remained a 'normal administrative area' for the Qing. For these 'outer' areas, the Qing did not really show much determination in their political considerations to overthrow the indigenous powers. This differential treatment is clearly illustrated in later developments, such as the copper transports from Dongchuan to Beijing and the project to construct a channel in the Jinsha River.

4. Copper transport and the Jinsha channel excavation project

⁶² *QSG*, vol34, *juan* 288, p. 10230.

⁶³ *QSL*, *juan* 99, 17a.(YZ. 8/10.) ; *YZZPZZ*, vol 19, pp. 299. (YZ. 8/10/17.)

⁶⁴ More discussion about these four concepts of territory, see Wen Chunlai, pp. 310-312.

Immediately after the Qing established its authority in Yunnan, Qing officials started the official exploitation of copper mines and the minting of coins, and later, during Qianlong's reign, copper transport from Dongchuan to Beijing got under way in 1738.

The routes of copper transports from Dongchuan to Luzhou were formed in the second half of the eighteenth century and consisted of two main routes. The first was called the 'Dongchuan route': it started from the Tangdan copper mine in the western part of Dongchuan prefecture, to the walled city of Dongchuan, then from Dongchuan north to Ludian, Zhaotong, Dagan to Yanjing and then changed to ferry transport from Yanjing to Luzhou, or alternatively from Ludian to Zhenxiong to Xuyong, or from Zhenxiong then by ferry from Luoxingdu 羅星渡 to Luzhou. The other road was called the 'Xundian route': it went from the Tangdan copper mine south to Xundian, and then northwest towards Weining, Bijie in Guizhou, then to Xuyong to Luzhou (Fig 1.9). In general, the routes of the copper transports started from Dongchuan, passed through northeastern Yunnan to Luzhou 瀘州 in Sichuan on the Yangzi River, and followed the Yangzi River to Chongqing, Hankou, Yangzhou, Tianjing, Tongzhou and then on to Beijing⁶⁵. Thus, in the eighteenth century, Dongchuan for the first time became the starting point of the copper transport route to Beijing. In the eyes of the central state, Dongchuan was no longer an unreachable barbarian area but had now turned into an important region for the nation's economy. Meanwhile, for northeastern Yunnan, the mining industry became the engine of a remarkable population growth, especially of immigrants, and of increased agricultural and industrial production, and it turned the city into an important regional market.

Road conditions were always problematic. Details of this situation are recorded in the memorials of Zhang Yunsui 張允隨 (1692-1751). Zhang Yunsui went to Yunnan in 1718 as a local official, and was later recognized by E'ertai. In 1730, he became the new governor of Yunnan province. When he left in 1750, he had stayed in Yunnan for 32

⁶⁵ Yan Zhongping, pp. 31-32; Nakajima Satoshi, pp. 161-177; Kawakatsu Mamoru, pp. 526 - 629; Nanny Kim, 'Copper Transports out of Yunnan, ca. 1750-1850: Transport Technologies, Natural Difficulties and Environmental Change in a Southwestern Highland Area', in *Metals, Monies, and Markets in Early Modern Societies: East Asian and Global Perspectives*, ed by Tomas Hirzel and Nanny Kim (Berlin: Lit. verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2008), pp. 191-220, especially p. 193. Geographers at Tübingen University have begun an ambitious project to construct a GIS database on copper transport routes in the Qing period since 2009. see Dieball, S. and H. J. Rosner, "GIS Applications and Web Map Service for the 'Monies, Markets, and Finance in China and East Asia 1600-1900'-Project", GIS in the conference of Humanities and Social Sciences in October, 2009, Taipei, Taiwan.

years and had managed and experienced the social transformation in the Southwest.⁶⁶ In his report, Zhang Yunsui emphasizes the difficult transport situation. He describes that when people travelled from Guizhou province to other parts of the Southwest, almost every step was on a mountain range, especially around Dongchuan and Zhaotong. The copper industry had attracted many people. They all needed food and other supplies, but there was only limited farmland in these mountain areas. Meanwhile, the harsh conditions made it difficult to import the basic necessities from other areas, which caused inflation in northeastern Yunnan.⁶⁷ The increasing prices raised the costs of the local government, increased the potential for crisis during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and directly increased the costs of transporting copper for the central government.

To save on transport costs, the Qing government started to consider excavating a channel in the Jinsha River, as suggested by Zhang Yunsui. He proposed the Jinsha channel excavation project just after being promoted to governor-general of Yunnan province in 1741, which was the most important political achievement of his career. His plan was to create a new waterway in the Jinsha River starting from Xiaojiangkou 小江口 in Dongchuan and going to Xuzhou 叙州 in Sichuan (Fig 1.9). Ideally, this new waterway would be more convenient than the river and would reduce the costs of copper transport, and thereby promote local and national economic growth.⁶⁸ According to Zhang Yunsui, the channel would be the best long-term solution to the economic and social problems of northeastern Yunnan.

As one of the largest public projects in eighteenth-century China, the Jinsha channel project has been discussed by many researchers from an economic prospective.⁶⁹ Here I want to emphasize that the project not only brought economic

⁶⁶ QSG, vol 35, juan 307, pp. 10555-10558.

⁶⁷ 'ZYSZG', in YSC, vol 8, pp. 617-618(QL.6/11/15);636-637.(QL.7/7/15)

⁶⁸ 'ZYSZG', p. 615-617. (QL.6/10/19)

⁶⁹ Nanny Kim, 'River Control, Merchant Philanthropy, and Environmental Change in Nineteenth - Century China', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 52. 4 (2009), 660-694; Nanny Kim, 'Copper Transports out of Yunnan, ca. 1750 -1850: Transport Technologies, Natural Difficulties and Environmental Change in a Southwestern Highland Area', in *Metals, Monies, and Markets in Early Modern Societies: East Asian and Global Perspectives, Monies, Markets, and Finance in China and East Asia*, ed by Tomas Hirzel and Nanny Kim vol1 (Berlin: Lit verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2008); Helen Dunstan, 'Safely Supping with the Devil: The Qing Merchant Suppliers of Copper', *Late Imperial China*, (1992), 13. 2: 42 - 81; Hans Ulrich Vogel, *The Complete Map of the Jinshajiang (jinshajiang quantu): An Extraordinary Document Relating to a River Dredging Project in the Chinese Province of Yunnan, 1741-1749* (München: Bruckmann Verlag, 1991); Lan Yong 藍勇, 'Qingdai Diantong jingyun luxian kaoshi 清代滇銅京運路線考釋', *Lishi yanjiu* (2006) 3: 86-97. Guo Songyi 郭松義, and Zhang Zexian 張澤鹹, *Zhongguo hangyunshi 中國航運史* (Tapbei: Wenjin chubanshe,

benefits to the Qing, but that it also illustrates political considerations, especially how the Qing dealt with the indigenous communities along the Jinsha River. As I mentioned above, the Jinsha was treated as the new borderline with the indigenous territories in southern Sichuan after the Qing government took over northeastern Yunnan. If the channel project became a success, the north side of the Jinsha would no longer be unreachable, and the Qing would have an opportunity to extend their power to the other side of the Jinsha River.

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, the Qing government gradually became more confident in governing Yunnan. In the eyes of Zhang Yunsui, at that moment the influence of the empire reached all corners of the territory. It was not like the previous situation any more, in which the central state had to put the project of civilizing remote places on the back corner. Finally the central state could continue its project of 'civilizing' its remote territories. Zhang Yunsui tried to convince Emperor Qianlong that the Jinsha project did not serve Yunnan province merely in terms of transport, but would bring lasting political stability to the Southwest.⁷⁰ The Jinsha channel project can be seen as a further step towards conquering the isolated indigenous lands along the north side of the Jinsha River after the Qing government fully controlled northeastern Yunnan.

As with all proposals dealing with indigenous groups, the Jinsha project also caused intensive debate among Qing officials. The main arguments focused on three key points. Firstly, it was pointed out that the dangerous conditions of the Jinsha River made this project almost impossible. The Jinsha was dangerous because of many hidden rocks, which are very unpredictable in falling and rising water levels (Fig 1.14). In addition, the cliffs on both sides of the river and innumerable twists created dangerous and unexpected swirling currents.⁷¹

Secondly, the difficult Jinsha channel project required a great financial investment and tremendous human and other resources, which would constitute a huge burden on the national treasury. This was pointed out by Huang Tinggui 黃庭桂, who was a former governor of Sichuan province. Huang Tinggui's worries were later proven to be well-

1997).

⁷⁰ 'ZYSZG', p. 607.(QL. 6/8/6)

⁷¹ 'ZYSZG', p. 609.(QL. 6/8/6), 618(QL. 6/11/15), 623- 624(QL. 7/2/17).

founded. Because of the many difficulties, a huge number of side-projects needed to be undertaken.⁷² The costs of the Jinsha channel project were extremely high. This ambitious project was officially carried out from 1741 to 1748. In these eight years, it took over 200,000 *liang* (Chinese tael) from the imperial treasury and involved many local officials and hundreds of thousands of labourers.⁷³

Thirdly, Huang Tinggui worried that when the copper transports on Jinsha River started, they would go through the barbarian areas, which could be dangerous. During the building project, workers could easily sneak off into the barbarian tribes and collaborate with them to cause trouble for the local government. The governor-general of Sichuan and Shanxi province Yin Jishan 尹繼善 shared the same opinion: he believed that the Jinsha River should continue to be treated as a borderline with the barbarians, and the Qing government should not disturb the indigenous tribes.⁷⁴ Apparently, the Sichuan officials did not want to be involved in the troublesome job of controlling the indigenous stockade villages located along the north side of the river.

It seems that these opinions forced Zhang Yunsui to give more consideration to his project. Zhang Yunsui said that he also noticed the problem of 'barbarian stockade villages' (*yizhai* 夷寨) along the river.⁷⁵ Considering the large scale of the project, in his 1741 memorial he said that the Qing state had to cooperate with local officials to ensure the project's success. The local officials would help to gather artisans and supply goods such as rice and salt. Normally, in similar projects in other areas, the Qing government could just hire local artisans and pay them wages and let them buy rice, salt and vegetables for themselves. However, in this case the arrangements with labourers were a more delicate matter. Because most inhabitants living in the villages alongside the Jinsha River were indigenous people, they were not considered appropriate for hiring. Skilled artisans and unskilled labourers and servants therefore needed to be hired from other areas. And the government needed to pay them high salaries. In addition, considering that this was an indigenous area, all these life necessities needed to be transported from other areas, which was not an easy job.⁷⁶

⁷² 'ZYSZG', p. 636.(QL.7/7/15)

⁷³ Nanny Kim, 'Copper Transports out of Yunnan', pp. 206-211.

⁷⁴ 'ZYSZG', p. 636. (QL.7/7/15)

⁷⁵ 'ZYSZG', p. 617. (QL. 6/10/19)

⁷⁶ 'ZYSZG', p. 608-609.(QL.6/8/6)

After a large number of imported workers entered the Jinsha River area, local officials not only had to supervise their work, but also needed to prevent these labourers from mingling with the indigenous communities without official permission. Zhang Yunsui forbade the workers to enter the barbarian area without permission. Meanwhile, he would offer awards to the indigenous chieftains who stayed along the Jinsha River if they came to welcome the Qing officials.⁷⁷ Later, according to the official report from Zhaotong, once the Jinsha channel project started, 'the soldiers and labourers are all restricted. No one can sneak into the barbarian stockade villages; the Luo barbarian people (*luoyi* 徠夷) living on both sides of the [Jinsha] River are also very obedient.'⁷⁸

It seems that the indigenous people living along the Jinsha River were not encouraged to be hired for the Jinsha channel project. One of the reasons is that the Qing state still considered the area to be dangerous. Only in the main cities of northeastern Yunnan, which they had already conquered and brought under their control, such as Dongchuan, Zhaotong, and Zhenxiong, was the Qing government willing to hire indigenous labourers for public projects, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.⁷⁹ As a result, the Qing government would rather spend more money and energy to hire artisans from other areas. The local officials of Guizhou and Sichuan provinces also assisted in gathering and transporting labourers into the Jinsha area to work on the project.⁸⁰

Under these conditions, the Qing government started the Jinsha project in what was still considered to be a very dangerous frontier area.⁸¹ Zhang Yunsui had to compromise his great ambition in his channel project, but still he wished that the Qing could make use of this opportunity to settle many Han inhabitants into this area after the project was finished, so that they could turn this remote barbarian land into a more accessible area in the future. The Jinsha project was divided into two parts. The upstream project from Dongchuan to Yongshan, and the downstream project from Yongshan to Xuzhou in Sichuan. The upstream project lasted from 1741 to 1743; copper transports started in 1743, which turned out to be safe and without blockades, according to Zhang Yunsui. The downstream project lasted from 1744 to 1748.⁸²

⁷⁷ 'ZYSZG', p. 617. (QL. 6/10/19)

⁷⁸ 'ZYSZG', p. 628. (QL.7/5/24)

⁷⁹ For more details see Chapter 2.

⁸⁰ 'ZYSZG', p. 629-630. (QL.7/5/24)

⁸¹ 'ZYSZG', p. 662. (QL.9/9/28)

⁸² Nanny Kim, *Copper Transports out of Yunnan*, pp. 207-209.

According to Zhang Yunsui's report, it was quite a success at the beginning. It seems that navigation conditions were improved for copper transports.⁸³ However, although Zhang Yunsui kept up his optimistic tone, this project was only partly successful because in fact the ships sank quite frequently. Emperor Qianlong gradually lost his patience and feared that the project would only deplete his treasury instead of decreasing the costs of copper transports.⁸⁴ In 1749, Emperor Qianlong sent investigator officials to evaluate the conditions of the waterways on the Jinsha River. In the end, part of the downstream segment was found fit for continued use and the upstream segment was deemed still too dangerous; copper transports would have to use the land routes again. The project was stopped, and Zhang Yunsui had to take responsibility and was punished for his failed project. He left Yunnan in 1750 and died one year later.⁸⁵ The Qing's effort to extend its direct control into the indigenous areas along the Jinsha River did not succeed. Until the twentieth century the Jinsha River was thus treated as a borderline, not just between Yunnan and Sichuan provinces, but also between the indigenous and the imperial territory.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how different central governments understood the local situation and gradually extended their power into Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan. The traffic routes connecting the central state and the Southwest were one of the important ways to understand this remote area of complex geographical and climatic conditions for the outsiders who came into this area. For the central state, the traffic routes were not just a neutral part of the environment, but represented a reshaped landscape which changed the perception of the central government and affected their strategy in the Southwest.⁸⁶ Because of these routes into Yunnan and their historical expansion into the local territories, Dongchuan and other parts of

⁸³ 'ZYSZG', p. 642.(QL.7/11/17)

⁸⁴ 'ZYSZG', p. 752-753.(QL.14/6/26)

⁸⁵ 'ZYSZG', p. 757-758.(QL.14/8/12)

⁸⁶ There is another supplement which I don't fully discuss so much in this chapter but it also very important. This changing way to view Southwestern China was also because the starting point – the location of the capital of the central government – was different in different dynasties. Obviously, the different strategies of road building in the Yunnan area were also affected by the location of the central capital.

northeastern Yunnan gradually became better known to the central state. After the Qing dynasty conquered this area, Dongchuan became the starting point of a new road for transporting copper to Beijing in the eighteenth century, which forced the central government to deal directly with Dongchuan for the very first time. During this process, the new road, the new walled city, and the surrounding landscapes were reconstructed and represented in various discourses, which will be shown in later chapters.

Chapter 2 From Indigenous Capital to Qing Walled City

This chapter traces the history of the administrative centre and walled city in Dongchuan since the middle of the Ming dynasty in the late seventeenth century.¹ Of the research into the urban history of China's imperial period, two approaches can be detected. One is a focus on material form, such as the architecture inside the walled cities and their vicinity, examining city planning, building and development.² The second preference is to focus on the institutional and administrative system of local government, and on the economic and cultural life of the inhabitants of the cities.³ Most researchers have limited their focus to cities in the more developed areas of China, such as Suzhou, Yangzhou, Shanghai, which were all developed cities during the Qing dynasty, or capitals such as Chang'an in the Tang dynasty, Kaifeng and Luoyang in the Song dynasty, Nanjing in the Ming dynasty, or Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties.⁴

¹ The word for city in Chinese is *chengshi* 城市. *Cheng* 城 means a walled unit or walled city and *shi* 市 means market or marketplace. *Cheng* has a different meaning to the words 'castle', 'city' or 'town' in a Western context. Most of the walled cities in China were the result of bureaucratic decisions to create an administrative centre. The word *zhi* 治 in terms such as *fuzhi* 府治 (administrative centre of a prefecture) and *xianzhi* 縣治 (administrative centre of a county) initially meant the local government offices, but in the historical records it is also used as another name for a town or city in which these offices are located.

² Heng Chye Kiang and Chye Kian Heng, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1999); Ronald G. Knapp, *China's Walled Cities*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Osivad Siren, *The Walls and Gates of Peking* (London: John Lane, 1924); Liu Fengyun 劉鳳雲, *Ming qing chengshi kongjian de wenhua tanxi* 明清城市空間的文化探析, (Beijing: zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 2001).

³ Li Xiaoti 李孝悌, *Zhongguo de chengshi shenghuo* 中國的城市生活 (Taipei: Jinglian chuban gongsi, 2005); George William Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), especially George William Skinner, 'Introduction: Urban Development in Imperial China', pp. 3-32; Arthur F. Wright, 'The Cosmology of the Chinese City', pp. 33-74; Sen-Dou Chang, 'The Morphology of Walled Capitals', pp. 75-100; Frederick W. Mote, 'The Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400', pp. 101-154; Harry J. Lamley, 'The Formation of Cities: Initiative and Motivation in Building Three Walled Cities in Taiwan', pp. 155-210. The most important recent study of Chinese urban history is Si-yan Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space: Urbanization and Late Ming Nanjing* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009). For more discussion of Chinese urbanism, see Si-yan Fei, 'Introduction: A New Approach to Chinese Urbanism', pp. 1-27.

⁴ *Cities of Jiangnan in Later Imperial China*, ed. by Linda Cooke Johnson (New York: State University of New York, 1993); Antonia Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Xu Yinong, *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Michael Marmé, *Suzhou: Where the Goods of All the Provinces Converge* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005); Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters, 583-904 1: Die Stadtanlage* (O. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1997) and 2: *Gesellschaft und Kultur* (O. Harrassowitz Wiesbaden, 2006); Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (University of California Press, 2000); Victor Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Late Medieval China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese

In contrast to previous research into urban history, this chapter focuses on the walled city of Dongchuan in the remote Southwest and scrutinizes the biographical history of Dongchuan in its transformation from indigenous capital to a stone-walled city of the Qing government. This chapter examines the site preferences for the walled city and important buildings in order to understand how the location of the walled city was selected, and how the design for the layout of the walled city came about. I consider the symbolic patterns or cosmological elements of the walled city and the layout of the buildings according to geomantic principles claimed by the local elite, and discuss the buildings in the local context of the political, economic, and geographic conditions in northeastern Yunnan. I emphasize the people who were directly involved in the designing and building processes and consider how their decisions contributed to shaping the appearance of the walled city.

1. Indigenous capital in the late seventeenth century

Before the Qing government took over power in the Dongchuan region and built the walled city, Dongchuan was in the hands of indigenous chieftains. After the seventeenth century, obtaining the title of indigenous prefect (*tuzhifu* 土知府) bestowed by the central state became an important way to establish the authority of an indigenous chieftain within the indigenous community.⁵ In local gazetteers and other geographical records, the headquarters of the indigenous prefect is referred to as *tufu* 土府 ‘indigenous administrative centre’ or ‘indigenous capital’. In 1761, the compiler of the Dongchuan gazetteer recorded that there were three indigenous capitals near the walled city of Dongchuan:

The Lu family’s Water Capital (*shuicheng* 水城), located at the foot of Black Dragon Mountain outside of Luowu Gate 羅烏 [North Gate] of the walled city. It no longer exists today. In the earlier Dongchuan gazetteer compiled by Zhao Chun 趙淳, it is said that this capital was surrounded by water. Now only the stone foundations are left, and a few Black Cuan 爨 people live here.

The Lu family’s Earth Capital (*tucheng* 土城), located at Wulongmu 五龍募, which lies three *li* outside of Fengchang Gate 豐昌 [West Gate] of the walled city, is the indigenous capital.

Another Earth Capital was located outside of Suining Gate [綏寧, East Gate] of the walled

Studies, 2000); Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).
⁵ Wen Chunlai, pp. 42-53.

city.

Three sons of indigenous chieftains (*tuqiu* 土酋) used to live separately in these capitals, but now these capitals no longer exist.⁶

These three sites can be traced to three villages with corresponding names, Water Capital Village, Wulongmu Village and Earth Capital Village, which still today are located in the surroundings of the city centre. They can be recognized both on the 1761 map of Dongchuan prefecture and on Google maps today (see Fig. 2.1 and Fig. 2.2).

Besides this brief description, there are few details available about these early capitals in Dongchuan, and so their physical appearance is unknown.⁷ Based on their names, we can speculate that the Water Capital may have been surrounded by water, while the Earth Capital may have had earthen ramparts.⁸ However, the appearance of these capitals may have been even simpler. According to observations by Qian Guxun 錢古訓 and Li Sicong 李思聰, who were envoys sent to southern Yunnan to reconcile the conflict among indigenous tribes in 1396, the indigenous capitals in the Southwest were not built with walls but only with bamboo or wooden palisades.⁹ The famous historian and geographer Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (1631-1692) mentions that the capital of the Dongchuan indigenous prefecture in the Ming dynasty was made by 'cutting down wood and turning it into palisades [of the new administrative unit]'.¹⁰

These indigenous capitals, especially the Water Capital and the Earth Capital, represented internal conflicts among the different indigenous communities. The description of multiple capitals in Dongchuan implies that several indigenous capitals coexisted during the seventeenth century, although the term 'capital' may suggest too much of a formal organizational structure. The Qing government recognized these two locations as the most important military and political indigenous capitals. The area

⁶ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 5: p. 2a.

⁷ There are also a few words about these indigenous capitals in a Sichuan gazetteer of the Ming dynasty from the mid-sixteenth century. It states that the indigenous capital of Dongchuan prefecture was built at the foot of Saddle (*ma'an* 馬鞍) Mountain during the reign of Hongwu (1368-1398). Later it was moved to the south side of Wan'e 萬額 Mountain, which was ten *li* away. During the reign of Zhengtong 正統 (1435-1449), the indigenous prefect Pu De 普得 rebuilt it. *Sichuan zongzhi*, 1541, *juan* 14:2b.

⁸ According to local scholars in the 1990s, surviving walls were found which local residents called 'old walls'. Although those walls may not literally have originated from the walled city, may date from a later period, the local memory of 'old walls' suggests a belief that their village used to be a capital. A stone tablet was also discovered in Wulongmu Village in 1995, on which the ancient Yi language was written. Six characters were written, meaning 'hold the golden cock, and fortune will come'. *Huize wenwu zhi* 會澤文物志, ed. by Tao Zhengming 陶正明 and Mei Shibing 梅世彬, (Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 24, 128.

⁹ Qian Xungu 錢訓古 and Li Sicong 李思聰, *Baiyi zhuan* 百夷傳, YSC, vol 5, p. 361.

¹⁰ *Dushi gangyu jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要, comp. by Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujū, 1955), *juan* 73, pp. 3112.

surrounding these different capitals was the primary stage for political and military activities in Dongchuan.¹¹

The last battle for the title of indigenous prefect between the different powerful indigenous families occurred at the end of the seventeenth century, just before the Qing government overthrew indigenous power in Dongchuan.¹² As we can see in Table 2.1, Lu Wanzhao 祿萬兆 (?-1668), the son of Lu Qianzhong 祿千鐘 (?-1643), had inherited the title of indigenous prefect of Dongchuan in 1643, and after his death his seven sons fought for the right to inherit the title.¹³ In the end, Lu Yongming 祿永明 became the new indigenous prefect in 1679. When Lu Yongming died in 1682, Lu Yonghou 祿永厚, his younger brother, took advantage of the widow Lu (Lushi 祿氏) and her young sons Lu Yinglong 祿應龍 and Lu Yingfeng 祿應鳳. Lu Yonghou then occupied the Earth Capital in Wulongmu in 1682.¹⁴ The widow Lu had to escape with her two sons to her maternal family in Ludian 魯甸, which was located to the north of Dongchuan. There, they reported their situation to the Sichuan government and asked that justice be served. Later, the Sichuan government sent an army to accompany Lu Yinglong when he returned to Dongchuan to settle in the Water Capital.¹⁵ By then, Lu Yonghou had already died and power had moved to his widow An (Anshi 安氏) and her niece Young Lady An (小安氏), who came from the indigenous An family in Zhanyi 沾益, to the southwest of Dongchuan. During this confrontation, the widow An killed Lu Yinglong and Lu Yingfeng. In the end, the widow Lu had to make a deal with the Qing government to give up her claim to the title of indigenous prefect in order to save herself from the threat of the widow An. She then led the Qing army into Dongchuan to defeat the widow An's forces. The new Qing government in Dongchuan was established in 1699 and although it belonged to Sichuan province, Dongchuan was actually administered jointly by Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan provinces. An army camp was set up in Dongchuan, and a thousand soldiers from Guizhou, Yunnan and Sichuan were stationed there. The widow Lu was under the protection of the Qing government and army and was given three plots of farmland so that she could live in peace for the rest of her life.¹⁶ When she died in 1726, she was given

¹¹ The conflicts in Dongchuan were not limited to the Dongchuan area. The indigenous communities and political power in northeastern Yunnan and northwestern Guizhou were also involved.

¹² Apart from this conflict, there were also several other conflicts, discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹³ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 14: 16a-17b.

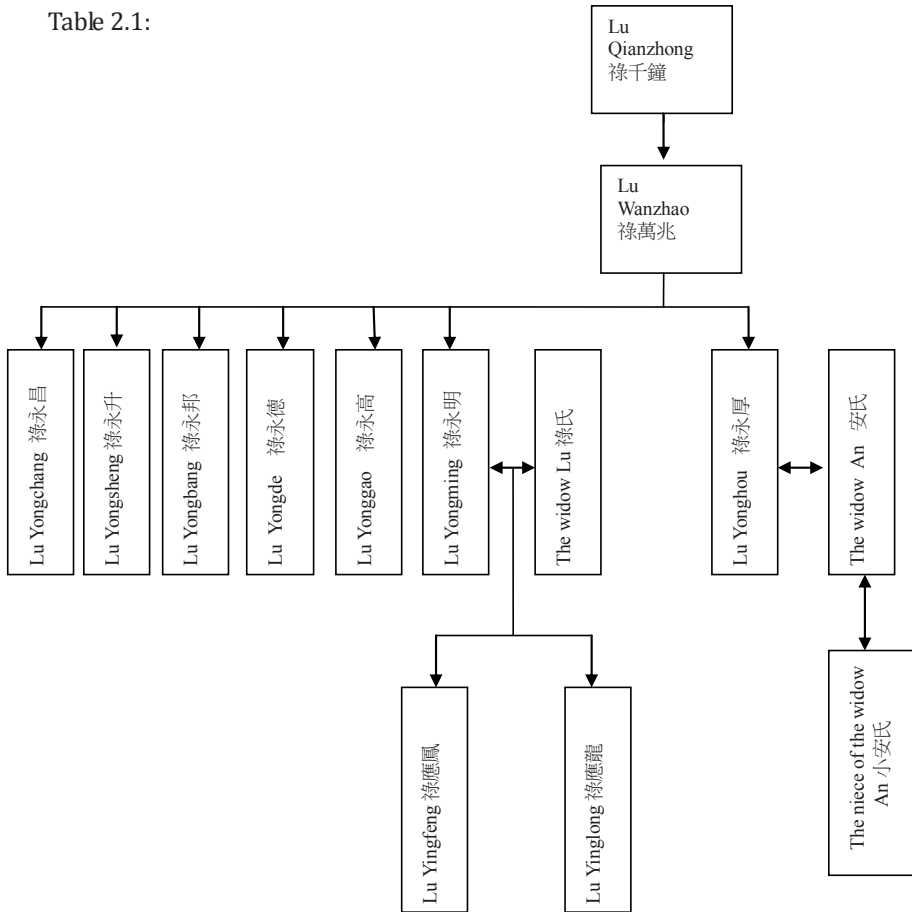
¹⁴ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 14: 17b.

¹⁵ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 14: 18a.

¹⁶ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 14: 19b-20b.

the title of 'loyal' (*zhongjie* 忠節) and was buried at the foot of Green Screen Mountain, nearby the new walled city of the Qing government.¹⁷

Table 2.1:



¹⁷ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 17: 3a,b.

2. The first rammed-earth walled city of Dongchuan in the early eighteenth century

The internal conflicts between different powerful indigenous groups led directly to the Qing army entering the region and to the Qing government's building project of the first walled city. Following the arrival of the first groups of Qing officials and soldiers, the first walled city of the Qing government in Dongchuan was built in 1700. Wang Yongxi 王永璽, the first prefect of the Dongchuan government, took responsibility for this building project. Unfortunately, he died a year later. The next prefect, Xiao Xingong 蕭星拱, considered the initial size of this walled city too large to be guarded efficiently. He decided to subtract almost thirty *zhang* 丈 (1 *zhang* equals about 3.3 metres) from the east side of the walled city, resulting in an area roughly the size of the later walled city, as it was rebuilt in 1731.¹⁸

These city walls were made of rammed earth and were situated on the north side of the mountain named Green Screen (*cuiping* 翠屏).¹⁹ North of Green Screen Mountain and the walled city was a wide marshy area named the Creeper Sea (Manhai 蔓海).²⁰ Between the Creeper Sea and or Green Screen Mountain there was a long narrow plain, which was one of the few areas of relatively flat ground in Dongchuan prefecture (see Fig. 2.1 and Fig. 2.2).

Given the towering and steep mountainous geography of Dongchuan, one of the reasons for building the walled city on this relatively flat ground was presumably simply practical. On the other hand, considering the conflicts between the indigenous communities in this area, the Qing government may have chosen to settle in the area that had belonged to the widow Lu. Even after the Qing had established their government in Dongchuan, there were still various rebellious, powerful indigenous families and headmen in Dongchuan up until 1730. The walled city was considered the best defensive location to impress its power upon the indigenous tribes surrounding the walled city.²¹

¹⁸ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 5: 1b.

¹⁹ It also named 'Spirit Jade' (*lingbi* 靈璧). DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: 2b.

²⁰ For more discussion of the Green Screen Mountain and the Creeper Sea, see Chapter 3.

²¹ This situation was also observed by the compiler of the 1931 Dagan gazetteer (Dagan is located to the north of Dongchuan). The stone-walled city of Dagan was built in 1735. According to the compiler, local people did not understand why the walled city was built in such a remote location in the south. The compiler defended the builders, and wrote that he thought people had not realized that this was actually a thoughtful choice, as to the left and right of the walled city lay barbarian communities. The location, therefore, had been chosen as the best defensive choice. This observation corresponds with the name of the four gates of Dagan: the East Gate Jingyun (景雲 'peaceful clouds'), the South Gate Zhaode (昭德 'proclaim morality'), the West Gate Yongcui (擁翠 'embrace green'), and the North Gate Anhua (安化 'peacefully transform'). As we can see, the names of the East and West Gates are related to beautiful scenery, but

The initial function of this walled city was to provide safety for the new officials and the forces of the Qing army in Dongchuan after 1699.²²

However, for the first few decades after it was built, it seems that this walled city only nominally represented Qing authority. If it had not been for the clashes between members of the Lu family and conflicts among other powerful indigenous families, the Qing government would not have succeeded in overthrowing the power of the indigenous chieftains in 1700. During the late seventeenth century, the Qing state was still willing to compromise with indigenous chieftains in northeastern Yunnan. In the case of Dongchuan, the Qing government officials did not really actively govern the local society. After the walled city was built, most of the officials of Dongchuan stayed in the capital of Sichuan province, until 1730.²³ It seems that the Qing government was not paying a lot of attention to their first walled city in Dongchuan at this point.

3. The stone-walled city

The indigenous rebellion that occurred between the eighth and twelfth months of 1730 was a turning point in the history of Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan. During this rebellion, the Qing government and army were suddenly attacked by indigenous forces and almost lost their control over the area. Therefore, the first urgent issue in the reconstruction after the war was to build a stronger walled city for the Qing government, to establish their authority in a visible, material way.²⁴

Located to the north of Dongchuan, Wumeng was another important prefecture in northeastern Yunnan. The indigenous capital of Wumeng had been situated in Ermuna 二木那 since the reign of Jiajing (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty. The Qing regime started to reform the indigenous chieftain system in Wumeng in 1727. As in Dongchuan, a new walled city for the Qing government was built in 1728 in Tianti 天梯, near Ermuna. (see Fig. 2.3)²⁵ However, during the indigenous rebellion of 1730, this walled city was easily occupied by the indigenous forces, and the Qing officials and army inside the walls all

the North and South Gates had names that reflect the Qing desire to 'civilize' the indigenous community. *Daguan xia zhi gao* 大關縣誌稿, 1931, *ZTJZ*, vol. 5, p. 1298.

²² *QSL, juan* 191, p. 20. (KX.37/12)

²³ Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Xiu dongchuan wenmiao beiji' 修东川文庙碑记, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 39.

²⁴ Fang Guoyu, 'Dongchuan xinjian shicheng bei' 東川新建石城碑, in *YSC*, vol. 13, pp. 752-753.

²⁵ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762 (1911), p. 5.

suffered from this sudden attack.

After this rebellion was quashed in 1730, E'ertai, the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou provinces, realized that the location of the walled city in Tianti, Wumeng, was not a wise choice. He proposed to completely change Wumeng in terms of both institutions and architecture. The name of the prefecture, Wumeng 烏蒙 (literally 'black mist'), was changed to Zhaotong 昭通 (literally 'the dark day turned into light' or 'the black place opens up').²⁶ At the same time, the Qing government reconsidered the location of the city and decided to build a stone-walled city in Ermuna, actually building the new walled city on the site of the old indigenous capital.²⁷

The Qing government believed that their new stone-walled city would act as an impregnable defence. The location of the new walled city was legitimized through the support of two geomancers, Zhang Shangze 張上哲 and Duan Zhuwen 段燦文, who were specially invited by E'ertai to come from Kunming to Wumeng (Zhaotong) in 1731.²⁸ According to Duan Zhuwen, the project to build the new walled city was urgent, as the Qing had been defeated at the beginning of the revolt in 1730 because their walled city in Tianti had not yet been completed. He went to Zhaotong (formerly Wumeng) in early 1731 and witnessed the chaotic and bloody situation after the war. He claimed that in the middle of the night he suddenly realized that the brutal rebellion must have been related to geomancy. He believed that the old walled city in Tianti was located in a bad geomantic area where warfare and barbarian revolts were bound to happen. He then chose Ermuna because of its perfect geomantic fit, and he proclaimed that the new walled city would last forever.²⁹

Stories of the rather harsh attitude of the Qing government as reflected in the destroying and replacing of the old indigenous capital were passed down in local legends of the indigenous communities. According to a legend recorded in a local gazetteer, around 35 *li* to the west of the new stone-walled city there was a place named Iron Pot Stockade village (*tieguo zhai* 鐵鍋寨). Before the indigenous tribes in Wumeng revolted, the indigenous chieftain of the Lu family made a big iron pot, eight *chi* in width and five *chi* in depth. This iron pot was so big that it could be used to cook several oxen at the same time. The indigenous chieftain gathered his people to meet here, shared his beef,

²⁶ E'ertai 鄂爾泰, 'Ti zhaotong simen ji' 題昭通四門記, *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 6: p. 86.

²⁷ Zhang Shangze 張上哲, 'Xin jian zhaotong fu cheng xu' 新建昭通府城序, *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), p. 9.

²⁸ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), p. 5.

²⁹ Duan Zhuwen 段燦文, 'Youxu' 又序, *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), pp. 10-11.

and drank together with them. After the rebellion was put down in 1730, the walled city was built. The new officials of the Qing government destroyed the iron pot by hammering it flat and using it to cover the four gates of the new walled city.³⁰ This legend seems to imply that the new state power replaced indigenous power.

At around the same time, the project of rebuilding the walled city of Dongchuan was started. Cui Naiyong, the new prefect of Dongchuan and trusted by E'ertai, was the overseer of this building project. When Cui Naiyong came to Dongchuan in the twelfth month of 1730, he witnessed the desolation caused by the war that had happened only one year before. At that time, most of the houses in the villages and counties had been burned to the ground, and the villages near the capital had completely vanished. The only people he saw were some skinny people hunting in the woods and some women and children living in the cliffs who were barely recognizable as human beings. In addition, the walled city itself was mostly destroyed during the war. Before the reconstruction project began, E'ertai talked to Cui Naiyong about the project. E'ertai used a metaphor to describe Dongchuan and Wumeng as vessels. The 'Wumeng vessel' had been completely shattered into small pieces and was beyond repair. For making a new 'Wumeng vessel', a potter without much skill could easily manage it. In contrast, while the 'Dongchuan vessel' was also broken, it could be repaired by a skilled artisan who could make it look perfect and without blemish. The job of repairing the 'Dongchuan vessel' was much more difficult than simply building a new 'Wumeng vessel'. E'ertai then said to Cui Naiyong, 'That is why I want you to come to accomplish this job and I place my great expectations in you.'³¹

As we have seen, E'ertai, the main director of the rebuilding project, seems to have had different plans for the future of Dongchuan and Wumeng/Zhaotong. Unlike Wumeng/Zhaotong, the Dongchuan walled city had remained under Qing army control during the rebellion, although the indigenous forces almost broke through into the walled city several times. After the rebellion, Dongchuan kept its old name and the stone-walled city was rebuilt in the same place.

E'ertai's intention was also visible in his choice of material for the walls. He suggested it should be built of stone instead of earth. Before the eighteenth century, earth was the main material for building walled cities in Yunnan province because it was cheap and easy to obtain. However, using stone as the building material would bring practical

³⁰ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 4, p. 35.

³¹ Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Chuang jian dongchuan fu shicheng ji' 創建東川府石城記, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 41.

difficulties such as the extraction and transport of stone and slate from quarries, which would require extra skilled workers and a great deal of labour power and money. But stone walls would be much stronger than earthen walls. The high cost may also have been the reason that stone walls had not been built immediately when the Qing established an administrative centre in Dongchuan in 1699. The rebellion of 1730, however, had made the project essential in the eyes of E'ertai.

Any public project, such as building a canal or building a walled city, was always a moral controversy, as it could be seen as a luxury action. An extensive building project might exceed the government's allowance and place intolerable demands on local manpower in the form of *corvée*.³² Cui Naiyong showed his hesitation at first about starting such a huge public project immediately after the war. He suggested to E'ertai that Dongchuan's main problem was that the farm fields and taxes were not divided fairly between the Han newcomers and the barbarians, and so they fought each other all the time. However, E'ertai believed that Dongchuan's defensive position needed to be established as soon as possible, based on his experience of building the walled city in Wumeng. After the Qing government ended the rebellion in 1730, E'ertai recalled that one of the weaknesses of the Qing government in this area was the weak defences of walled city. He asserted that the old walled city of Wumeng had suffered from the armed rebellion because it had not yet been finished. Based on this experience, he concluded that the earthen-walled city of Dongchuan was not strong enough. There was no time to think first about the immediate needs of the people, and moreover, building the stone-walled city would also benefit the commoners who lived in the walled city as it would protect the territory.³³ The heavy *corvée* for building the stone-walled city was not a mistake, according to E'ertai.

Cui Naiyong obeyed E'ertai's orders and begun building the massive stone wall around Dongchuan in the fourth month of 1731. In an inscription included in the local gazetteer of 1731, Cui Naiyong gives a very detailed account of the artisans who were recruited locally and from nearby areas. The technical parts of building were all performed by Han Chinese skilled workmen from central Yunnan. These artisans included 253 masons (*shigong* 石工), 59 plasterers (*e'gong* 墾工), 109 craftsmen (*gonggong* 工工),

³² Lien-sheng Yang, 'Economic Aspects of Public Works in Imperial China', in Lien-sheng Yang, *Excursions in Sinology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp.191-248.

Harry J. Lamley, 'The Formation of Cities: Initiative and Motivation in Building Three Walled Cities in Taiwan', in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Skinner, pp. 156-209.

³³ Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Chuang jian dongchuan fu shicheng ji' 創建東川府石城記, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 41.

31 smelting workers (*veren* 冶人), one hundred cement makers (*nishui gong* 泥水工), 102 brick and tile makers (*zhuanwa gong* 磚瓦工), and one hundred earth diggers (*tugong* 土工) and bamboo splint makers (*miegong* 篾工). All of these skilled workmen were paid by the workload. Apart from these skilled workmen, the less skilled jobs were done by the indigenous people. They were hired as casual labourers and were paid 1.5 *sheng* (升, one *sheng* is one litre) rice per day. Most of their jobs were preparing or carrying materials such as stone, lime and wood. An indigenous headman, An Wenyuan 安文元, who had apparently surrendered himself and offered his assistance to the Qing government, was in charge of these labourers. In addition to the basic manpower for building, all kinds of labour was necessary to support the building activities, such as people taking care of food and water, transport, and the organization of supplies and communication.³⁴

Although it was filthy work, people from nearby areas looking for work soon flocked to the capital of Dongchuan, which was exceeded Cui Naiyong's budget estimates. During the process of building the walled city, almost a thousand people per day rushed into the capital to participate in the building project. The main reason was that building the walled city provided basic living expenses for people who were recruited, which was especially important in the difficult times after the war. Moreover, large-scale frost hit the surrounding farmland that autumn, causing famine in Dongchuan and nearby places. To feed the increasing number of labourers, Cui Naiyong had to deliver fifteen *dan* (石, 1 *dan* equals 100 litres) of rice per day, which was far beyond his budget. Cui Naiyong was quite worried at first, but then reasoned that this was a way to help the local people during the disaster. Cui Naiyong emphasizes in his report that the building project also created opportunities to compensate for the bad harvest, and therefore it suggests this building project he was supervising was not immoral at all but showed his mercy for the people.

Six months later, the stone-walled city of Dongchuan was complete. E'ertai personally named the four gates of this new walled city. It was usual for each gate of a walled city to have an elegant poetic name with symbolic significance. E'ertai said that this new stone-walled city was magnificent, and this should be reflected in the names of the four gates, in order to bring prosperity to the city. The East Gate was named Suining 綏甯, a word taken from *Jinshu* 晉書, the standard history of the Jin dynasty (265-420);

³⁴ Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Chuang jian dongchuan fu shicheng ji' 創建東川府石城記, DCFZ, 1731, p. 42.

this word can also be found in *Qishu* 齊書, the standard history of the Qi dynasty (479-502). The West Gate was named Fengchang 豐昌, a word taken from *Hanshu* 漢書, the standard history of the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 25), and this word can also be found in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, a philosophical classic of the second century BC. The South Gate was named Fandian 蕃甸, a word taken from *Weizhi* 魏志, the standard history of the Wei dynasty (220-265), and the North Gate was named Luowu 羅烏, taken from the *Rites of Zhou* (*zhouli* 周禮), one of the classics of Confucianism from the mid-second century BC. All of these names thus came from famous history works and classical works. However, E'ertai gave them a new interpretation by saying that Suining means 'appeasing Weining 威寧' (Weining was located to the west of Dongchuan), Fengchang means 'rich and prosperous', Fandian means 'the barrier of Xundian' (Xundian 尋甸 was located to the south of Dongchuan), and Luowu means 'to catch Wumeng' (Wumeng was located to the north of Dongchuan).³⁵

The new provincial governor of Yunnan province, Zhang Yunsui, complimented the walled city of Dongchuan for being situated at such a scenic location, surrounded by beautiful hills and water. Although the walled city only occupied three *li*, it was big enough to control the local area. As the official state view had it, the people who guarded this city all appreciated that the Emperor had given his favour to this borderland of his territory and had selflessly made an effort to feed his people by giving fields and livestock, and had civilized the people to respect and love the emperor. The armies which had settled in this walled city were known to be loyal, brave and united. This walled city could defend Guizhou and safeguard Sichuan, being situated in an important strategic location as if it was the 'throat' of a person to Yunnan in the south and the 'arm' of a person to Zhaotong in the north. It not only protected Dongchuan itself, but also acted as a protective screen for all three provinces.³⁶

4. The upper and lower city of Dongchuan: Cui Naiyong's personal experience

When Cui Naiyong started to rebuild the walled city, he did not simply replace the

³⁵ E'ertai, 'Ti dongchuan chengmen shuo' 題東川城門說, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 37.

³⁶ Zhang Yunsui, 'Dongchuan xinjian shicheng ji' 東川新建石城記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 37–38.

earlier city walls, but reduced the area enclosed by the walls. Only the west wall of the city remained in the same location. The north, south and east walls were all moved inward toward the city centre. Cui Naiyong intended to build a rectangular walled city, which was considered the standard model for a walled city at that time. According to the measure of the remains nowadays, the length of this walled city was 715 metres, the width was 470 metres, and the perimeter was 2,374 metres.³⁷ Cui Naiyong's idea of building a smaller stone-walled city came from his own experience in Xundian, located to the south of Dongchuan. Before Cui Naiyong was appointed as prefect of Dongchuan, he had been the sub-prefect in Xundian. During wartime in 1729 almost all the residents of Xundian had run away and he had found himself in an extremely dangerous situation. Only a few dozen people and he himself were left to guard the walled city. In the report to his superior E'ertai, Cui Naiyong voiced his fear that the same situation might arise again in Dongchuan if an indigenous rebellion recurred. At that time, most residents in Dongchuan walled city were new Han Chinese arrivals from other provinces. In the eyes of Cui Naiyong they were visitors in Dongchuan who could easily leave at any time. Cui Naiyong decided that a smaller walled city would be more suitable for defence, since it required fewer people to build the ramparts. In order to carry out this design, he did not even care that the old county offices had to be moved to outside the walls of the new city, and that some people currently living inside the walls would have to move out. He thought the walled city of Dongchuan would become a small but very strong-walled city.

Furthermore, Cui Naiyong chose not to build the walled city wholly on flat ground. He decided to situate the south part of the walled city on the slopes of Green Screen Mountain, and the north part on the flat ground bordering the Creeper Sea. Therefore, the most obvious arrangement of the walled city was a division into an upper part and a lower part. The city was divided by the central street Kangbu 康埠 Road (literally, 'peaceful city'), which at two *zhang* 丈 in width was the widest street in the city.³⁸

The special location of the walled city also affected the buildings inside and surrounding it. Because the walled city ran downhill from south to north, the north side of the walled city was considered the front, or 'face', of the city. All the buildings inside the walled town followed this same orientation, facing north, towards the front of the walled city. This orientation was followed by the buildings both inside and surrounding the

³⁷ *Huize wenwu zhi*, ed. by Tao Zhengming and Mei Shibing, pp. 24 -25.

³⁸ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 5: ab.

walled city, such as temples, offices, residences, guild halls – all were oriented towards the north. Meanwhile, almost all the official and ritual buildings were situated in the upper part of the city. For example, the Confucius Temple, mint factories, the White Cloth Pavilion ritual compound (*baiyi ge* 白衣閣), the compound of the prefect (*shufu* 署府), the compound of the assistant regional commander (*canfushu* 參府署) were all located in the central southern upper part of the walled city. In the southwest part of the city there was the Longevity Pavilion (*wanshouting* 萬壽亭) for worshipping the memorial tablet of the Emperor and Empress, and the Lord Yue Shrine (*yuegong ci* 嶽公祠) and the Lord Wei Shrine (*weigong ci* 魏公祠), which were monuments for worshipping two famous local generals who had lost their lives during battles with the indigenous forces in the recent past.³⁹ In the lower (northern) parts of the walled city were ordinary houses, guild halls, and all kinds of ordinary religious buildings. (Fig. 2.4)

This special arrangement may already have been in place in the earlier settlement of the Qing government in Dongchuan before 1730, but it was emphasized by Cui Naiyong in his stone-walled city building project. This choice of placing all the important official and ritual buildings in the upper southern part seems to have been based on his personal knowledge of geomancy, which can be traced back to his own experiences in building the walled city of Zhenxiong, a sub-prefecture of Zhaotong, located to the northeast of Dongchuan.

Before Cui Naiyong was appointed prefect of Dongchuan, he had served in Zhenxiong as a sub-prefect. One of his missions at that time was to build a new walled city after the indigenous chieftain system had been removed in 1726. Cui Naiyong started this city planning in 1727. A detailed report of building the walled city written by him is included in the Zhenxiong gazetteer. He mentions that geomantic conditions should be observed before the building of a walled city starts. He modestly states that although he was not an expert, he had learned some skills from classical geomantic works such as those written by Guo Pu 郭璞(276-324), who is considered the initiator of geomancy.⁴⁰ He believed that he himself did have some talent in geomantic practices. According to him,

³⁹ Wei Zhuguo 魏肅國 and Yue Chaolong 岳超龍 were famous local generals. Yue Chaolong was the Brigade Commander of Dongchuan (*dongchuan ying youji* 東川營遊擊) in Kangxi's reign who could temper justice with mercy and who had won a good reputation. In 1745, the magistrate built this shrine to the left of the county government office. Wei Zhuguo was the main general in the warfare of 1731 and was wounded in a trap set by indigenous troops north of the walled city. Despite his injuries, he still insisted on joining in the battles and eventually died protecting the city. With such a dramatic and tragic life story, Wei received a lot of attention from local officials in the mid-eighteenth century. *DCFZ*, *juan* 15, 4a, 5b.

⁴⁰ Guo Pu 郭璞, *Zangshu* 葬書, in *SKQS*, v. 808, pp. 11- 37.

the old capital of the indigenous chieftain was located in a pivotal area and had a very good geomancy. Zhenxiong was mountainous, and it was impossible to find suitable flat ground on which to build a walled city. Only the old indigenous capital had a good location. Still, he considered the area of the old indigenous capital to be too flat for building an ideal walled city. He therefore chose to move the walled city to an area which was partly located on the hillside and partly on flat ground. The front side of the administrative compounds and the four gates were built to face a certain direction for the purposes of good geomancy.⁴¹

However, Cui Naiyong did not finish his project because he was sent to Xundian and soon after to Dongchuan. Xu Deyu 徐德裕 continued the project in Zhenxiong, but was sent to Zhaotong as the new prefect before finishing. The assignment was then given to the new sub-prefect Li Zhi 李至 by Zhang Yunsui. When Li Zhi arrived in Zhenxiong, he presented a proposal stating that the original project should be revised. In his proposal, Li Zhi said that based on his observations he intended to move the government offices from the upper part of the city to the lower part. This was because in order to build the walls surrounding the main government offices in their current position, the walls had to be built from the hillside down to the foot of the hill. This required negotiating a mountain ridge, which was very difficult and expensive. Moreover, if the walled city was built in this elevated place, there would be a lot of useless space inside the walled city because of the steep geography. He was afraid that the walled city would not stand firm and argued that it would be difficult to arrange defences. In the end, he moved the walled city and the government offices from the hillside down to the flat ground. This new walled city was built in 1731.⁴² The difference between the layout of the walled city in Dongchuan and the one in Zhenxiong can be clearly seen in the position of the old walls and the new walls drawn on the map in the Zhenxiong gazetteer (Fig. 2.5) Interestingly, as we have seen, the layout of Zhenxiong was opposite to that of Dongchuan. In the walled city of Zhenxiong, all the guild halls and common buildings were located on the hillside and outside the walls, and all the important official buildings such as the government offices and Confucius Temple were located in the lower part of the city. This would have been totally unacceptable to Cui Naiyong if he had stayed in Zhenxiong. However, for Li Zhi, practical considerations were much more important than geomancy and the special symbolic

⁴¹ Cui Naiyong, 'Jiancheng xiangwen' 建城详文, *Zhenxiong zhoushi* 镇雄州志, 1762, *juan* 6a: pp. 6b–8a.

⁴² Li Zhi 李志, 'Qing gaijian chengyuan bing' 请改建城垣禀, *Zhenxiong zhou zhi*, 1762, *juan* 6a: pp. 21b–23a.

implications suggested by Cui Naiyong.

Cui Naiyong's ideal city planning can be seen clearly in his essay on rebuilding Dongchuan's City God Temple (*chenghuang miao* 城隍廟). As one of the official ritual buildings for the walled city, the City God Temple was part of the first group of buildings constructed in Dongchuan when Xiao Xinggong governed as prefect from 1702 to 1704. The City God Temple was initially built to the east of the government office compound. In 1726 the Prefect Huang Shijie 黃士傑, considering the temple too small and the location too narrow, planned to move the temple to the northern (lower) part of the walled city. This project had been ongoing for three years but remained unfinished.

During the reconstruction of the walled city in 1731, Cui Naiyong thought that it was unreasonable to situate the City God Temple in the northern (lower) part of the city: 'How is it that the walled city has been located on top, overlooking the City God, and the City God situated lower, looking up at the walled city?'⁴³ Therefore, in 1732 he chose a higher location. The new City God Temple would be positioned in the higher southern part, facing towards the lower northern part, a position from which Cui Naiyong believed the City God could give his blessing to the city.⁴⁴

Cui Naiyong's opinion about the relocation of the City God Temple gives one possible answer as to why all the important ritual buildings and government offices were located in the upper southern part of the city. His opinion seems to be shared by local people nowadays, as they agree among each other that the south mountain (Green Screen Mountain) is a good geomantic mountain with a 'dragon vein' (longmai 龙脉). According to geomancy, a 'dragon vein' is a pathway in certain mountain ranges along which energy flows. Having a 'dragon vein' suggests that the mountain qualifies as a 'dragon' instead of being a barren mountain.⁴⁵ According to people nowadays, it is propitious that the important buildings of the city, such as the Confucius Temple and the compound of the assistant regional commander (*canjiang yamen* 參將衙門) and other important official buildings, are located along the 'dragon vein' of Green Screen Mountain. As for the commoners, they did not dare – and could not afford to – build their houses in the higher southern part where the Confucius Temple and the offices of the Qing government were to be situated. They believed that only official government offices and ritual shrines

⁴³ Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Yi jian chenghuang miao bei ji' 移建城隍廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 46.

⁴⁴ Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Yi jian chenghuang miao bei ji', *DCFZ*, pp. 46–47.

⁴⁵ Andrew L. March, An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy, *The Journal of Asian Studies* (1968), 27: 2: 253-267, especially 256-157.

belonged there.⁴⁶ More important in the case of the Confucius Temple and City God Temple, Cui Naiyong also states the purpose of educating and civilizing the Han Chinese immigrants and the indigenous people in Dongchuan as reasons for the temples' locations.

5. Ritual buildings: educating and civilizing functions

When the stone-walled city was built, according to the first census in Dongchuan in 1731 there were only twenty households of Han Chinese settlers (*hanmin* 漢民), and hundreds of households of other Han immigrants (*kemin* 客民) who did not have family and came and left without a trace.⁴⁷ Some Han Chinese had actually already appeared in Dongchuan before the Qing government fully controlled this area. For example, an early report of travelling merchants in Dongchuan can be traced back to the sixteenth century. According to the memorial of Deng Mei 鄧漢 (1569-1628), the provincial governor of Yunnan in the middle of the Ming dynasty, travelling merchants faced many dangers, and officials and soldiers were regularly harassed in Dongchuan, Xundian and Wuding, which at that time were located in the borderlands of the provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan.⁴⁸

The conflicts between the Han Chinese and the indigenous tribes are emphasized in these official records. The indigenous people in these areas are described as fierce gangsters who followed the Han Chinese travellers and robbed, kidnapped and murdered them. For instance, the story is recorded that Han Chinese travellers were kidnapped and taken to the barbarian area. There they were tied to a huge wooden log and were treated like dogs. They were enslaved after being 'tamed' for three years; otherwise they were sold to another barbarian area in Sichuan.⁴⁹ Shocking stories like this were extremely common in the eighteenth century. The brutal details might reveal more about the travellers' imagination of dangers in the indigenous area and may have later been exaggerated by the local government. The stories do reflect the apprehensions on the Chinese side. Tension between travelling merchants, Han immigrants, and the indigenous community was the trigger of the indigenous rebellion in 1730.⁵⁰ According to E'ertai,

⁴⁶ Lei Nianda 雷念達, 'Suo tan huize d miao wenhua' 瑣談會澤的廟文化, *Huize wenshi ziliao congkan* 會澤文史資料叢刊 ed. by Bian Boze 卞伯澤 and others, (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1995), vol. 6, p. 25.

⁴⁷ *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 14.

⁴⁸ Deng Mei, 'Qing xunfu jianzhi dongchuan shu' 請巡撫建制東川疏, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20a: pp. 10a-14a.

⁴⁹ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8: p. 15a.

⁵⁰ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8: p. 15b.

one reason the prefect of Wumeng, Liu Qiyuan 劉起元, was killed by indigenous forces was that he had extorted a confession from the headman of an indigenous tribe about the kidnapping and murder of travelling merchants in Wumeng.⁵¹

It seems that the local government intended to show their responsibility to protect travelling merchants and other Han immigrants who, however, were also difficult to govern in the eyes of local officials. Jiangxi and Huguang 湖廣 (present-day Hunan 湖南 and Hubei 湖北 provinces) were the primary sources of Han immigrants in Yunnan, and these people had a reputation for doing anything to make a profit. They would work as travelling merchants or mine workers, they would run lodges and restaurants, as well as all kinds of shops in indigenous areas. These people from Jiangxi and Huguang came to this dangerous place gambling that they would earn high profits.⁵² They were nicknamed 'crafty Han Chinese' (hanjian 漢奸), suggesting they were full of cunning, and would cheat and take advantage of the unsophisticated indigenous people.⁵³ According to the compilers of the Dongchuan local gazetteers, these Han Chinese people were hypocritical and deceitful, occupying the land and property of barbarians who were not good at calculating, which caused conflicts between the indigenous people and the immigrants, and eventually led to the indigenous rebellion.⁵⁴ In order to emphasize the negative image of the Han Chinese immigrants, it is somewhat ironic that the indigenous people, usually considered 'barbarians', were portrayed as overly simple and honest. In this narrative they were easily and wrongfully deceived by the malicious Han Chinese.

This general impression of crafty Han Chinese immigrants and dangerous indigenous people is reflected in the ritual buildings within the Dongchuan walled city, which local officials used as symbols of morality. From his own experiences in Xundian and Zhenxiong, Cui Naiyong had developed his ambition to build what he considered an ideal walled city. An unexpected episode in the walled city of Dongchuan was a violent earthquake in the sixth month of 1733. During this earthquake, the new stone-walled city escaped damage, but almost all the buildings outside the walls collapsed and the roads were blocked. Cui Naiyong himself narrowly avoided death during the earthquake while staying at a friend's house.⁵⁵ Soon, however, Cui Naiyong was busy collecting funds for

⁵¹ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, pp. 102. (YZ. 8/13, 9/12, 4.)

⁵² Wu Daxun 吳大勳, *Dian nan wen jian lu* 滇南聞見錄, in YSC, vol. 12, p.17.

⁵³ Wu Daxun, *Dian nan wen jian lu*, in YSC, vol. 12, p.18.

⁵⁴ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 8: p. 15b.

⁵⁵ Cui Naiyong, 'Dongchuan fu dizhen jishi' 東川府地震紀事, DCFZ, 1731, pp. 48 -51.

rebuilding what had been damaged. Of particular importance, it was during the reconstruction of the walled city after the 1733 earthquake that Cui Naiyong successfully applied for extra funding to renovate the Confucius Temple compound.⁵⁶

The Confucius Temple, established in Dongchuan in 1721, was one of the earliest buildings, but the main hall was unfinished and the main gate consisted of only two columns at that time.⁵⁷ The scope of the compound was gradually enlarged, and after the first reconstruction efforts of Dongchuan had been finished in 1731, the Confucius Temple became the most outstanding compound outside the south gate of the walled city. It was not so common to build a Confucius Temple outside of a walled city. However, considering the south side of the walled city was situated at a higher elevation, the Confucius Temple actually was in a more prominent location than the walled city. Therefore, after the Confucius Temple had been ruined in the earthquake, it was rebuilt at the same location and retained its high visibility.

Meanwhile, the Confucius Temple also carried out an important civilizing mission for the Han Chinese immigrants in Dongchuan at that time. In his essay on rebuilding the Confucius temple, Cui Naiyong recalls the difficulties of education in the past. He points out that the barbarians were all illiterate and that the hundreds of households of Han Chinese immigrants in Dongchuan also paid little attention to literacy, culture and education. They only intended to stay in Dongchuan for one or two generations and most of them were stubborn. They were outside effective supervising because most of the Qing officials stayed far away in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province. The barbarians were free to rob recklessly and Han Chinese immigrants were quick to run away.⁵⁸

For local officials the mobility of the population in Dongchuan was the most disturbing issue. This is repeated by Cui Naiyong himself and other local officials in various essays about local buildings. For example, during the process of reconstructing the City God Temple in 1733, Cui Naiyong related to his friend Zhu Chengyou how Dongchuan used to be a den of barbarians, and only a few Han people had come to settle in this area since 1699, when the Qing government established their administrative system. According to Cui Naiyong, these Han Chinese were not kind-hearted and good-mannered people who behaved well, and were neither obedient nor loyal. Most were escaped criminals, rascals, and travelling merchants who were running mines. They

⁵⁶ Cui Naiyong, 'Xiu dongchuan wenmiao beiji' 修东川文庙碑记, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 39.

⁵⁷ Sun Sheng 孫繩, 'Dongchuan gaitu jian xue shimo beiji' 東川改土建學始末碑记, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁸ Cui Naiyong, 'Xiu dongchuan wenmiao beiji' 修東川文廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 39-40.

gathered in Dongchuan simply for economic benefit and there was no kinship system to restrain them or teach them how to behave. They pursued profits with no moral constraint and would not take on any responsibilities since they could easily flee if something went wrong.⁵⁹

It is clear that the Confucius Temple symbolized the culture and education of the local society, especially in the area that used to be occupied by indigenous people who may never have heard of Confucius before, but had started to notice this magnificent compound at its prominent location outside the walled city. During the rebellion in 1731, the indigenous people, who lived in the thirteen villages surrounding the walled city, sent requests to the officials inside the walled city to be allowed to hide themselves inside the walls and assist the Qing government against the rebellious forces. Since the Qing officials had a strong bias against indigenous people, the requests were denied. Then the indigenous people asked if they could be allowed to stay in the Confucius Temple. This request was also denied. They had to leave and find their own ways to escape.⁶⁰ This suggests that the residents inside the walled city were perhaps all Han Chinese people and that the indigenous people all lived outside the walls. In the early days when the new stone-walled city was built, local Qing officials such as Cui Naiyong himself had to face the problem of the lack of education of immigrants as well as indigenous people. These officials viewed the establishment of ritual buildings such as the City God Temple and the Confucius Temple as a good starting point to civilize local people. Still, one cannot generalize that the Qing state always imposed their ideology by means of this particular arrangement of buildings. As I mentioned before, Zhenxiong, like Dongchuan, was also considered one of the 'dens of barbarians' in northeastern Yunnan. But from the map of Zhenxiong (Fig. 2.5) we can see that unlike Dongchuan, the Zhenxiong government did not build important ritual and official buildings in the upper and more prominent part of their city, which Cui Naiyong viewed as a way to symbolize authority.

6. Mining businesses and the guild halls: wealthy merchant groups

Although the Yongzheng Emperor never admitted it, the motives for the Qing state to establish direct governance in Dongchuan were not only to control the rebellious

⁵⁹ Cui Naiyong, 'Yi jian chenghuang miao bei ji' 移建城隍廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 46–47.

⁶⁰ 'Ping dongchuan ji' 平東川記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 11–12.

indigenous groups, but also very much to manage the copper mining businesses and copper transport to Beijing. Having copper coins or ‘cash’ was important for the state, to be used as a medium of exchange, and payment with coins facilitated commercial exchange in many local economies in eighteenth-century China. In northeastern Yunnan, local officials’ main job was to manage the ongoing production of copper, the minting of coins, and the transport of copper to other provinces and to the capital Beijing.⁶¹

The minting of copper coins in Dongchuan was started in 1731 immediately after the Qing government took Dongchuan under direct control. When Cui Naiyong reconstructed the walled city, he made it much smaller by moving the east wall inwards around ten *zhang*. The old Huize county administrative compound of Dongchuan prefecture, which formerly had been located in the eastern part of the old earthen-walled city, was now located outside the walls. After a new county office compound had been built in the southwest corner inside the walled city⁶², the old county compound was renovated to become a mint factory, named the Old Mint Factory (*jiuju* 舊局) because another mint factory called the New Mint Factory (*xinju* 新局) had been built by Cui Naiyong in 1732 (Fig. 2.4 城池圖). All the offices which dealt with transport of coins were located to the east of the New Factory.⁶³

The mint factories of Dongchuan were one of the important mint factories in Yunnan province during the eighteenth century. Although these mint factories were shut and later restarted again, they produced huge quantities of coins during the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ Through producing coins at these local mint factories, the finances of the local government were improving.⁶⁵ The coin money made by local mint factories was offered as payment to soldiers in local garrisons, to the artisans and workers of the mint factories, and to other kinds of labourers. Meanwhile, the coin money was also transferred to other provinces such as Guizhou, Sichuan, and Shaanxi, and had the result of lowering the high price of money in those areas, because there were not enough coins in their respective

⁶¹ Yan Zhongping, *Qingdai Yunnan tongzheng kao*; Peng-sheng Chiu, ‘Shiba shijie dientong shichang’; Kawakatsu Mamoru, *The Ming-Qing tribute system*; Vogel, ‘Chinese Central Monetary Policy and the Yunnan Copper Mining Industry’; *Metals, Monies, and Markets in Early Modern Societies*, ed. by Hirzel and Kim.

⁶² *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 13.

⁶³ *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 13-14

⁶⁴ Yan Zhongping, pp. 15-17. Burger Werner, ‘Coin Production during the Qianlong and Jiaqing Reigns’, in *Metals, Monies, and Markets in Early Modern Societies*, ed. by Tomas Hirzel and Nanny Kim, pp. 171-190.

⁶⁵ Except for short periods in the reign of Qianlong when the locally made coins were sent to Beijing, rather than just the raw copper being transported to Beijing. The Qing government had thought that it would save costs, but this project was soon stopped because the costs of transporting the coins to Beijing were even higher than the costs of transporting the raw copper. See Wang Detai 王德泰, ‘Qianlong chu diansheng jingzhu qian shibai yuanyin qianxi’ 乾隆初滇省代京鑄錢失敗原因淺析, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (Beijing, 2003), No. 3, pp. 62-70.

money markets.⁶⁶

During the copper rush after 1731, tens of thousands of Han Chinese from Jiangxi, Huguang, Guizhou, Sichuan and other parts of Yunnan (mostly Qujing) hurried to Dongchuan to engage in mining and related businesses. Following the rise of copper transports and the flourishing mining businesses, a series of new buildings and businesses supplying daily needs and leisure pursuits were established in the walled city and its surroundings.

The White Cloth Pavilion (*Baiyi ge* 白衣閣) was one of these new buildings, located to the southeast of the walled city. At first it was only a small temple for the worship of Huatuo 華佗, a legendary doctor from the third century. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the rich directors of the furnace workforce at the two mint factories donated a huge amount of money to build a hall in the front of the temple, for worshipping Emperor Guan (*guandi* 關帝), and a hall at the back of the temple, for worshipping Guanyin, the Goddess of Mercy (*baiyi dashi* 白衣大士 or *guanyin* 觀音).⁶⁷ During the Double Ninth Festival (*chongyang* 重陽節) on the ninth day of the ninth month, mint factories would stop working for nine days. Workers joined other people in climbing mountains and appreciating chrysanthemums. They would worship the god of mines and offer several opera pieces for entertainment in the Mine God Temple.⁶⁸

The Han immigrants who came from other provinces not only worked in the mining business, but were also involved in many related businesses such as forging and transport, or supplying daily necessities such as rice, salt and oil, and some luxury products. When the mining business was going well, all the goods people wanted could be found in Dongchuan. All kinds of actors and actresses, singers and dancers, unmarried women and loafers all chased after the huge economic profits of the copper mining business.⁶⁹ After they earned enough money, some returned to their hometowns and settled down, while others stayed in Dongchuan to run their businesses.

Another group of conspicuous buildings in the walled city of Dongchuan was the guild halls (*huiguan* 會館) for associations of merchants and other immigrants from Jiangxi, Huguang, Sichuan, Shanxi, and Guizhou provinces.

From the second half of the Ming dynasty onward, following the expansion of

⁶⁶ Yan Zhongping, pp. 17-18; Peng-sheng Chiu, p. 58.

⁶⁷ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 7: p. 3.

⁶⁸ 'Jiu ri qianju shen dan shangju guanju' 九日钱局神诞赏菊观剧, DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 20b, p. 73a.

⁶⁹ Wu Daxun, in YSC, vol. 12, p. 22.

transnational trade, guild halls were established in the larger Chinese trading cities throughout the empire, where immigrants forged economic and emotional ties to build up friendship and mutual benefit among their members based on shared regional provenance. These merchants associations provided immigrants with strength and comfort. Most of the research on guild halls has highlighted the economic role of these merchants' associations and how they contributed to the development of capitalism and modernity. The guilds in the capital Beijing and other economically developed areas such as the middle and lower areas of the Yangzi River and on China's southeast coast have drawn most of the attention of researchers so far.⁷⁰

Guild halls in Southwest China are often treated as the result of the great wave of Han immigrants which started in the Yuan dynasty and greatly increased during the Ming and Qing dynasties. In the context of communication and conflict between 'outsiders' and indigenous tribes in the borderlands of the Southwest, the guild halls also played an important role in the Qing state's governing strategy. Considering that these migrants lived in a 'barbarian' area where they were in frequent contact with indigenous people and intermarriage would cause them to lose their connection to their hometowns, the Qing government wanted these groups to be tied to their hometowns instead of losing their Han Chinese identity. The guild hall therefore served as the physical building for an association of merchants originating from the same city or province, and promoted a variety of types of assistance.⁷¹

⁷⁰ There are a great amount of researches on guild halls in pre-modern China. Selected important works are: Quan Hansheng 全漢升, *Zhongguo hanghui zhidushi* 中國行會制度史 (Shanghai: Xin shengming shujü, 1934); Ho Ping-ti 何秉赫, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun* 中國會館史論 (Taipei: Xuesheng shujü, 1966); Wang Rigen 王日根, *Xiangtu zhilian: Mingqing huiguan yu shehui bianqian* 鄉土之鏈：明清會館與社會變遷 (Tianjing: Tianjing renmin chubanshe, 1996); Chen Baoliang 陳寶良, *Zhongguo de she yu hui* 中國的社與會, (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1996); Negishi Tadashi 根岸佶, 支那ギルドの研究, (Tōkyō: Shibun Shoin, 1938); Kato Shigeru 加藤繁, 'Tō Sō jidai no shōnin kumiai [kō] wo ronji de Shin dai no kaikan ni oyobu' 唐宋時代の商人組合「行」を論じて清代の會館に及ぶ, in *Shina keizai shi kō shō* 支那經濟史考證, I, (Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 1965), pp. 422-460; Niida Noboru 仁井田升, "The Industrial and Commercial Guilds of Peking and Religion and Fellow countrymanship as Elements of Their Coherence," M. Elder, trans., *Folklore Studies*, IX (1950), 179-206; Wellington K. K. Chan, 'Merchant Organizations in Late Imperial China: Patterns of Change and Development', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1975), XIV: 28-42; Wellington K. K. Chan, *Merchants, Mandarins, and Modern Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China*, Cambridge, Mass., 1977; Gary G. Hamilton, 'Regional Associations in the Chinese City: A Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (1979), XXI: 346-361; Joseph Fewsmith, 'From Guild to Interest Group: The Transformation of Public and Private in Late Qing China', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (1983) 25.4: 617-640; L. Eve Armentrout Ma, 'Fellow-Regional Associations in the Ch'ing Dynasty: Organizations in Flux for Mobile People. A preliminary Survey, *Modern Asian Studies*, (1984), 18.2: 307-330; Kwang-Ching Liu, 'Chinese Merchant Guilds: An Historical Inquiry', *The Pacific Historical Review*, (1988), 57.1: 1-23; Susan Mann, *Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); Hankow: *Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989) Kwang-Ching Liu, *Chinese Merchant Guilds: An Historical Inquiry*, *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 57, No. 1(Feb., 1988), pp. 1-23. Peter J. Golas, 'Early Ch'ing guilds', in *The city in late imperial China*, ed. by Skinner, pp. 555-580.

⁷¹ However, these immigrants were involved in local society in various ways, and joining a guild was just one choice for

In terms of architecture, the guild halls were compounds that contained public spaces for economic, religious, and social activities such as meeting rooms for debating business affairs, hostels for travelling merchants, space for the production and storage of goods, various shrines and altars for worshipping regional deities, theatre stages for hosting banquets and theatrical performances during festivals, and elegant landscape gardens in which to relax.

According to inscriptions on commemorative steles found in Dongchuan guild halls, the earliest guild halls in Dongchuan were the Jiangxi Guild Hall and the Huguang Guild Hall, built in the eighteenth century.⁷² In the local gazetteers, the guild halls are also recorded as religious buildings based on a provincial deity. Jiangxi immigrants treated a Daoist immortal Xu Xun 許遜 (239-374) from their province as their protective deity. Until the Song dynasty in the early twelfth century, Xu Xun was known as True Lord Xu (Xu Zhenjun 許真君) and the first temple for worshipping Xu Xun was in Nanchang (Jiangxi province), built in 1010 by the Song state, and was called the Palace of Longevity (*Yulong wanshougong* 玉隆萬壽宮); Palace of Longevity later became the name used for Jiangxi guild halls throughout China. [It should not be confused with the Longevity Pavilion (*wanshouting* 萬壽亭) in Dongchuan for worshipping the Emperor.] Similarly, the Huguang Guild Hall was also named the Palace of King Yu (*yuwang gong* 禹王宮), for the deity of Yu who had successfully controlled the flood and became the first ruler of the legendary Xia 夏 dynasty.

The commemorative steles of the guild halls show that both the Jiangxi and Huguang Guild Halls were built and run by rising, wealthy merchant groups in Dongchuan. For instance, in 1762, based on a meeting of the association of members from five prefectures (Nanchang, Fuzhou 撫州, Linjiang 臨江, Ji'an 吉安, Ruizhou 瑞州) of Jiangxi province, a decision was made by the members of the Jiangxi Guild Hall to donate their savings and rents from farmland to rebuild the Jiangxi Guild Hall. The large capital of the Jiangxi merchants can be seen in the following donation list found on one of the commemorative steles:⁷³

them. More on this in Chapter 5.

⁷² The title of the inscription on one of the steles in the Jiangxi Guild Hall reads: 'Wanshou gong beiji' 萬壽宮碑記, dated 1755, and the whole text on that stele can be found in *Huize wenwu zhi*, ed. by Tao Zhengming and Mei Shibing, pp. 135-136. The title of the inscription on one of the steles that can be seen in the Huguang Guild Hall in Huize reads: 'Xin jian yuwang gong chongxiu jiaci beiwen' 新建禹王宮重修家祠碑文, dated 1766. The Huguang Guild Hall in Huize today is a new building constructed in the style of the original guild hall.

⁷³ The title of the inscription on this stele reads: 'Wanshougong chongxiu ji' 萬壽宮重修碑記, dated 1762, and the main

Table 2.2 Donations for rebuilding the Palace of Longevity from the different prefectures of Jiangxi province

Prefecture	Donation (unit: <i>liang</i> 兩)
Linjiang 臨江	530
Nanchang 南昌	340
Fuzhou 撫州	333
Ji'an 吉安	296
Ruizhou 瑞州	103
Jianchang 建昌	5.5
Ganzhou 贛州	3.6
Raozhou 饒州	3
Yuanzhou 袁州	1.5
Jiujiang 九江	0.7
Nan'an 南安	0.5

Compared to the annual salary of the Dongchuan prefect (*zheng si pin* 正四品) of 105 *liang*, it is clear that during the eighteenth century the Jiangxi merchants in Dongchuan had accumulated a large capital, especially the merchants from Linjiang, Nanchang, Fuzhou, Ji'an, and Ruizhou. All these prefectures donated a large amount of money, which contrasted enormously with the much lower donations from other prefectures. With such a large capital, the Jiangxi Guild Hall complex could be splendidly rebuilt. It had a beautiful theatre near the front gate, the main hall was for worshipping the provincial deity Xu Xun, and the wing-room was for meetings. The annual banquet and the ritual practices in the guild hall consolidated a feeling of unity among the members. The growing economic power of travelling merchants allowed them to achieve a high position in terms of local hierarchy and prestige, as discussed in previous research.⁷⁴ Here, I want to emphasize the political and ritual connections between the merchants associations and local

text in full can be found in *Huize xian wenwu zhi*, ed by Tao Zhengming and Mei Shibing, pp. 136-137. However, the editors do not include the list of donations, which can be seen today on the stele in the Jiangxi Guild Hall in Huize.

⁷⁴ For studies on the social function of guild halls, see Joseph Fewsmith, 'From Guild to Interest Group', pp. 617-640; L. Eve Armentrout Ma, 'Fellow-Regional Associations in the Ch'ing Dynasty', pp. 307-330; William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); Hankow: *Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989)

government based on the building process and layout of Dongchuan's guild halls.

In the case of Jiangxi Guild Hall, the initiators were given permission by local officials to build their guild hall in 1716.⁷⁵ At that time, there were few Jiangxi merchants in Dongchuan, but they had managed to obtain land in the northern part of the walled city with the aid of Prefect Xiao Xingong, who also came from Jiangxi.⁷⁶ After the guild hall had been built, the magistrate Zu Chengyou offered them a piece of farmland in Longtan 龍潭 Village.⁷⁷ As for the compound of the Huguang Guild Hall, it consisted of three main temples together, following a central axis from north to south: the Palace of King Yu, Eastern Marchmount Palace (*Dongyue gong* 東嶽宮) and the Shrine of the Buddha of Longevity (*shoufo dian* 壽佛殿). Located inside the Huguang Guild Hall compound, Eastern Marchmount Palace was an important location for official ritual activity. So it is recorded in the local gazetteer as Eastern Marchmount Palace instead of its normal name, Palace of King Yu. In the Eastern Mountain Temple, official ritual activities were held during the New Year festivities, attesting to the close connection between the local government and the guild halls. On the day before the beginning of Spring (*lichun* 立春), one of the 24 important solar terms in China, local officials would lead their followers in performing a ritual to welcome the Earthen Ox (*yingtuniu* 迎土牛) to wish for a good harvest. They whipped an ox statue made from earth three times and announced that the farming season had begun.⁷⁸

Both the Jiangxi and Huguang Guild Halls had special roles in local society. As the two biggest associations in Dongchuan, they were supported by the local government and involved in official ritual activities. In order to keep a sense of provincial identity, the guild halls and the travelling merchants associations assisted the government in supervising the immigrant communities in these complex borderlands. Since these temporary residents were not recorded in the local government's household registration system, they were classified as *keji* (客籍, literally 'guest household') and normally supervised by the Supervisor of Affairs (*kezhang* 客長) – or by the guild halls, but only if

⁷⁵ The builders all mentioned that their guild hall had already existed since Kangxi's reign, the first time the Qing government had ruled this town. Later it was destroyed during the revolt in 1730, and Jiangxi merchants had not had enough funds to rebuild it.

⁷⁶ DCFZ, 1731, p. 23.

⁷⁷ 'Wanshou gong beiji' 萬壽宮碑記, 1755, *Huize xian wenwu zhi*, ed. by Tao Zhengming and Mei Shibing, p. 136.

⁷⁸ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 7, 2b. For a discussion of ritual to welcome the Earthen Ox, see Carole Morgan, *Le tableau du boeuf du printemps: Etude d'une page de l'almanach chinois* (College de France, Institut des hautes etudes chinoises, 1980).

the residents had joined a provincial association or a craft association.⁷⁹ If they stayed outside of the guild halls, immigrants would still remain beyond any form of government control.

7. The walled city in the late Qing dynasty

After copper transport from Dongchuan to Beijing declined, the prosperity of Dongchuan was reduced following the mining business slowdown in the mid-nineteenth century. Dongchuan now lost its economic importance for the Qing state. The situation of Dongchuan was observed by a British businessman and political figure Archibald Little (1838-1907), a long-term resident of China. The book *Across Yunnan: A Journey of Surprises* is a collection of letters he wrote during his travels in western China. He described his observations of Dongchuan when he passed by on his way from Sui-fu (in southern Sichuan province) to Yunnan Fu (Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province):

Tung-chuan [Dongchuan] is a poor mountain city with not half the population of Chao-tung [Zhaotong] and, notwithstanding the rich valley in which it stands, the population has a poverty-stricken aspect, especially in the surrounding villages, while in the city itself we did not notice any good shops, and were told there was not one for the sale of silk, whereas in Szechuan silk is an article of dress common to all but the very poorest. Our missionary friends informed us that all the good land was owned by a few rich gentry, ex-officials, who reside within the city walls and extort half the crop from the wretched farmers for rent. There were once very productive copper mines in the neighbourhood, but these, being under official management, were no longer flourishing.⁸⁰

The walled city of Dongchuan was renovated in 1844. In this renovation, not only were collapsed walls repaired, but the walls were also heightened by three *chi*, and more earth was added to the base of the walls inside to strengthen them. The gun platforms, gates and pavilions were all rebuilt.⁸¹ Only ten years after this renovation, the Hui Muslim rebellion led by Ma Erhua 馬二華 started from Tangdan, and later the Hui people living in the

⁷⁹ Zhang Zhongmin, 'The Civic Role of Sojourner and Trade Associations in Shanghai During the Qing Period', in *Dragons, Tigers and Dogs: Qing Crisis Management and the Boundaries of State Power in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Robert J. Antony and Jane Kate Leonard (Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, no. 114, 2002), pp. 103-128, especially pp. 119-121.

⁸⁰ Archibald Little, *Across Yunnan: A Journey of Surprises* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1910), p. 46.

⁸¹ *DCFZ*, *juan* 1: 1a,b.

Dongchuan area also joined the rebellion. The rebels burned out almost 2,800 shops and houses located outside the west gate of the walled city.⁸² This rebellion was ended only three months later, and after that, Dongchuan had to face repeated Hui rebellions but the walled city was never taken by the Hui rebels.⁸³ Eventually, rebels in the Dongchuan area joined with others in the Hui community, and Dongchuan became an important battle area in the biggest Hui Muslim rebellion of 1860 that spread throughout the entire province of Yunnan.⁸⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the building process of the walled city of Dongchuan and other cities of northeastern Yunnan in the eighteenth century. Dongchuan was transformed from a marginal settlement in Yunnan's hinterland to a crucial city in the eighteenth century for as long as the copper mines flourished. From the first arrangements at the end of the seventeenth century to the stone-walled city built by Cui Naiyong in 1731, the walled city of Dongchuan was formed. Settled on the slopes of Green Screen Mountain, Dongchuan's walled city had an upper part and a lower part, each with a different function. Instead of focusing on general geomantic symbolic patterns or cosmological elements, this chapter has placed the construction of the walled city in a local historical and economic context. During the process of building, local officials such as Cui Naiyong became key figures in local society and tried to connect state and local society through various building projects. As a loyal Qing official, Cui Naiyong viewed himself as an agent representing the Qing state in this remote, small city. Based on his initial design, the stone-walled city of Dongchuan was built and the main buildings connected to local political, economic and cultural life were established. Apart from local officials, rich Han Chinese immigrants were also deeply involved in building up the city. In the mid-

⁸² *DCFYZ*, *juan* 1: 15a-17a.

⁸³ This situation left a deep impression on local people. They later recalled that during the night of the 28th day of the third month in 1856, after dinner, Hui forces started to rob the people and set fire to houses outside the west gate. The southwest wind was strong, and thick black smoke blew into the walled city. All the commoners were crying for help. By the middle of the night, the tower on the wall was almost destroyed. At this desperate moment, suddenly a deity holding a large sword stood on the parapet wall and pointed outside with his sword. Immediately, the wind turned direction and blew the fire backward. The walled city was saved. Everyone believed that the figure had been Emperor Guan, one of the deities worshipped in the local temples. After the rebellion was put down, all the people went to worship him. *DCFYZ*, 1897, *juan* 3: pp. 19b-20b.

⁸⁴ David G. Atwill, *The Chinese Sultanate: Islam, Ethnicity, and the Panthay Rebellion in Southwest China, 1856-1873* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp. 92-96, 110-113.

eighteenth century a new cityscape was created by the Qing government. In the eyes of the compiler of the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, the walled city of Dongchuan by the mid-eighteenth century had developed into a 'metropolis'.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, the old capitals of the indigenous chieftains had vanished and were gradually forgotten. Indeed, the Qing seem to have successfully transformed this 'barbarian' area into their own territory by creating a new city. As the city of Dongchuan was located on one of the few plains in a mountainous area, local people naturally attached importance to the mountains, rivers and roads of the landscape. As we will see in later chapters, the Qing government tried to reframe the landscape of their newly acquired territory by representing it in a different way.

⁸⁵ *DCFZ*, 1761, *xu*, 2b.

Chapter 3 'The Picturesque Empire's Land'? Ten Views of Dongchuan

Introduction

After the walled city was built and imperial institutions were established in Dongchuan, a set of the ten most beautiful views in the surroundings of the walled city was recorded in the local gazetteers. This set of views had been identified by local scholars during the Qing dynasty. These ten views became the main theme in the literature written by these local scholars. The views were given elaborate and delicate names, which were recorded in local gazetteers and in poetry anthologies edited by the local poetry society.

Interest in selecting and describing local best views was not limited to Dongchuan. The practice of selecting best views (*shengjing* 勝景) started in the eleventh century. Here, 'best views' can be explained as scenic spots and viewpoints. Later, this practice of selecting best views spread to every city and town throughout China and East Asia. Normally, 'eight views' (*bajing* 八景) is the standard number of best views for an administrative unit, although there are exceptions consisting of another even number, such as four, six, ten or twelve.

The phenomenon of 'eight views' in Chinese landscape painting has been discussed from the perspective of art history.¹ So far, however, very few studies have treated this topic from the perspective of local Chinese history. There are a few articles about Taiwan, such as Kai-shyh Lin's research on eight views (which he translates as 'eight scenes') in nineteenth-century Yilan, Taiwan. Lin indicates that the selection of 'eight scenes' was based on the aesthetic experiences of local scholars who created a new social and spatial consciousness in order to construct a civilized world. They used the genres of Chinese poetry and landscape painting to project a traditional cosmological order on the newly

¹ See Alfreda Murck, 'Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers by Wang Hung,' in *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, ed. by Wen Fong (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), pp. 213-235 and 'The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Exile,' in *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* (1996), 26:113-144. Richard M. Barnhart, 'Shining Rivers: Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang in Sung Painting,' in *International Colloquium on Chinese Art History, Proceedings: Painting and Calligraphy, Part 1* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1991), pp. 45-95. Kathlyn Liscomb, 'The Eight Views of Beijing': Politics in Literati Art', *Artibus Asiae*, (1988-1989), 49. 1/2: 127-152.

acquired lands in Qing territory.² Lin's article underlines the main argument of this chapter, which focuses on the ten views of Dongchuan.

The main questions in this chapter are about the criteria used: what kinds of sites were chosen as 'scenery'? How and why were the best views selected? Like Lin, I conclude that the criteria for selecting best views are a convergence of political, military, commercial, and geomantic concerns rather than simply beautiful scenery, and that the selection of best views created a discourse of social and spatial consciousness of the elite class which mapped the civilized world. Beyond that, I point out that the selection of best views should be seen in the context of geographical descriptions in the local gazetteers. Also, I maintain that the study of the selection of best views should not be limited to one isolated case such as Yilan in Lin's research, but should be treated in a wider context. The towns of northeastern Yunnan shared similar social, political, economic and even literary considerations since they all experienced the same tension between different cultures of which Han culture was only one more recent addition. So in the final part of this chapter, I focus not only on Dongchuan, but on other cities in northeastern Yunnan as well.

1. The tradition of 'best views'

The earliest record of eight-view series can be found in *Dream Pool Essays* (Mengxi bitan 夢溪筆談) by Shen Gua 沈括 (ca. 1031-1095). He indicates that a famous series of landscape paintings called 'Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang' (*Xiao Xiang bajing tu* 瀟湘八景圖) by Song Di 宋迪 (ca. 1015-1080) got a lot of attention at that time. Song Di was a government official in Changsha 長沙 in Hunan province, and he was especially good at landscape painting.³ His most masterful paintings were eight views of the Xiang River (nowadays in Hunan province): 'Geese Descending to Sandbar' (*pingsha luoyan* 平沙落雁), 'Returning Sails from Distant Shore' (*yuanpu guifan* 遠浦歸帆), 'Mountain Market in Clearing Mist' (*shanshi qinglan* 山市晴嵐), 'River and Sky in Evening Snow' (*jiangtian*

² Kai-shyh Lin 林開世, 'Fengjing de xingcheng he wenming de jianli' 風景的形成和文明的建立: 十九世紀宜蘭的個案, *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology* 台灣人類學刊 (2003), 1/2: 1-38. Song Nanxuan 宋南萱, "Taiwanbajing: cong qingdai dao rizhi shiqi de chuanbian," '台灣八景': 從清代到日治時期的轉變 (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang daxue yishuxue yanjiusuo, unpublished master's thesis, Graduate Institute of Art Studies, National Central University, 2000).

³ On the theme of *Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang* in Chinese painting, see Alfreda Murck and Richard M. Barnhart's publications.

muxue 江天暮雪), 'Autumn Moon on Dongting Lake' (*dongting qiuyue* 洞庭秋月), 'Night Rain on Xiao Xiang' (*xiaoxiang yeyu* 瀟湘夜雨), 'Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple' (*yansi wanzhong* 煙寺晚鐘), and 'Fishing Village in Evening Glow' (*yucun xizhao* 漁村夕照).⁴

Although Song Di's paintings have unfortunately not been preserved, they have drawn a lot of attention since then. Similar sets of best views were painted elsewhere in China as well. And because the theme of 'eight views' was taken up by many other scholars and poets, it became a popular tradition of poetry in many parts of China.

In general, Chinese poetry presents experiences as occurring at a specific place and time. The emotional experience of nature is a facet which was well captured by scholars in the landscape painting genre, a genre that achieved prominence starting in the Song dynasty. Their landscape poetry and painting provide a sense of how they perceived, imagined and constructed nature. And quite often, poetry and painting complemented each other: 'a poem alive with graphic description and a painting full of poetic grace' (*shi zhong you hua, hua zhong you shi* 詩中有畫·畫中有詩). Images of nature play an important role in the writing and painting of scholars, and their concentration on objective images in nature are associated with subjective thoughts and feelings.⁵

Best views should either be beautiful, or be closely intertwined with history or with educational or agricultural achievements. Each of the eight views of Xiao-Xiang has an aesthetic title with four characters that bears a connection to the poem and the painting, such as 'Geese Descending to Sandbar' (*pingsha luoyan* 平沙落雁). The eight views are divided into four pairs, the two paintings of each pair are poetically related. For instance, 'Geese Descending to Sandbar' (*pingsha luoyan* 平沙落雁) and 'Sails Returning from Distant Shore' (*yuanpu guifan* 遠浦歸帆) form one pair dealing with absence and thinking of absent friends, and 'Mountain Market in Clearing Mist' (*shanshi qinglan* 山市晴嵐) and 'River and Sky in Evening Snow' (*jiangtian muxue* 江天暮雪) form another pair. While initially the eight views were presented in eight separate scrolls, the form gradually turned from scroll paintings with panoramic scope into a bound volume that had one view per page. The dominant type of paintings and books up to the Song

⁴ Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, ca. 1086-1093, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* 夢溪筆談校正, comp. by Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (Shanghai: Gujichubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, p. 549.

⁵ For more discussion about objective images in nature and subjective thoughts and feelings in Chinese literature, see Hans H. Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

dynasty was horizontal or vertical scrolls made of silk or paper. During the Song dynasty, following a new type of bookbinding, people started to make paintings as single pieces and assemble them as a number of folded or unfolded sheets of paper together, which was called an album (*ceye* 冊頁). Later, in the Ming and Qing dynasties, this album genre became very popular. This new development in bookbinding brought with it a serial presentation of landscape paintings.⁶

Meanwhile, following this development, the image and poetry of eight views started to appear in local gazetteers since the Ming dynasty. Selecting and printing the images of best views in local gazetteers became very popular and spread to almost all cities and towns in late imperial China. Normally, the images of eight views are put together with other images, such as a map of the territory showing the layout of the walled city and its main buildings, in the first section of the local gazetteer. And the poems about the eight views, written by local officials and scholars at different times, are usually put into a chapter called 'collected local literature' (*yiwenzhi* 藝文志). While the painters of the eight views remain anonymous in the local gazetteers, the identity of the poets is usually mentioned. (Fig. 3.4)

Because in imperial China almost every educated person composed poetry, the number of poets was remarkably large. However, only a few poems were selected for inclusion in local gazetteers. Apart from the literary talent reflected in the poems, the most important reason for selecting a specific poem was whether it described a local scene that was officially recognized in that city or town. So the theme of local best views was the theme of most of the poetry collected in local gazetteers. Such poetry was published in local gazetteers for promotional reasons. It emphasized the peaceful, beautiful and harmonious nature of local scenery and strengthened consciousness of the achievements of local government. Therefore, in the context of local gazetteers, the theme of eight views was not just an expression of the personal feelings of scholars and literati. Over time, original artistic creation became less important, and the genre

⁶ Normally, an album has an even number of pages, between eight and sixteen. And a painting on one page corresponds to the poem (written in calligraphy) on the next page. On the history of bookbinding, see Ma Heng 馬衡, 'Zhongguo shuji zhidu bianqian zhi yanjiu' 中國書籍制度變遷志研究, *Tushuguan xue jikan* (1926): 199-213; Li Yaonan 李耀南, 'Zhongguo shuzhuang kao' 中國書裝考, *Tushuguan xue jikan* (1930), 4.2: 207-216; Edward Martiniq, *Chinese Traditional Bookbinding: A Study of Its Evolution and Techniques* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1983); *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). On folding albums, see Jerome Silbergeld, *Chinese Painting Style: Media, Methods, and Principles of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), pp. 13-14.

became transformed into a rigid format that had to be included in local gazetteers independent of the quality of the poems.

Although the descriptions of best views were often based partly on aesthetic considerations and literary conventions, scholars' poems and paintings included in the gazetteers still needed to connect with the natural landscape that actually existed. Their writings in the gazetteers provide a sense of how these scholars perceived place and nature, and the descriptions of the best views clarify their significance in the context of local society. In new territories of the Qing Empire such as Dongchuan, the selection and description of best views might not have had the same significance as in well-developed and 'civilized' areas of the empire with their long literary tradition. Compared to more developed and civilized areas such as the Central Plain and the middle and lower regions of the Yangzi River, the landscape in southwestern China is characterized primarily by steep and lofty peaks and rocks. For people of that time, these wild, 'primitive' views were very different from scenery in the well-developed and civilized areas, and had rarely been noticed by earlier scholars.⁷

In general, narratives in the local literature of northeastern Yunnan all point out that the main impression of landscapes here is that they are wilder than in other parts of China. The main reason given for this is that, firstly, there are not so many historical sites in this area, and secondly, there is no famous literary record of these beautiful landscapes. The description of Qiaojia's landscape in the local gazetteer of Qiaojia in the first half of the twentieth century is a typical description of northeastern Yunnan's landscape. The compiler is apologetic, stating that the process of civilization had started here far later than in other areas because Qiaojia was located in the borderlands. Therefore there are not so many historical sites that deserve to be recorded; only Jinsha River in this area is well known. Still, he thinks that the landscape here is majestic and awe-inspiring. He is sorry that almost no famous scholars had written poems about them, with the result that these best views remained unknown to others.⁸

Similar descriptions appeared in the local gazetteers of northeastern Yunnan since the eighteenth century and this impression of the landscape of this area continues up to

⁷ The appreciation of scenic spots in developed cities was created by urban elites based on popular venues for their social gatherings and leisure-time touring. The most important recent research on this topic can be found in Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*; Si-yen Fei, *Negotiating urban space*, especially chapter 3, 'Imaging Nanjing: A Genealogy', pp. 124-187.

⁸ *Qiaojia xianzhi gao* 巧家縣誌稿, comp. by Lu Chongren 陸崇仁 and Tang Zuo 湯祚, 1942, Beijing, Guojia tushuguan, juan 2: pp. 37a -37b.

today.⁹ Since there exists no literary tradition of writing poetry about local landscapes in Yunnan, most descriptions of landscape stem directly from local officials and the compilers of gazetteers themselves. Very few among the social elite here were interested in writing such poems. Most of the local officials (appointed by the central government) were not native to the area but came from other provinces, and later left the area for their next assignment to another place. The way of writing about the local landscape in the poetry and essays of these officials was based on their own experience in their hometown or in cities they had stayed in before. For the representation of the local landscape of Dongchuan and other areas in northeastern Yunnan, a small group of local officials and scholars who discovered and defined the local landscape in their writings became important. And their essays and poems dominated knowledge of this local landscape. Who were the local officials that selected the best views and how did they understand the landscape in the new territory? How did they choose a set of scenes to represent the best views of the area? In what way is their selection described in the local gazetteers? And what influence did these descriptions have on later periods? How did they change the way local people thought about the landscape in their place of residence? Based on the case study of Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan, all these questions are treated in the rest of this chapter.

2. Perceiving the ten views of Dongchuan

The ten best views of Dongchuan are recorded in the 1761 gazetteer with their poetic names as well as their geographical locations. The poetic names are 1. 'Spring Dawn at Green Screen Mountain' (*cuiping chunxiao* 翠屏春曉); 2. 'Evening Glow over Golden Bell Mountain' (*jinzhong xizhao* 金鐘夕照); 3. 'Midnight Moon in the Dragon Pool' (*longtan yeyue* 龍潭夜月); 4. 'Cloud Formations over Rainbow Mountain' (*yinhong yunzhen* 飲虹雲陣); 5. 'Peach Blossoms at Wulongmu Village' (*longmu taohua* 龍募桃花); 6. 'Woodcutters' Song from Stone Drum Mountain' (*shigu qiaoge* 石鼓樵歌); 7. 'Willow Waves at the Hot Spring' (*wenquan liulang* 溫泉柳浪); 8. 'Fisherman's Flute from Water Capital Village' (*shuicheng yudi* 水城漁笛); 9. 'Remnants of Snow on Black Dragon

⁹ Yanjing xianzhi 鹽津縣誌, comp. by Chen Yide 陳一得, 1948, in *ZTJZ*, *juan 3*, pp.1682-1683.

Mountain' (*qinglong canxue* 青龍殘雪); 10. 'Autumn Harvest at Creeper Sea' (*manhai qiucheng* 蔓海秋成).¹⁰

Locating the ten views of Dongchuan according to their poetic names, the ten scenes can be recognized as the following geographical locations: Green Screen Mountain, Golden Bell Mountain, the Dragon Pool that lies at the foot of Rainbow Mountain, Rainbow Mountain, Wulongmu Village, Stone Drum Mountain, the hot spring, Water Capital Village, Black Dragon Mountain, Creeper Sea, all of which are marked on the 1761 map of Dongchuan, and nowadays can also be found on Google maps.¹¹(see Fig 3.1 and Fig. 3.2)

The description of ten views of Dongchuan was initiated in 1734 during Yongzheng's reign. In the spring of that year, the Dongchuan prefect Cui Naiyong invited a group of local officials and scholars to visit Black Dragon Mountain and Black Dragon Temple. It seems to have been a joyful meeting. Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, according to his own words, was inspired to write ten poems on the top of Black Dragon Mountain. These poems, he says, represent what he saw while standing on Black Dragon Mountain. Moreover, he also describes the well-known landscape such as peaceful and magnificent Wumeng Mountains and Jinsha River in northeastern Yunnan which are actually beyond his views on Black Dragon Mountain.¹² His ten poems do not correspond exactly to the ten views of Dongchuan of later times, but Black Dragon Mountain, Creeper Sea, and Green Screen Mountain are all already mentioned. Normally, in literature written by local officials in this period, the content of their poems is determined by the wish to emphasize how peaceful and beautiful is the landscape of the area they administer, as evidence of the local government's political achievements.

Later, the meeting on Black Dragon Mountain became a tradition for local officials and scholars. They took Cui's ten poems with their ten rhymes (*shilü* 十律) as an example to create ten new poems. In 1735, one year after Cui visited Black Dragon Mountain, the Huize county magistrate Zu Chengyou 祖成佑, who had accompanied Cui the year before, came to this same place again. He also wrote ten poems according to the rhyme scheme Cui used. In Zu's poems six of the ten views of Dongchuan from later

¹⁰ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: pp. 22b-23a, pp. 48-49. I assigned the numbers according to the order of the ten views as listed in the gazetteer.

¹¹ There are fifteen maps in the 1761 DCFZ. Here I use the first one, 'yudi quantu' 輿地全圖, in DCFZ, 1761, *tu*: pp. 1b-2a.

¹² Cui Naiyong 崔乃鏞, 'Yongzheng jiyuan chunri', DCFXZ, 1897, *juan* 3: pp. 21b-23b. It also lists the names of nine local officials who participated in this tour.

times are mentioned, namely Black Dragon Mountain, Water Capital Village, Golden Bell Mountain, Creeper Sea, Green Screen Mountain, and Rainbow Mountain.¹³

The 'ten views of Dongchuan' were officially recorded as the set of best views in the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer. In the same gazetteer, the section on local literature includes ten poems about the ten views of Dongchuan written by the prefect Fang Gui 方桂, which suggests that Fang Gui may have been the first person to select the definitive ten views of Dongchuan and bestow on them their poetic names.

Fang Gui was transferred from Lin'an 臨安 prefecture of Yunnan province to Dongchuan prefecture in 1757. His biography can be found in *Qingshigao* 清史稿, which shows that Fang was not just a minor official in a remote area, but one of a small number of local officials who received a brief biography in the Qing dynasty standard history. This is due mainly to the fact that his father was Fang Xian 方顯, who was an important local official during the reform period in the early Qing, when indigenous chieftains were removed from power. Fang Xian came from Baling 巴陵 in Hunan 湖南 province, and was promoted to become prefect of Zhenyuan 鎮遠 in Guizhou province. During the same time of reform of northeastern Yunnan, E'ertai was carrying out a similar reform in the rebellious indigenous communities of Guizhou. Fang Xian became one of the assistants of E'ertai. Between 1726 and 1729, Fang Xian led his army to successfully suppress many rebel groups in indigenous communities of Guizhou. In 1738 during Qianlong's reign, he was promoted to chief secretary (*buzhengci* 布政使) of Sichuan province and governor (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Sichuan province a year later. Then he was transferred to Guangxi province as provincial governor. Fang Xian's main assignment was to deal with the local indigenous communities in Sichuan and Guangxi provinces.¹⁴ As the oldest son of Fang Xian, Fang Gui joined his father during the battles with indigenous forces in Guizhou. After his father died, he was a magistrate in Guangdong province for a brief time before being transferred to Yunnan to become the prefect of Lin'an 臨安 prefecture, and from there coming to Dongchuan in 1755. He left Dongchuan four years later when his mother died.¹⁵

¹³ Zu Chengyou 祖承佑, 'Qianlong yuannian chunyou qinglong si yi junbo cuifu jun yuan yun' 乾隆元年春遊青龍寺依郡伯崔府君元韻 *DCFZ*, 1897, *juan* 3: pp. 23b-25a.

¹⁴ *QSG*, v. 35, *juan* 308, pp. 10582-10583.

¹⁵ After Fang Gui left Dongchuan and spent three years mourning the death of his mother, he was promoted to *taidao* 台道 in Ningshao 寧紹 of Zhejiang 浙江 province in 1768. However, later he was accused of corruption and was banished far away to Yili 伊犁 in Xinjiang 新疆 province. Finally, he was sent back to his hometown and died right

Although Fang Gui stayed in Dongchuan for only four years, he actually had great influence on the official representation of Dongchuan because he edited a new Dongchuan gazetteer published in 1761. In the preface to this gazetteer he writes that he has stayed now in Dongchuan for half a year and has surveyed the whole of his prefecture, which is located at the strategic defensive juncture of the three provinces Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan, where rich natural resources are available, specifically five kinds of metals. He then turns to describe the huge transformation of this area after the reform of the indigenous chieftain system dozens of years earlier. A massive influx of people moved into this area and it became rich and populous; the land became fertile and well cultivated. The currency system and institutions of Dongchuan all proved Dongchuan to be a metropolitan city within Yunnan province. Therefore, Fang Gui was not satisfied anymore with the old version of the Dongchuan gazetteer, for it only covered very limited content. He states that there was a continuous improvement in the past thirty years, which actually form Dongchuan's heyday. Apparently, in his view, Dongchuan had already changed into 'a new metropolis in Yunnan province' (*diansheng yi daduhui* 滇省一大都會) resembling the developed cities of the Central Plain (*zhongtu* 中土). According to him, the description in the old gazetteers did not fit this new landscape. So, a new gazetteer was needed to reflect this new situation of prosperity. For this purpose, Fang Gui decided to collect materials widely. Thereupon he presented his new gazetteer, consisting of twenty volumes, and claimed it was a truthful reflection of the real circumstances of Dongchuan. He is proud and asserts that people who want to research Dongchuan will have a better understanding of it once they open this gazetteer. He uses a nice metaphor, that one can touch this book and deeply feel that this savage and wild land that used to be crude, suddenly became a flourishing area to match the famous capital cities of the empire.¹⁶

Fang Gui's personal experience of involvement in the reform of the indigenous chieftain system gave him a very strong motivation to reshape local society, which used to be considered a 'barbarian area'. One of his tools was the transformation of the landscape of Dongchuan into a new landscape that resembled the cities of China's Central Plain.

In the new gazetteer, the selection of ten views of Dongchuan had reached its

after that in 1772.

¹⁶ DCFZ, 1761. *Ba* 跋: pp. 2a -4a.

definitive form. In the preface to his poems Fang Gui explains why he wanted to present these ten views. He says that after he researched the poems written by Cui, he wanted to imitate Cui's style. When he passed Green Screen Mountain, he was impressed by the amazingly beautiful landscape. Then he created ten poems and assigned them the ten names listed earlier in this chapter. He writes that after the remaining descendants of the Wumeng (indigenous people) were driven away by imperial order, the local government made a great effort to gradually change Dongchuan in many ways. He boasts that the old black clouds surrounding the mountains are all gone, new canals are flowing, beautiful houses, pavilions, and chambers face each other, surrounded by green trees and red flowers. He indicates that these new views of Dongchuan are just like the 'territory of the central part of the country resembling beautiful brocade' (*zhonghua jinxiu* 中華錦繡).¹⁷

So the process of establishing the ten views of Dongchuan that began with Cui Naiyong writing ten poems on top of Black Dragon Mountain was completed by Fang Gui, who made the final selection. After that, the writing of poems or essays associated with the ten views became a local tradition for scholars and officials.¹⁸ Fang Gui was a key figure in the process of establishing the ten views of Dongchuan. The titles and poems of the ten views of Dongchuan indicate that this local official intended to describe this newly imperial territory by using familiar literary conventions and his own aesthetic experience. These poems follow the pattern of descriptions of local landscapes in other areas, especially those of developed and 'civilized' cities.¹⁹ In their poems, the scholars and officials of Dongchuan connected the local landscape with landscapes in better-

¹⁷ Fang Gui, 'Dongchuan shijing bing yin' 東川十景並引, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20b: p. 69a.

¹⁸ In 1882 of the Guangxu reign, Cai Yuanbian 蔡元變, who was prefect of Dongchuan at that time, followed his predecessors by writing poems about the ten views. However, the real meaning of the name Wulongmu had already been lost by that time. In Cai Yuanbian's day a new pagoda was built on top of Saddle Mountain. When he went to Wulongmu, which was located at the foot of Saddle Mountain, he did not understand the meaning of 'longmu 龍募'. To him, it was a very strange name. He thought that since this village was embraced by multiple hills, it would make more sense to change the character 募 to 幕, which means screen. Moreover, he mentioned that he had not seen any peach trees here, so he did not understand why there was a view called 'Peach Blossoms at Longmu Village' (*longmu taohua* 龍募桃花). Although he suggested that peach trees should be planted here to create a nice atmosphere, he corrected the name of the view to 'Pagoda at Longmu Village' (*longmu futu* 龍募浮屠), which seemed to him much more appropriate. Cai Yuanbian 蔡元變, 'You qinglong si ganshi shuhuai cheng shilü ci qian taishou Cui Bo'ao yuan yun' 遊青龍寺感事書懷率成十律次前太守崔伯璣元韻 *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: p. 25b. For more discussion about Wulongmu Village, see Chapter 2.

¹⁹ Other essays and poems about the ten views in Dongchuan gazetteers include: Feng Yucong 馮譽聰, 'Zhang Zhongliang canrong, Gu Mingxuan shourong zhaoyin qinglong si' 張仲良參戎、顧名軒守戎招飲青龍寺 (it includes ten poems that follow the rhyme of Cui's poems. It also lists the names of eleven local officials who visited Black Dragon Temple together), *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 19b -21a; Song Peihou 宋培厚, 'Dongchuan zashi' 東川雜詩, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: p. 27a; Feng Qingbang 馮慶榜, 'Dongchuan zashi' 東川雜詩, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: p. 27a-27b; Xie Hongzhao 謝鴻詔, 'Cuipingchunxiao' 翠屏春曉, 'Jinzhongxizhao' 金鐘夕照, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 28a-29a; Shi Guanghua 史光華, 'Dongchuan zashi' 東川雜詩, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: p. 29a; Xie Jiashu 謝家樹, 'Dongchuan zashi' 東川雜詩, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 29b -30a; Zhang Rui 張瑞, 'Dongchuan zashi' 東川雜詩, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: p. 30a.

known areas of the country. By using this unifying concept, they represented the newly acquired territory of Dongchuan with the peaceful landscapes that had belonged to the empire for a long time.

3. Civilization: the hot spring and Creeper Sea

Based on the order of the ten views as described in the 1761 gazetteer, and as I have marked them on the maps (see Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2), the route for touring all ten locations started at the south gate of the walled city, going further south to Green Screen Mountain, there turning to the west, passing Golden Bell Mountain, Rainbow Mountain, Stone Drum Mountain, Saddle Mountain, and the hot spring, then turning north to Water Capital Village and Black Dragon Mountain, then heading south to Creeper Sea, and from there to the north gate of the walled city. It seems that the ten views of Dongchuan separated the nearby surroundings of the walled city from the outer area. In the ten views of Dongchuan, the hot spring lies the furthest to the west, marking the outermost border of the nearby surroundings of the walled city. Connected with nobility and purity, the hot spring in my view should be seen as a symbolic landmark dividing the nearby surroundings of the walled city from the outer area.

According to the description in the local gazetteers, the hot spring was located thirty *li* west of the walled city. It lies at the foot of Yunnong Mountain 雲弄山 with its sharp peak. On top of this mountain there was a clear pool where according to local legend mandarin ducks (*yuanyang* 鴛鴦) gathered.²⁰ The name 'Willow Waves at the Hot Spring' comes from a story telling that Cui Naiyong planted the willow trees around the hot spring and built a pavilion and guest rooms. Because of this, the area became a beautiful and relaxing place during Yongzheng's reign.²¹ In Fang Gui's poem included with the ten views, the Dongchuan's hot spring was even connected to Hua Qing chi 華清池, an important imperial hot spring in Xi'an since the Tang dynasty.²² According to local scholars, by the nineteenth century no sign remained of the willow trees and buildings. Only recently was the inscription on the cliff behind the hot spring discovered, eight big characters in beautiful calligraphy, 'Spirit Cave and Immortals' (*ling ku xian gao* 靈窟仙

²⁰ DCFZ, 1761.juan 4: p. 6a.

²¹ DCFZ, 1735, p. 7; It can also be found in DCFXZ, 1897, juan 3: pp. 17a-17b.

²² Fang Gui, 'Dongchuan shijing bing yin' 東川十景並引, DCFZ, 1761.juan 20: pp. 71a -71b.

膏) and 'Special Beauty and Exotic Circumstances' (*bie xiu qi jing* 別秀奇境) and the inscription says the big characters all were written by Cui Naiyong.²³

Regardless of whether these characters were really written by Cui Naiyong, the hot spring apparently left a deep impression on people who passed by this area. The hot water, like other bathing water whether freshwater or saltwater, was excellent for both physical and spiritual cleaning, which had been common practice among scholars. Confucius himself sanctioned bathing of groups of young men in rivers, particularly in connection with the purification ceremonies of springtime.²⁴

Apparently, the hot spring drew attention and was described as a beautiful and peaceful scene that seems to have been the favourite place of local officials and scholars of Dongchuan. Apart from their fondness for hot water, local officials and scholars of Dongchuan also liked to compare the Dongchuan spring with the hot spring at An'ning 安寧, located west of Kunming, which was known as the best hot spring in the Empire (*Tianxiadiyiquan* 天下第一泉). The hot spring at An'ning was discovered and promoted by Yang Shen 楊慎, a famous scholar in Yunnan during the late Ming dynasty. A local scholar in Dongchuan, Zhu Song 朱松, insisted that the hot spring in Dongchuan was much softer and more peaceful than the hot spring in An'ning, and that the landscape along the path that twists and turns up to the hot spring had its own winding and circling beauty. The scholar sighed over the location of the hot spring, for he thought that if it had been situated in the more developed Central Plain, it would have gained a better reputation. And poems would have been written by many more scholars astonished by its peculiar beauty. However, this hot spring was lying abandoned and hidden in this remote area where no great scholars visited.²⁵ Similarly, another local official of Dongchuan, Cai Yuanxie 蔡元燮, indicated that this hot spring was concealed in uncultivated woods and was frequented only by woodcutters, herdsmen, savage people (*yeren* 野人), travelling women (*younü* 遊女), 'barbarians' and the like. So Cai Yuanxie was sad about the misfortune of this clear hot spring that had been misused for such a long period.²⁶

It seems that, even though the hot spring was located in a remote area, it still got

²³ 'Wenquan moya shike' 溫泉摩崖石刻, *Huize xian wenwu zhi*, ed. by Tao Zhengming and Mei Shibing, pp. 128-129.

²⁴ Hot springs are widespread throughout China. On bathing customs and their relation to springs, see Edward H. Schafer, 'The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriated Clear Palace', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, (1956), 76. 2: 57-82.

²⁵ Zhu Song 朱松, 'Dongchuan Wenquan ji' 東川溫泉記, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20: pp. 39a-40b.

²⁶ Cai Yuanbian, 'Chongxiu wenquan yu ting ji' 重修溫泉浴亭記, *DCFZ*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 4a-6a.

some people's attention because of its beauty and purity.²⁷ The scholars who wrote in the Dongchuan gazetteers not only expressed their personal feelings in describing the situation of the hot spring, but also emphasized that the hot spring should be a 'civilized' site instead of a 'barbarian' place. As a civilized landscape near the walled city, it marked the boundary between civilization and the wild mountains and 'barbarian' areas to the west.

From the 1761 map, it can be seen that the hot spring was located between the copper mines and the nearby surroundings of the walled city (Fig 3.1). Moreover, the hot spring was the dividing line between two different geographical situations. The area to the west of the hot spring was full of high mountains and lofty peaks. The road between the copper-mining area and the walled city was actually very rough and difficult to pass, especially the first part between the copper mines and the hot spring. According to the official records, transport teams, after coming out from the mining area, first had to pass the dangerous waters of the auspiciously named Small River (xiaojiang 小江), and then had to face the most difficult part of the route. The distance between Small River and the hot spring was fifty *li*. Along the way, mountains on each side of the road rose steeply like walls. The road between the mountains was very narrow, sandy, and full of stones. In addition, it rained quite often and a dense fog (*zhang* 瘴²⁸) rose in the summer and the autumn.²⁹ The copper carriers, merchants and travellers all suffered from this tough situation, which was witnessed by an official, Zhang Heng 張恒, while travelling from Xundian to Dongchuan.³⁰

Coming from the west, after passing over Yunnong Mountain and the hot spring, transport teams and other travellers would reach the valley (*bazi* 壩子³¹) and then the

²⁷ Other essays and poems about the hot spring in Dongchuan gazetteers include: Liao Ying 廖瑛, 'Dongchuan wenquan shuo' 東川溫泉說, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20: pp. 42a-43b; Yi Ning 義寧, 'Wenquan' 溫泉, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20: pp. 65a-65b; Anonymous (*qianren* 前人), 'Dongchuan Wenquan', *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20: pp. 72b-73a; Jian Nianxian 蹇念咸, 'Fuxiu wenquan ji' 復修溫泉記, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 13b-15a; Feng Yucong 馮譽聰, 'Wuyue shijiu ri xie shu zhong zhu you you wenquan' 五月十九日偕署中諸友游溫泉, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 18b-19a; Li Qinyong 李慶鏞, 'Yunnong shan wenquan he yuqiao xiantai yuanyun' 雲弄山溫泉和兩樵憲臺原韻, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 24a-24b; Li Chonghua 李重華, 'Yunnong shan wenquan' 雲弄山溫泉, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 27a-27b; Liu Xiangyun 劉翔運, 'Yunnongshan wenquan' 雲弄山溫泉, *DCFZX*, 1897, *juan* 4: pp. 27b-28a.

²⁸ Zhang 瘴 is a typical 'bad air' in southwest China which may come from gas rising from wetlands and which is conducive to the spread of malaria. For more discussion of malaria in southwest China, see David A. Bello, 'To Go Where No Han Could Go for Long: Malaria and the Qing Construction of Ethnic Administrative Space in Frontier Yunnan', *Modern China*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Jul, 2005), pp. 283-317.

²⁹ 'ZYSZG', p. 574. (QL 3/5/30)

³⁰ Zhang Heng 張恒, 'Yili di lu ji' 以禮堤路記, *DCFZ*, 1735, p. 52.

³¹ *Bazi* 壩子 is a typical term in southwest China referring to the fertile valleys between mountains or along rivers, which normally are the agricultural and economic centres.

walled city. Another difficulty they had to face was muddy ground, especially after a heavy summer rain. One of the biggest muddy grounds was Creeper Sea, which was located just outside the walled city (see Fig 3.1 and 3.2).

According to the 1735 Dongchuan gazetteer, Creeper Sea was about twenty *li* in length from west to east, and about ten *li* in width from north to south. Prolific reeds and water caltrop (a type of water chestnut resembling black buffalo horns) grew in and around the lake, which is the reason for its name 'Creeper Sea'. The parts of the reeds under water rotted and intertwined. People could walk on it but it kept swaying because it was not steady. A bamboo pole almost one *zhang* 丈 and five *chi* 尺 long, inserted in the lake, could still not reach the bottom. During the rainy season in the fifth and sixth months, this area would rise to become like a lake and the water overflowed, causing the surrounding farmland to suffer from flooding.³²

In the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, it is mentioned that Creeper Sea was a low-lying area providing the indigenous community with fish and shrimp. But when the new walled city was built, the problem of flooding was obviously a danger for the people living inside the walls. The Qing government encouraged the cultivation of this area since there was not much farmland in Dongchuan. Since 1728 during Yongzheng's reign, local officials gradually transformed part of this area into farmland by digging canals to drain away the water of Creeper Sea into the Yili River.³³ The 1761 gazetteer says: 'Since then, the water country (*shuixiang* 水鄉) has been turned into fertile fields forever. The local people used to call this area 'Autumn Wind at Creeper Sea' (*manhai qiufeng* 蔓海秋風). Now the name has been changed to 'Autumn Harvest at Creeper Sea' (*manhai qiucheng* 蔓海秋成), which is based on the truth (*jishi* 紀實).'³⁴ This passage clearly shows that the ten views are part of a Qing government cultural project to transform the wild, indigenous landscape of the Dongchuan area into a typical Han Chinese farming landscape. In 1761 Creeper Sea was given a new, more literary name, Zuoying Lake 濯纓湖, which means 'washing the tassel of the hat in clean water'. This name comes from Mengzi 孟子 and symbolizes the transcendence of vulgarity and the preservation of personal integrity and nobility.³⁵

³² DCFZ, 1735, p. 6.

³³ 'Xin he' 新河, DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4, p. 12b; Yi Ning 義寧, 'Chongxiu longtan shenci ji' 重修龍潭神祠記, DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 20 b, pp. 8b-9b.

³⁴ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: pp. 21b-22b.

³⁵ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Mengzi yi zhu* 孟子譯註, (Beijing: Zhonghua shujū, 1960), p. 170.

The result of this transformation could still be observed by Archibald Little in the late nineteenth century:

On reaching the bottom we found ourselves upon the edge of paddy-fields, the rice being grown right up to the limestone rock; across these our way led to the city, where we were to repose a couple days before going further....The plain, or more correctly, 'hai-tse' [Haizi 海子], of Tung-chuan [Dongchuan] we found to be still in part un-drained marsh; it and the paddy-fields, reclaimed from it, being intersected by drainage canals flowing between high tree-planted dykes, with a practicable pathway, about 18 inches wide, along the top. The high road traversing the valley thus meanders between paddy-fields and swamps, the remains of the old 'hai-tse' or lake, are reached. These drainage canals provide water intercommunication to the small villages nestling on their banks, and we noticed many scows conveying loads of peat to the back doors of the houses. The population were all busily occupied planting out the young rice in the flooded fields, this work here, as generally in Yunnan, being performed by women; and it was pitiful to see them stumping about in the slush with their tightly-bound, mutilated feet; yet they were singing at their work, happy to earn sixty iron cash per day, for what is eminently skilled labour.³⁶

Farming activity in Creeper Sea and in the area at the foot of the mountains around the walled city is also reflected in the descriptions of some of the ten views. For instance, several of the ten views were situated between the hot spring and the walled city -- Dragon Pool, Rainbow Mountain, and Stone Drum Mountain. The descriptions of these mountains all mention praying for rain during a period of drought (see Fig 3.2). Rainbow Mountain lay three *li* outside of the walled city. At the foot of the mountain, there was a spring coming out named Dragon Pool. Local officials built a dragon shrine near it around 1734. During a period of drought, a worship service to pray for rain was held here.³⁷ Stone Drum Mountain was located ten *li* outside of the walled city. It lay to the west of Yili River and opposite to Saddle Mountain. Among the many white stones on this mountain, there was a stone about five *chi* in length, two *chi* in width, and one *chi* in thickness. It was said that when people beat this stone drum during a drought, it would rain.³⁸ These descriptions of praying for rain all indicate the necessity of rain, which is indeed indispensable to farming.³⁹ Little gives further details of the difficulties of travel by road and of farming:

³⁶ Little, *Across Yunnan*, p.45.

³⁷ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: p. 4a.

³⁸ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: p. 4a.

³⁹ For more discussion of dragon cults in northeastern Yunnan, see Chapter 4.

The narrow valley was well cultivated with paddy and maize, water being drawn off from the river into side irrigating channels and the river itself being endyked in places with solid stone embankments. Where the river impinged upon the valley walls, forming cliffs, these had, as usual, to be surmounted by steep up and down paths, which our ponies, now accustomed to the rough foothold, negotiated without difficulty. The hill slopes exhibited patches of purple shale alternating with jointed limestone. At one point in the valley, a river of clear water gushed forth from under the rock-wall, and thus we had the spectacle of two rivers flowing down the same valley, each on its own side, one of clear and one of muddy water.⁴⁰

I propose that an important criterion for choosing the best views was to show evidence of the Qing's civilizing project in this remote area inhabited by indigenous people. In the ten views of Dongchuan, 'Willow Waves at the Hot Spring' and 'Autumn Harvest at Creeper Sea' are the best examples of views that display the new civilized atmosphere which was promoted by local officials and literati. In that sense, the description of best views was not only used as a proper literary genre to appreciate local scenic sites, but also redefined the frontier landscape and therefore represented an important political achievement of the local government. Apart from the literary perspective, geographical factors also played an important role in the selection of the ten views, as discussed in the next section.

4. The ten views, roads and landmarks

Although the selection of the ten views is closely related to the personal interests of the local officials and scholars who chose them, the ten views should be treated in the context of local geographical writings. Besides being the main topic of poems and essays written by local officials and literati, the ten views are also mentioned in the section on 'mountains and waters' (*shanshui* 山水) of local gazetteers, which reflect more geographical observation and less literary interests.

In saying so, I want to emphasize that the 'mountains and waters' in the text should be treated as a subjective observation instead of as a mere objective geographical condition as in most of the literature on Chinese historical geography. Though people may not know the exact geographical facts about the landscape of the city or area they

⁴⁰ Little, *Across Yunnan*, pp. 48-49.

live in, everyone has his own personal image of these places, some parts may be very clear to him, other parts easily ignored. The image of landscape is a combination of the real environment and personal knowledge. When inspecting the relevant descriptions of local landscapes in the gazetteers of late imperial China, these should not be treated as simply representing objective outside nature, but also as reflecting the subjective understanding and observation of local scholars. Therefore, images or descriptions of the landscape should not just be conceived as a mere presentation of the environment at that time, but also as how people perceived or imagined the landscape.

Descriptions of the mountains and waters of Dongchuan can be found in historical and geographical records on southwestern China since the third century, such as Tanglang Mountain discussed in Chapter 1. However, these descriptions of the landscape of Dongchuan are very one-sided and incomplete. The first detailed description of local mountains and waters is included in the 1735 gazetteer of Dongchuan, and this was much expanded in the 1761 gazetteer of Dongchuan. In the following table made by me based on the 1761 gazetteer, the mountains and waters of Dongchuan are listed according to type, number, and location with respect to the walled city⁴¹:

⁴¹ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: pp. 2a-21b.

	N	NE	W	NW	S	SW	E	SE
Mountains (shan 山)	3	1	9	17	2	6	1	4
Peaks (feng 峰)	1			4				
Rock (yanshi 岩石)		1	3	2		1	1	
Hillside (po 坡)			7		4		1	
River (jiang 江)			2	2		1	1	
River (he 河)	3		9	4	8			
Stream (xi 溪)		1				2		
Spring (quan 泉)	1				1	1		
Valley stream (jian 涧)	1		7	2	2	1	4	
Water (shui 水)			1		1			
Channel (gou 沟)	2	1	6	8	1	1	2	
Cave (dong 洞)	2		4		1	1	1	
Pool (tan 潭)			1		1			
Weir (yan 堰)		1	1	2				
Pond (tang 塘)				2			1	
Dam (di 堤)			1	1				
Gully (jian 涧)	2							
Other	1				1			
Total	16	5	51	44	22	14	12	4

In short, the east side of Dongchuan, which is just as mountainous as the other three sides, is neglected by the compiler of the gazetteer, while the west and north sides are the main focus. The same neglect shows up in the selection of the ten views of Dongchuan in the same gazetteer. Apart from Green Screen Mountain in the south, and Creeper Sea, Black Dragon Mountain, and Water Capital Village in the north, the other six views are all located in the west. Clearly, the east side was neglected in the selection of the ten views (see Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2). The ten views in fact correspond to the

'mountains and waters' that were recorded in the 1761 gazetteer. The views that were chosen for description in the local gazetteer were the most important geographic locations based on economic, political and social considerations, rather than for the beauty of the natural scenery.

In the political sense, the selection of the ten views corresponds to the larger border issues mentioned in Chapter 1. The Qing government considered the areas northwest of Dongchuan, including the Liang Mountain area, to be the most dangerous indigenous region of the southwest. It was in these areas that the fiercest 'barbarians' were living. Dongchuan had a key position for protecting Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, which was south of Dongchuan. So the west and the north sides of Dongchuan naturally became a major concern of the Qing government.

This situation is recorded in the section of the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer entitled 'strategic situation' (*xingshi* 形勢). Here it says that to the west and to the east, Dongchuan borders Sichuan and Guizhou provinces. Dongchuan is described as corresponding to Zhaotong and Ludian in the north, and as closely related to Weining in Guizhou and mutually dependent on Ningyuan 寧遠 in Sichuan. It is said to form the frontier with barbarian territory and to be a strategic location that needs to be controlled.⁴²

We have seen that, because of its location, Dongchuan was considered to be an important area for the defence of Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province, located south of Dongchuan. Being at a higher altitude than the capital Kunming, Dongchuan formed, as it were, the north gate of the capital. As such, Dongchuan during the eighteenth century was considered to be the most important barrier protecting the capital of Yunnan. Since the areas to the north and west of Dongchuan had formerly been a 'den of insurgent barbarian tribes' (*yiku* 夷窟)⁴³, these areas became the main focus of local and provincial officials.

These strategic considerations are relevant to the selection of one of the ten views of Dongchuan 'Spring Dawn at Green Screen Mountain'. In the description of the local gazetteer, Green Screen Mountain is the main mountain (*zhenshan* 鎮山 or *zhushan* 主山)

⁴² DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: p. 3b.

⁴³ 'Den of insurgent barbarian tribes' (*yiku* 夷窟) is a word describing an area of indigenous communities which was used quite often in the local gazetteers of northeastern Yunnan. For example, Qiaojia, is considered a 'yiku' to the west and north of Dongchuan; see description in Cui Naiyong, 'Qiaojia chuangshe jianzhi ji' (巧家創設建制記), DCFZ, 1735, pp. 47-48, Yunnan sheng tushuguan, Kunming. Dongchuan itself was formerly mentioned as a 'yiku' by the Qing government. See preface to the Dongchuan gazetteer, DCFZ, 1735, p. 1.

in the vicinity of the walled city, its peak located only one *li* south of the Fandian 藩甸 Gate (South Gate).⁴⁴ Green Screen Mountain was also named Spirit Jade (*lingbi* 靈璧)⁴⁵, both typical names for mountains in geomancy.

According to geomancy, the mountains surrounding a city function as shelter and protection, and the mountains rise like a huge screen or barrier against unwanted influences, especially the main mountain, ideally located to the north of the city.⁴⁶ Green Screen Mountain was so named because it was located at the 'back' of the walled city, and was shaped like a screen. However, in the case of Dongchuan, the local government had chosen to build the walled city on the north side of the mountain, facing north. One reason is that there was little available land suitable for building a walled city. I suggest that another reason is that the walled city of Dongchuan was built as a bulwark to protect the capital Kunming, and therefore had to face the more dangerous barbarian area to the north.

Green Screen Mountain was treated as an important mountain not just from the perspective of geomancy, but was also of great significance in Dongchuan's political life.⁴⁷ The southern part of the city occupied the most important space both geographically and symbolically. For the people who lived inside the walled city, what they called Green Screen Mountain dominated their view when looking south.⁴⁸ So Green Screen Mountain was selected as one of the ten best views: 'The peaks of this mountain rise one higher than another, sheltered by lush foliage and wild bamboo. This mountain stays green throughout all seasons, just like a painting.'⁴⁹

The area to the west of Dongchuan, which was also emphasized in the official records, was connected to local economic life. This side of the city was closely associated with the copper industry. Tangdan 湯丹, Lulu 碌碌 and Daxue 大雪 were all factories located in the west part of Dongchuan prefecture. The copper industry started at the end of Yongzheng's reign, after the Qing government put down the rebellion of indigenous groups. During the mid-eighteenth century, production and trade of copper developed rapidly to the benefit of the central state, which desperately needed the copper for

⁴⁴ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: pp. 2a -2b.

⁴⁵ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: 2b.

⁴⁶ Stephan Feuchtwang, p.121.

⁴⁷ The relationship between Green Screen Mountain and the walled city is also discussed in Chapter 2.

⁴⁸ This geographic position also affected the orientation of all the important official and ritual buildings inside the walled city, as I argue in Chapter 2. The Confucius temple, Baoyun coin-minting factory, and other official and ritual buildings were all located in the southern part of the city and represented cultural and political achievements of the local government.

⁴⁹ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: p. 2a.

minting coins. The starting point of copper transport to the capital Beijing was Tangdan and other copper mines in this area. Copper was transported from the mining area to the coin-minting factories located south of the walled city. A large number of local residents were involved in some way in the copper industry. Thus, the transport route between the walled city and the area to the west was crucial to local economic life (see Fig. 3.1).

If we follow the route passing through all ten views of Dongchuan, the emphasis on the west side seems very natural. The order of the ten views starts from Green Screen Mountain in the south; moving westward, the next views are Golden Bell Mountain, Dragon Pool, Rainbow Mountain, Longmu Village, Stone Drum Mountain, and the hot spring. After passing the hot spring, which lay the furthest to the west, the road led into the mining area. (see Fig 3.1) From Dongchuan walled city, two main roads were used for copper transport. After leaving the west gate of the walled city, arriving at Wulongmu (烏龍募 or 五竜墓), the main road branched off into two roads. On the map, we see the hot spring at the fork of two roads. One went in a southwesterly direction and passed through Xundian on its way to Kunming. Another road went in a northwesterly direction to the mining area. The road connecting the mining area with the walled city became a busy road by the mid-eighteenth century.

More important, because of the rainy days and the fog in the summer and the autumn, copper could only be transported in the winter and the spring. This caused economic loss because of inefficiency.⁵⁰ The muddy conditions of the road from the hot spring to the walled city made it necessary to improve this part of the road. Reconstruction of the road started in 1731, following the project of building the walled city. Because of a shortage of funds, the project was delayed until 1733. In 1733 a big earthquake wreaked havoc on Dongchuan. Cui Naiyong finally managed to find enough funds, which were contributed by the copper mining industry, for reconstructing the damaged buildings as well as this road.⁵¹ According to Zhang Heng, the road was not just built straight and flat, but two wooden bridges and five water drains were also added.⁵²

Still, these roads west of the walled city were difficult to pass, well into the nineteenth century (and even nowadays), as is noted in 1910 by Archibald Little during his travels through Yunnan:

⁵⁰ 'ZYSZG', p. 574.(QL.3/5/30)

⁵¹ Cui Naiyong, 'Dongchuan fu dizhen jishi'東川府地震紀事, DCFZ, 1735, pp. 48-51.

⁵² Zhang Heng 張恒, 'Yili di lu ji'以禮堤路記, DCFZ, 1735, p. 52.

The path at first led west towards a steep range, about 2000 feet above the valley, and turned sharp south up a side ravine, down which flowed a swift, muddy river; 80 yards wide and 3 or 4 feet deep, the path pleasantly sheltered from the now hot sun by many large trees. We passed large stacks of firewood from the mountains piled along the river bank for conveyance in the flat-bottomed boats of the city.⁵³

When the copper transport reached the walled city, it continued from there northwards to Luzhou in southern Sichuan. This road was also the main route for transporting salt from Sichuan to support the large population of the walled cities and mining areas of Zhaotong and Dongchuan. So, besides copper transport, the connection between Dongchuan and Zhaotong also had a second important economic function for the people living in Dongchuan. Correspondingly, the rest of the ten views, i.e. Water Capital Village, Black Dragon Mountain and Creeper Sea, were all located on the routes leading north, since they yielded the most impressive landscapes when people travelled north.⁵⁴

The routes connecting Dongchuan with the outside world were not limited to the roads mentioned above. There was also another main road from the east gate of the walled city passing Zhehai 者海 and Niulan River 牛欄江 to reach Xuanwei sub-prefecture (see Fig 3.1). However, compared to the roads leading west and north, this road leading east was less important. Although Xuanwei was near the east side of Dongchuan prefecture, no transfer station for copper had been set up here. Xuanwei was also not included in the main transport infrastructure of Yunnan province. Thus, from a political and economic perspective, the landscape to the east was largely neglected, and no special views or sights were identified there, although there is no lack of mountains and impressive scenery. The ten views and other landscapes lying to the north and the west clearly dominated the image of Dongchuan.

⁵³ Little, *Across Yunnan*, p. 48.

⁵⁴ One route starts from the west gate of the walled city, then follows the Yili River 以禮河 to the north, passing Water Capital Village and Fish Cave (*Yudong* 魚洞) Village, and coming into the Rice Basin (Miliangba 米糧壩), which was one of several fertile valleys between the mountains, then entering Qiaojia, which lies on the banks of Jinsha River (see Fig 3.1). Another road, starting from the east or north gate of the walled city going northeast, went to Huayizhai 華宜寨, where it passed the wide lowlands east of Black Dragon Mountain, then passed Black Soil Ground (Heituji 黑土基) and Mud Valley (Lanni qing 爛泥箐), before entering Zhaotong prefecture. This road was the principal road used for copper transport from Dongchuan to Zhaotong. The copper was transported from Dongchuan to Zhaotong, and was then taken to Dagan 大關 and loaded onto boats at Yanjing 鹽津 port on Heng River (Hengjiang 橫江).

5. Other sets of eight views in northeastern Yunnan

This correspondence between the best views of Dongchuan and its strategic situation as well as the main route of copper transport is not an exceptional case. If we examine the best views of other cities and towns in northeastern Yunnan, similarities soon become evident in the way these cities and towns were incorporated into the central empire's frontier region and how this determined local perceptions of best views.

One good example showing the correspondence between the selection of best views and the city's strategic situation is Xundian. Located between Dongchuan and the capital Kunming, Xundian was established in 1476 in the middle of the Ming dynasty, during the period when the indigenous chieftains were removed from power.

The eight views of Xundian can be found in the earliest local gazetteer of Xundian, compiled in 1550. They are: 1. 'The Phoenix and the Wutong Tree Facing the Clouds' (*fengwu chaoyun* 鳳梧朝雲), 2. 'Midnight Moon in the Dragon Pool' (*longtan yeyue* 龍潭夜月), 3. 'The Eastern River Twists and Turns' (*dongjiang quche* 東江曲折), 4. 'The Lake in the West Clears Up' (*xihai chengqing* 西海澄清), 5. 'Hot Spring in the Southern Valley' (*nangu wenquan* 南穀溫泉), 6. 'Cold Cave on North Creek' (*beixi handong* 北溪寒洞), 7. 'Dark Green Pine at Perfect Enlightenment Monastery' (*yuanjue cangsong* 圓覺蒼松), 8. 'Returning Dragon Ancient Temple' (*guilong gusi* 歸龍古寺)⁵⁵ (see Fig. 3.3).

The eight views of Xundian can be located on the map included in the 1550 Xundian gazetteer. It is clear from looking at their distribution that half of the eight views are located south of the city (although according to the description, 'Midnight Moon in the Dragon Pool' is located ten *li* east of the city⁵⁶). The main focus of the eight views is clearly on the south, on the roads leading to Songming 嵩明 and Kunming. In the fifteenth century Xundian was located on the boundary between Yunnan province and the indigenous areas, while Dongchuan at that time was still inhabited by indigenous communities. During that period it was still difficult to reach the Dongchuan area from Xundian, because the road was not fully controlled by the Ming government. But the roads between Xundian, Songming, Yangling 楊林 and Kunming had already been constructed.

The first view, 'The Phoenix and the Wutong Tree Facing the Clouds', was a view

⁵⁵ 'Xun yang ba jing' 尋陽八景, *juan a*, *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, pp. 48-51.

⁵⁶ *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan a*, pp. 48-49.

from Moonfox (*Yuehu* 月狐) Mountain, which was eight *li* from the walled city. The top of this mountain was the highest site in the vicinity, from where all the mountains and rivers in Xundian could be seen. Moonfox Mountain was looked upon as the main mountain protecting the city and the Xundian walled city was built at the foot of this mountain. The Xundian walled city was initially built in 1483, and in 1514 the walls were rebuilt in stone. The name ‘The Phoenix and the Wutong Tree’ (*fengwu* 鳳梧) referred to the north gate, and come from a poem in the *Book of Odes*, where phoenixes are described singing on the top of a high mountain with *wutong* trees growing on the sunny side of the mountain, which denotes harmony and peace in society.⁵⁷ However, the walls of Xundian city were forced by the troops of an indigenous chieftain, An Quan 安銓, in 1527. This rebellion started in Wuding and Xundian, and later expanded to Songming, Yangling, and even reached the west gate of the walled city of Kunming. After the rebellion the government considered this location to be very unsafe.⁵⁸ The new stone-walled city was moved south of the old one in 1532.⁵⁹ And the name of the old north gate, ‘The Phoenix and the Wutong Tree’, was then given to the administrative centre of the defensive garrison containing a thousand households (*fengwu shouwu qianhusuo* 鳳梧守衛千戶所). This administrative centre was built inside the walls in the northeastern part of the city. Meanwhile, the army training compound (*yanwuting* 演武廳), which was used for local government training and inspection of troops, was also located in the north, but outside of the walled city.⁶⁰ In view of the danger of rebellion and the location of military buildings in Xundian, the selection of ‘The Phoenix and the Wutong Tree Facing the Clouds’ near Moonfox Mountain as a prominent scenic spot is not surprising. This became the first and most important of the eight views of Xundian.

One of the main worries of the Xundian government was the rebellious indigenous community surrounding the walled city. Most of the indigenous threats came from the west and the north, from Wuding and Dongchuan. The dangerous situation of the government was just like ‘sleeping beside tigers’.⁶¹ As written in the gazetteer, these barbarians came to kidnap Han Chinese people (to serve as slaves) and steal cattle in the

⁵⁷ *Shijing zhuxi* 詩經注析, comm. by Cheng Junying 程俊英 and Jiang Jianyuan 蔣見元 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujū, 1991), p. 835.

⁵⁸ *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan a*, pp. 26-28.

⁵⁹ Liu Dao 劉道, ‘Qian xundian fu zhu cheng ji’ 遷尋甸府築城記, *Xundian fuzhi* 尋甸府志, 1550, (*Zhongguo xinan wenxian congshu* 中國西南文獻叢書, Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2003), Vol. 22, pp.196-206.

⁶⁰ *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan b*, pp. 134, 137-139.

⁶¹ *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan b*, p. 260.

spring, and to steal rice, pigs, and goats in the autumn.⁶² The best view located west of the city is entitled ‘The Lake in the West Clears Up (*xihai chengqing* 西海澄清)’, and was located thirty *li* to the west. It is described as a beautiful lake that was so clear that one could see the bottom, and all kinds of fish in the lake benefited fishermen a lot.⁶³ However, another description of this lake, ‘Clear Water Sea’ (*Qingshuihai* 清水海) in the mountains and waters section of the 1550 gazetteer, tells a different story. It says that Clear Water Sea was a place where rivers flowed together surrounded by mountains; these mountains were inhabited by barbarian people who made their living by stealing, thus constituting a danger for Xundian.⁶⁴ This view, then, marked a politically and militarily important spot in the surroundings of Xundian.

In short, similar to Dongchuan, the selection of the eight views of Xundian from among the landscapes surrounding the walled city should be considered against the background of establishing political and military control, especially the most important local issue of fighting off frequent indigenous rebellions. The history of establishing the government administration in Xundian almost seems to prefigure the reform of the indigenous chieftain system in Dongchuan almost two hundred years later. Like Dongchuan, the main cities and towns of northeastern Yunnan in any case all experienced a similar process of selecting a set of best views after being incorporated into the empire.

So far, the sets of eight views of the walled cities in northeastern Yunnan are all focused on landscapes surrounding the city. Even the most distant view, namely the hot spring in Dongchuan, was no further than thirty *li* from the city. However, in the case of Zhenxiong, a city located northeast of Dongchuan, things were a little different.

In the 1784 Zhenxiong gazetteer, the eight views were selected and pictured (see Fig. 3.4). Considering the location of the best views on the map in this gazetteer, notice that only two of them were close to the walled city: Black Passing (*Wutong* 烏通) Mountain [the view is entitled ‘Black Passing Mountain Is Towering and Green’ (*Wushan congcu* 烏山聳翠)] was located two *li* to the northeast of the walled city and was the most important mountain near the city; White Man Rock (*Bairen yan* 白人岩) [the view was entitled ‘The Immortal Shadow of the White Man’ (*Bairen xianying* 白人仙影)] was

⁶² *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan b*, p. 260.

⁶³ *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan a*, p. 49.

⁶⁴ *Xundian fuzhi*, 1550, *juan a*, p. 42.

located one *li* to the east of the walled city.

According to the descriptions of the eight views in the section on ‘mountains and waters’ in the gazetteer, the other views were located at a considerable distance from the walled city: ‘Moon Cave and Meditation Light’ (*Yueku changuang* 月窟禪光) was 150 *li* north of the city; ‘One Star Turning towards the North Star’ (*Yixing gongdou* 一星拱鬥) was twenty *li* east of the city; ‘Plain Dike in Spring Cultivation’ (*Pingba chungeng* 平壩春耕) was fifteen *li* south of the city; ‘Two Rivers Embrace a Pearl’ (*Ershui huaizhu* 二水懷珠) was fifty *li* to the south; ‘Autumn Fishing from a Boulder next to the Cassia Tree’ (*Guiji qiudiao* 桂磯秋釣) was 150 *li* to the east; ‘Plum Blossom Hollow with Floating Clouds’ (*Mei’ao Liuyun* 梅坳流雲) was a hundred *li* to the east.⁶⁵

Clearly most of the eight views are located far away from Zhenxiong. A similar pattern of distance is found throughout the section on mountains and waters in the gazetteer. After counting the numbers of mountains and waters in each direction, the following table gives a general impression of the local landscape⁶⁶:

Table 3.2

	E	S	W	N
0-50 <i>li</i>	4	12	2	3
51-100 <i>li</i>	5	1	1	3
101-200 <i>li</i>	8	2	4	9
201-300 <i>li</i>	13	0	7	8
301-400 <i>li</i>	3	0	4	2

This table gives the distance of mountains and waters from the walled city in four directions. It turns out that most of the mountains and waters mentioned in the gazetteer were at a distance of more than one hundred *li* from the city. The furthest of them even reached over three hundred *li*. Only the mountains and waters to the south seem to be an exception here. The relatively close positions to the south are not so

⁶⁵ *Zhenxiong zhouzhi* 鎮雄州志, comp. by Tu Sulian 屠述濂, 1784, Beijing: Guojia tushuguan, *juan* 1: pp. 30a-38b.

⁶⁶ *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan*1: pp. 39a-46a.

surprising when one considers this territory on a wider scale. It takes three hundred *li* going east to reach Yongning in Sichuan province, 340 *li* to reach En'an 恩安 to the west, 310 *li* to reach Bijie 畢節 in Guizhou province to the north, but only thirty *li* to reach Weining in Guizhou province to the south.⁶⁷ Given this description of the territory of Zhenxiong, the exceptional situation of the south in the table above can be easily understood. In fact, some of the landscapes described in the section on mountains and waters regarding the south of Zhenxiong even lie at the borderlands and reach as far as Weining in Guizhou province. In short, it seems that the compilers of the gazetteer focused more on landscapes in the far distance than those nearer the city. But when we look at the natural landscape, we find that mountains and rivers are distributed quite evenly around the walled city, yet only some of them are mentioned in the gazetteer.

Again, the selection made by the compilers of the gazetteer of the geographical features of Zhenxiong's landscape is related to the eighteenth-century copper transport routes. Zhenxiong is closely connected to Weining, Bijie and Yongning geographically as well as economically. One of the eight views, 'Two Rivers Embrace a Pearl', exactly reflects this situation. This view is situated fifty *li* to the south of the walled city. Two rivers from south and north come together here, then go through the Seven Stars Pass (Qixingguan 七星關), which was the border crossing between Zhenxiong, Weining and Bijie.⁶⁸

Since the start of copper transport to Beijing, Zhenxiong was a crucial connection point. The two main copper transport routes were the 'Dongchuan route' and the 'Xundian route'. The Dongchuan route started from Dongchuan and went to Zhaotong, Zhenxiong, Xuyong. The Xundian route started at Xundian and went to Xuanwei, Weining, Zhenxiong and Xuyong. (Fig 1.9)⁶⁹ Both routes passed through Zhenxiong, which was an important transfer station. Officials in Zhenxiong had the responsibility to take care of the transport from Zhenxiong to Yongning in the north; meanwhile, they also needed to go to the copper storage places in Weining in the south to supervise the transport on the way. Zhenxiong officials were also responsible for recruiting and organizing people to carry the copper from Zhenxiong to Weining because of a shortage of horses during that period.⁷⁰ Since copper transport was their primary administrative concern, the views

⁶⁷ *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan* 1: pp. 51a-51b.

⁶⁸ *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan* 5: pp. 47a-48b.

⁶⁹ See Chapter 1.

⁷⁰ Later, these difficulties prompted the Qing government to open up a new route in 1775. In 1816, the route from

nearby the walled city were less important to the officials of Zhenxiong than were the views farther away. Poems about the eight views of Zhenxiong happened to be written by a local official Rao Mengming 饒夢銘 during his supervision of copper transport.⁷¹

For another important city in northeastern Yunnan, Zhaotong, unfortunately no eighteenth-century official gazetteers remain. Although the earliest local gazetteer of Zhaotong can be traced back to 1762 during Qianlong's reign, the original printed version was lost, and only a handwritten copy made in 1911 is preserved. Later, two other Zhaotong gazetteers were compiled and printed, in 1924 and in 1938.⁷² In the preface to the 1938 Zhaotong gazetteer, the compiler complains that much of the content of the handwritten copy made in 1911 of the 1762 gazetteer is a mess.⁷³ Moreover, except for one poem related to local geomancy, there are no literary essays or poems recorded in this copy. Although the eight views can be found in all three Zhaotong gazetteers, one must take into account that the descriptions of the eight views in the handwritten copy made in 1911 may not date back as far as 1762 but rather may have been added at a later date.

One of the eight views, 'Phoenix Mountain and Floating Red Clouds' (*Fengling feixia* 鳳嶺飛霞), is described as a beautiful view of Phoenix Mountain, which lies to the south of the walled city.⁷⁴ It is said that at the foot of Phoenix Mountain and on the bank of the river dam, local officials built the Enbo Pavilion, and that this pavilion was visited and named by General Aixinga 愛星阿 during his visit in the eighteenth century during Qianlong's reign. This is also said to be the origin of the name of another of the eight views, 'Enbo Pavilion like a Mirage' (*enbo shenyong* 恩波蜃影). Aixinga was a Manchu general who served under Wu Sangui's command in Yunnan. However, he in fact died in 1664 during Kangxi's reign.⁷⁵ It is hard to believe that the original compiler of the local

Weining was divided in two: one still from Weining to Zhenxiong, another one directly from Weining to Bijie then to Yongning. Copper transport on both routes was the responsibility of the officials of Weining. Zhenxiong officials were only responsible for transport from Zhenxiong to Yongning on the 'Dongchuan route'. Fu Kang'an 福康安, 'Gai zhan tongyun zou gao' 改站銅運奏稿, *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan* 6: 44a-46b.

⁷¹ Rao Mengming 饒夢銘, 'Mangbu tong yun ge' 芒部銅運歌, *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan* 6: 11a-12b; Rao Mengming, 'Deng jie qian yi ri, fu zi zhen fu zhao cheng, you weining cui du tongyun, tuzhong ji jing shu huai' 燈節前一日, 複自鎮赴昭城, 由威寧催督銅, 途中即景書懷, *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan* 6: 18a-19a.

⁷² *Zhaotong zhigao* 昭通志稿, comp. by Fu Tingquan 符廷銓 and Yang Lúqian 楊履乾, 1924, *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan*, Beijing; *Zhaotong xian zhi gao* 昭通縣志稿, comp. by Lu Jingxi 盧金錫 and others, 1938, *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan*, Beijing.

⁷³ *Zhaotong xian zhi gao*, 1938, *juan* 1: p. 32.

⁷⁴ In this version of Zhaotong gazetteers, the geomancy of the walled city is emphasized in the three maps. Since the walled city and surrounding landscape were drawn on the maps in the gazetteers mainly for the purpose of showing the geomantic layout, only a few mountains and waters are indicated and named on these three maps.

⁷⁵ *Qingshi liechuan* 清史列傳 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shujū, 1928), *juan* 4, pp. 48b-50a.

gazetteer would have made such a mistake regarding Qianlong's reign. This is one more indication that the handwritten copy is probably not identical to the original Qianlong-period gazetteer. The inclusion of the story about the general suggests that the eight views of Zhaotong in this handwritten copy may have been added at a later date.⁷⁶ Still, the story about Aixinga visiting Zhaotong shows that local scholars intended to reconstruct their beautiful landscape by referring to the visits of famous Qing general, even if such visits never happened.

Conclusion

The selection of local 'best views' was not a free-floating aesthetic appraisal, but rather an important cultural activity in the complex process of governing. This new description of the landscape corresponded with the new political and economic situation of Dongchuan prefecture. As the starting point of the copper transport route, Dongchuan became crucial to the economy of the Qing state during the eighteenth century. Local officials adapted existing literary conventions to present the landscape of Dongchuan to make it sound familiar and attractive to people accustomed to the more 'civilized' parts of the Qing state. Therefore, the appearance of the 'ten views of Dongchuan' in this period is not a coincidence.⁷⁷

The descriptions of the so-called beautiful views are not only a sign of literary appreciation, but were also consciously written to represent the wild frontier to a 'civilized' Han Chinese world. In this way, the set of best views came to constitute important evidence of the local government's achievement. Furthermore, not only the personal interests of local scholars, but political, military and economic concerns all

⁷⁶ Still, some of the eight views were located on the copper transport routes, such as Spraying Fishing River (Saiyü River 灑漁河) ['Spraying Fishing and Willow in the Mist' (*Saiyü yanliu* 灑漁煙柳)], which was located around forty *li* to the west of the walled city. The headwaters of Spraying Fishing River rise near where Zhaotong, Yongshan and Ludian join. This river was used to irrigate thousands of *mu* of farmland. And Spotted Deer Plain, the location of the view called 'Spotted Deer Eating Grass' (*Hualu shicao* 花鹿食草), was located to the east of Zhaotong, between that city and Kuixiang 奎鄉, which was an important station for copper transport between Ludian and Zhenxiang.

⁷⁷ During the eighteenth century, only the larger cities of northeastern Yunnan such as Dongchuan, Zhaotong and Zhenxiang had gazetteers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the small towns of northeastern Yunnan such as Qiaojia, Dagan, Yanjing, Ludian each had their own gazetteers and collected their own sets of eight views. Before this period, sets of eight views had also been named and described by members of the local elite; however, some new ideas such as 'love your country and love your hometown' came along with modern nationalism and became the standard for local gazetteers. In Dagan, the eight views were not just carefully selected, written about and painted, they were also fitted into a new musical composition which could be easily remembered by local people as a way of teaching them to love their town, 'Dagan shijing' 大關十景, in *Dagan xianzhigao*, *juan 2*, vol. 5, pp. 1415-1417.

contributed to the selection of local best views. In the case of Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan in the eighteenth century, the connection between the walled city and copper production form the key background for the selection of best views. Moreover, these best views, such as Black Dragon Mountain and Golden Bell Mountain, were also deeply connected with the historical relationship between indigenous communities and the Qing state during the reform of the indigenous chieftain system in the first half of the eighteenth century. This will be discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Introduction

After the indigenous chieftains had been overthrown in the early eighteenth century, the Qing government immediately made plans to build its own cities and to reshape the landscape surrounding the walled city of Dongchuan. The outstanding landscape of Black Dragon Mountain was selected by local officials and scholars as one of the ten best views of Dongchuan. Besides its beautiful view, Black Dragon Temple attracted many local people for other reasons. One of the favoured types of Chinese landscapes is a combination of mountain and temple that are close together and that influence each other. A mountain can be famous because an important temple was built on it, or a temple can be famous because of its location on an important mountain. The Zhenwu shrine and the dragon pool cult at Black Dragon Temple are analysed in this chapter as a case study. Besides discussing the deities and ritual practice, I focus on the space and surrounding landscape of local ritual activities. The new Qing landscape seems to have overlapped the territory where indigenous chieftains had previously reigned. Most of the sites where indigenous groups had lived vanished in the process of institutional reform, especially their religious and political space in the mountains. However, multiple images of the same religious landscape are seen to coexist in local society, contrary to the official version.

1. Black Dragon Mountain, Black Dragon Temple and Zhenwu shrine

Straight to the north of the new walled prefectural capital built by local officials of the Qing state, a mountain named Black Dragon (Qinglong 青龍) caught people's attention at the time for its beautiful landscape. Apart from local officials such as Cui Naiyong and Zu Chengyou mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the early explorers was Zhao Chun 趙淳, a scholar in Dongchuan, who wrote down his adventures on Black Dragon Mountain in 1731.¹

Zhao Chun's first impression was the dramatic landscape of Black Dragon Mountain. Full of superb natural stone columns dominating the mountain with a magnificent appearance like many layers of lotus, the stones created for him the illusion of a group of human beings and animals such as lions, tigers and goats. An underground stream flowed through the caves halfway up the mountain and reappeared as a spring dropping down to the foot of the mountain, where the water was used for irrigation. It was like another world for Zhao Chun when, holding a torch, he went inside those caves. A beam of light appeared from a hole at the top of the cave, as if it were a reflection of heaven coming. The underground stream had shaped the rocks into distinctive and memorable forms, resembling beautiful clouds that looked as if they had been created by an unknown immortal.²

Besides having these fascinating stone forms, Black Dragon Mountain was also one of the critical sites of geomancy that surrounded the city. In geomancy theory, every auspicious site is connected with a range of hills that shelter and protect the site. One of the basic steps of geomantic practice is to observe the mountain range, the interaction of the hills surrounding the site, and the quality and course of nearby rivers.³ Ideally, at the back stands a lofty peak, called the 'rear barrier', or 'back rest'; on the left and right are spurs of rock called 'the attendants'; and the front of the site must be left open and clear. However, a hill which should be called Chao'an 朝案 or An'shan 案山 is also

¹ DCFZ, 1761, juan 20b: pp. 2a -2b.

² All these descriptions such as spring, cave and limestone characterized the karst landscape. It is in eastern Yunnan and most of Guizhou that the most typical and diverse karst landforms developed. See *Karst Rock Feature: Karren Sculpturing*, ed. by Angel Gines and others (Carsologica: ZRC Publishing, 2009).

³ Stephan, Feuchtwang, D.R. *An anthropological analysis of Chinese geomancy* (San Marino: Oriental Book Store, 1985), pp. 16-18.

required because it can force or keep the water flowing backward (see Fig. 4.1). Since this hill forces the river to change the direction of its flow, the auspicious influence carried by the water is able to surround the site instead of flowing away and being lost.⁴ *Chao'an* means court altar or table, especially a flat table situated in front of a shrine in the court hall for ritual purposes.⁵ Use of the term 'table' or 'altar' does not mean that this hill resembles the shape of a table, but that the location of the hill is imbued with ritually symbolic meaning. Actually, the shape of a table hill has usually been described as a sycee (*yuanbao* 元寶, a gold or silver ingot resembling a boat-shaped bowl) which symbolizes wealth and fortune, and has been variously described as having the shape of a brush rest (*bijia* 筆架), a saddle (*ma'an* 馬鞍), and an officer's hat (*guanmao* 官帽), implying military achievement or an official career. In Zhao Chun's narrative and also on the map of Dongchuan prefecture, Black Dragon Mountain is acknowledged as the first high mountain north of the walled city, and so it was considered to be the 'table hill' for protecting the walled city⁶ (see Fig 4.2). Meanwhile, Zhao Chun pointed out Black Dragon Mountain, one of the tallest mountains near the walled town, as the best place for local officials to overlook the entire town in different seasons, and observe farming and irrigation work in spring and autumn. So, in addition to being a nice place for hiking and visiting, Black Dragon Mountain provided the best position for local authorities to observe Dongchuan town and the people living in it.

Apart from the natural landscape of Black Dragon Mountain, Black Dragon Temple on the mountain was visited frequently by the local elite. It was first built by a local officer Huang Shijie 黃士傑 in 1728, who believed it would be a blessing for the country and would enlighten local people. Besides the mention of the abbot of this Buddhist temple being a Buddhist monk named Rushen 如湛, there are no other details known about this temple. Still, we can learn something from records made by another local

⁴ KangLiang 亢亮 and KangYu 亢羽, *Fengshui yǔ jianzhu* 風水與建築 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1999), pp. 75-136.

⁵ Feuchtwang, p. 125.

⁶ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 1: pp. 1a,b.

literati visitor named Liu Cong 劉棕. When he visited Black Dragon Mountain to enjoy the view of the harvest in the autumn of 1756, he noticed a statue of Zhenwu had been put in the Buddhist temple on Black Dragon Mountain. During the feast he heard from a monk that the Zhenwu deity had helped the Qing officials protect Dongchuan city against the rebelling indigenous people. Thereafter, the statue of Zhenwu was erected in this temple based on the results of divination.⁷ Liu Cong's story about the Zhenwu god was retold and embellished in the late Qing dynasty:

When Dongchuan's army marched to Yongbei [a prefecture with a settlement of indigenous groups, now in northwestern Yunnan and southern Sichuan] during Qianlong's reign [1736-1795], they noticed a beam of red light constantly shining underground at night and traced the light to an ancient well springing up out of the ground. Some of them went into this well and discovered a very decent bronze statue that was recognized as the Xuan tian deity [玄天: another name for the Zhenwu god]. After they placed the statue in their military camp they immediately won a great victory. On returning to Dongchuan in glory, they worshipped the statue in the Temple of the Warring God [Wu miao 武廟]. Afterwards, the spirit of Zhenwu flew up to Black Dragon Temple. Therefore, a shrine to the Ancestral Teacher [Zushi miao 祖師廟] was built in Black Dragon Temple for worshipping Zhenwu. Now the spirit of that Zhenwu deity has shown his presence and gives his blessings frequently.⁸

Both stories tell about the origin of the worship of the Zhenwu deity in Dongchuan. As one of the higher-ranking Taoist deities, the Zhenwu god (True Warrior Grand Emperor Zhenwu DaDi 真武大帝) was also known as the Dark/Mysterious Heavenly Upper Emperor (Xuantian ShangDi 玄天上帝), as well as Xuanwu 玄武. The Zhenwu deity was first known as Xuanwu. Xuanwu is one of the four symbols in Chinese constellations, governing part of the 28 celestial mansions. Xuanwu is portrayed as the Black Tortoise, located in the north, and is usually depicted as a snake twisting around a tortoise. During

⁷ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 20: pp. 12a-13a.

⁸ DCFXZ, 1895, *juan* 3, 18a, b.

the Song and Yuan dynasties, Xuanwu had gradually acquired the image of an immortal warrior in imperial robes named Zhenwu, who had long hair falling over his shoulders and was depicted stepping on a snake and a tortoise.

From the Ming dynasty onwards Zhenwu became popular throughout China. The first Ming Emperor Hongwu (1368-1398) believed that he had received assistance from Zhenwu when he unified China and established the Ming dynasty. Later, the third Ming Emperor Yongle (1403-1424) claimed that he had gained the support of Zhenwu when he took over the reign of his nephew Emperor Jinwen (1399-1402). After Yongle came to power, Zhenwu temple was built in the Wudang Mountains of Hubei Province.⁹

In Yunnan, most stories about the Zhenwu cult trace its origins to the early Ming period. During the Ming dynasty people in most parts of Yunnan, particularly in the capital Kunming and in the cities of Zhanyi and Xuanwei, started to worship Zhenwu. The legends about the origins of the Zhenwu cult all relate to battles in Yunnan led by the Ming army.¹⁰ The popularity of Zhenwu was clearly associated with the expansion of imperial power to Southwest China in the early Ming period. In Dongchuan and other areas of northeastern Yunnan, however, the story is different. Military garrisons of the Ming dynasty had never actually been set up in northeastern Yunnan, unlike other parts of Yunnan where there were temporary conquests and submissions of indigenous chieftains during the Ming dynasty.¹¹ The Ming government clearly had not established effective administration in this adjoining zone occupied by powerful indigenous

⁹ About the history of the Zhenwu cult, see Xu Daoling 許道齡, 'Lun Xuanwu zhi qiyuan jiqi tuibian kao' 論玄武之起源及其蛻變考, *Shixue jikan* (1947), 5: 223-240; Chen Xuelin 陳學霖, 'Zhenwu shen, yonglexiang chuanshuo' 真武神永樂像傳說, in Chen Xuelin, *Mingdai renwu yu chuanshuo* 明代人物與傳說, pp. 89-127; John Lagerwey, 'The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan', in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. by Naquin, Susan and Chun-Fang Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 293-332, and Pierre-Henry de Bruyn, 'Wudang Shan: The Origins of a Major Center of Modern Taoism', in *Religion and Chinese Society Volume II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, ed. by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press), pp. 553-590; Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, 'Shenming de zhengtonghua yu difanghua: guanyu zhujiang sanjiaozhou beidi chongbai de yige jieshi' 神明的正統性與地方化－關於珠江三角洲北帝崇拜的一個解釋, *Zhongshan dae shixue jikan* (1994), 2: 107-125; Liu Zhiwei, 'Dazu yinying xia de mingjian shen jisi: shawan de beidi chongbai' 大族陰影下的民間神祭祀：沙灣的北帝崇拜, in *Simiao yu minjian wenhua yantaohui lunwenji*, ed. by Lin Ru 林如 (Taipei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1995), pp. 707-720; Shi-yi Chao, *Daoist Ritual State Religion and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming (960-1644)* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁰ Mei Li 梅莉, 'Mingdai Yunnan de zhenwu xinyang' 明代雲南的真武信仰, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, (2007), 1: 41-49.

¹¹ Qin Shucui 秦樹才, 'Mingdai juntun yu Yunnan shehui jingji de fazhan' 明代軍屯與雲南社會經濟的發展 *Kunming shizhuan xuebao* (1989), 3: 113-119.

chieftains, until E'ertai started widespread military repression during Yongzheng's reign in the Qing dynasty.¹²

As a result, Zhenwu, being an important deity as protector of the imperial army, began to be worshipped in Dongchuan and northeastern Yunnan only after the Qing army started their battles to overthrow the indigenous chieftains. Many troops from nearby areas of Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou were dispatched to join forces in the northeastern area, and they were organized as garrison units and later settled in the area. It was along with these new garrison units that the Zhenwu cult arrived in Dongchuan prefecture. As related in the origin stories of the Zhenwu cult in Dongchuan mentioned above, the statue of Zhenwu was discovered in the wall during the warfare between the Qing army and indigenous tribes. Later, the Zhenwu shrine was placed on Black Dragon Mountain, which according to geomancy theory protected Chao'an in front of Dongchuan's city walls. Furthermore, both versions of the story reveal that the Zhenwu shrine was not originally located on Black Dragon Mountain. The description of the spirit of Zhenwu flying up to Black Dragon Temple does not just indicate the existence of the Zhenwu shrine in Black Dragon Temple, but also implies that the new location of the Zhenwu shrine was not a natural or spontaneous decision but a careful and intentional arrangement by local officials.

2. Replacing the dragon cult in northeastern Yunnan

As we have learned from the origin stories of Zhenwu in Dongchuan, the Zhenwu cult was closely related to military suppression of indigenous groups. In addition to being described in travelogues and anecdotes, ritual activities of Black Dragon Temple are officially reported in the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, in the chapter on 'Temples':

Black Dragon Temple was located on Black Dragon Mountain to the north of the city where people worshipped the deity of the Northern True Lord of the Blessed Saint [beiji you sheng zhen

¹² See Edward L. Dreyer, *Early Ming China: A Political History (1355-1435)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 109-114.

jun 北極佑聖真君) and the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude [Long en zhen jun 龍恩真君) on the ninth day of the first month, the third day of the third month, and the ninth day of the ninth month.

The Northern True Lord of the Blessed Saint, who was also historically recorded as Yuanwu's seven celestial houses of the north [yuan wu qi xiu 元武七宿, another name for Zhenwu], assisted the first Ming Emperor Hongwu to establish the Ming dynasty and then was worshipped in the temple of Nanjing. He also appeared at the beginning of the Yongle reign of the Ming dynasty (1403-1424). His temples were built both northeast (*geng* 艮) of the capital Beijing and in the Wudang Mountains in Hubei Province. The True Lord of Prosperous Gratitude [Long en zhen jun 隆恩真君], also named Wang Ling Guan 王靈官, is the defender of Yuanwu. Both of them protect against fire and water disasters.

Black Dragon Temple has three levels. No matter whether they live close by or far away, the Han people and the barbarians always go to the temple festival on the third day of the third month.¹³

In this text it seems that the Zhenwu cult on Black Dragon Mountain dominates the understanding of this temple. In addition to the history of the Zhenwu cult in the Ming dynasty that is discussed in standard historical works, this text also reveals the dates of worshipping and the existence of another deity in Dongchuan, the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude. However, the name of the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude (Long en zhen jun 龍恩真君) is written later in the text – using a different first character – as True Lord of Prosperous Gratitude (Long en zhen jun 隆恩真君), and is said to be the protector of Zhenwu. Although both of these names share the same pronunciation, they are different. But the most special part of the description quoted above is the last part. It turns out that not just Han people but also indigenous people would come to Black Dragon Temple on the same day each year, the third day of the third month. This suggests that they all came to worship Zhenwu in a harmonious atmosphere. However, considering that the Zhenwu deity was not supportive of indigenous communities and was believed to protect the Qing army during warfare, why would indigenous people want to visit here?

¹³ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 7, p. 3b.

Is it possible that Han people and indigenous communities carried out separate ritual activities at the same place on the same day of the year? If not, then why would indigenous people come to visit at the beginning of the third month? The name Black Dragon Temple and the name ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ seem to imply the existence of dragon worship. So, the emphasis of Zhenwu worship and the ambiguous name ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ suggests there was some kind of indigenous ritual that the local elite did not describe in detail. Was the compiler of the gazetteer trying to hide something behind this ambiguous title of another deity, ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ in Black Dragon Temple?

Before answering these questions, note that this spatial coexistence of Han and indigenous people at the Zhenwu shrine was not an isolated case. Similar practices also existed in other parts of northeastern Yunnan after the indigenous regimes had been overthrown in the early Qing dynasty.

A similar description can be found in the gazetteer of Zhaotong prefecture located north of Dongchuan. After the Qing government gained control of Zhaotong, a Zhenwu shrine was built on Treasure Mountain (Yuanbao shan 元寶山) in 1736.¹⁴ According to the local gazetteer, on the third day of the third month there was a temple festival on Treasure Mountain, attended by both Han Chinese and indigenous people in Zhaotong, who all came to worship.¹⁵

Another example in Yanjing County, located in northern Zhaotong, shows the substitution of an original indigenous temple by a Zhenwu shrine. One of the best views of Yanjing is named ‘Xuanwu Mountain in the light of sunset’ (*xuanwu xizhao* 玄武夕照). This mountain, located at Niu Bi Zhai 牛鞞寨 in northeastern Yanjing, was important as a place to cross the Jinsha River to reach the Liang Mountain area, where the most fierce indigenous groups lived. Before the Qing fully occupied this area, it was under the control of indigenous chieftains. A temple named Vigorous Dragon (Longxing 龍興) was

¹⁴ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 4, p. 47

¹⁵ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 5, p. 62.

built by the indigenous chieftain A Qia 阿 on the hillside of Xuanwu (Zhenwu) Mountain in 1559. After the Qing established their administration, the temple was rebuilt in 1793, and named the Zhenwu Temple.¹⁶

There is a similar situation in the case of the Zhenwu shrine in Xuanwei 宣威 sub-prefecture near the eastern edge of Dongchuan prefecture. As one of the pivotal passes between Guizhou and Yunnan provinces, Xuanwei was also a crucial frontier of the indigenous Wusa Shuixi Kingdom.¹⁷ During the Ming dynasty the state had great trouble overthrowing the Shuixi regime, and only succeeded in settling a military garrison unit on the border of Shuixi in 1383, which later became the capital of Xuanwei sub-prefecture. Before E'ertai forced the indigenous chieftain to step down, Xuanwei had been under the joint administration of Han officials and indigenous chieftains for years. At almost the same time as Dongchuan, Qing officials built the new walled city of Xuanwei in 1730. Like Black Dragon Mountain near Dongchuan, the mountain named Stone Dragon (*Shilong* 石龍) was a famous landscape near the walled city of Xuanwei. Stone Dragon Mountain was located seven miles beyond the eastern side of the walled city. The shape of this mountain also resembles a sycee, with two peaks twisted around a central peak. Therefore local people also called it Treasure Mountain (*Baoshan* 寶山). At the foot of this mountain there used to be a residence belonging to the family of the indigenous chieftain An (Anshi 安氏). On the flat ground halfway up the peak, a Jade Emperor shrine and a Zhenwu shrine were built. Several springs from the Nine Dragon Pool fall to the foot of the mountain.¹⁸

Again, both the name and the shape of Stone Dragon Mountain are remarkably similar to Black Dragon Mountain. Moreover, not only was the former residence of the family of the indigenous chieftain An located at the foot of this mountain, but also An's military camp was stationed on the flat ground halfway up the peak during the late Ming

¹⁶ *Yanjing xianzhi*, 1948, p. 1685. It was also said that the story of the indigenous chieftain building a dragon temple was collected from local oral tradition. See p. 1606.

¹⁷ For the history of Wusha Shuixi, see the research by John E. Herman and Wen Chunlai.

¹⁸ *Xuanwei zhouzhi* 宣威州志, 1844, *juan* 1, p. 26b.

dynasty because it was a site of strategic importance.¹⁹ Furthermore, the ritual activities of Han and indigenous people on the third day of the third month are described in the 'Customs' chapter of the Xuanwei gazetteer.²⁰

Another story collected by the local gentry in the early twentieth century claims that Stone Dragon Mountain used to be a den where nine dragons lived, and that they were captured in a pot by a wizard. In order to make certain that the dragons were overpowered, the wizard decided to build the Zhenwu shrine above an underground spring and then put the pot containing the dragons underneath the shrine. The Jade Emperor shrine was also said to have been at a different location at first, and later moved behind the Zhenwu shrine when the roof beam of the Jade Emperor shrine suddenly 'flew' to this place. This narrative closely resembles the one about Dongchuan, where Zhenwu's spirit 'flew' to Black Dragon Mountain in Dongchuan.²¹

In these examples from the eighteenth century, Zhenwu, an important deity connected with military expansion of the central empire, became popular in northeastern Yunnan in the Qing dynasty. More importantly, the mountains connected with the Zhenwu cult, considered an important space in geomancy by local Qing officials, were originally places related to indigenous chieftains and indigenous people.²² Therefore, in the case of Dongchuan, the phenomenon of the coexistence of Han Chinese and indigenous people in the same space at the same time may not be as simple as the compiler says, for worshipping the Zhenwu deity. Rather, the situation may have been much more complex, if the site was related to the dragon cult.

3. The dragon cult of indigenous people

Since there seem to have been ritual activities connected to the dragon deity on Black Dragon Mountain, what was the image or figure of this dragon deity? Black Dragon

¹⁹ *Xuanwei zhouzhi*, *juan* 1, p. 17.

²⁰ *Xuanwei zhouzhi*, *juan* 2, p. 25.

²¹ *Xuanwei xianzhi gao* 宣威縣誌稿, 1943, *juan* 3, 1b- 2a.

²² Although not all these mountains were in the Chao'an position from the perspective of the walled city, their new names and their features still imply that they were the important surrounding mountains to meet the requirements of geomancy. See Feuchtwang, pp. 161-163, 186.

Temple was destroyed in 1965. According to local memory, before it was destroyed Black Dragon Temple had had a compound with three main halls where several statues of Buddha and the Zhenwu deity were erected. Apart from these deities, there was a location related to the dragon cult situated at the west side of the compound. There was no statue or architectural building, but a cave where a spring arose and passed through the compound.²³ Local people went to the temple festival each year on the third day of the third month, and worshipped different deities according to their own beliefs.²⁴ This description corresponds to the narrative of Zhao Chun and Liu Cong that I mentioned before – Black Dragon Mountain has its caves and a spring inside the mountain. And in the case of Xuanwei, the dragon cult on Stone Dragon Mountain was related to the spring arising out of a cave on the mountain. It turns out that a spring arising in a cave was a specific religious landscape named dragon pool throughout northeastern Yunnan.²⁵

Like the Vigorous Dragon Temple built by an indigenous chieftain in Yanjing county, similar narratives can be found in the gazetteer of Zhenxiong, a sub-prefecture of Zhaotong. A site named Green Shady Pool (Lüyintang 綠蔭塘) was called a dragon pool by the indigenous people because they claimed that they had seen a dragon appearing there regularly. In the autumn of 1777, Lu Rongzong (祿榮宗, an indigenous headman of the Lu family in Zhaotong) established a Buddhist temple on Round Mountain (Yuanshan 圓山) in Green Shady Pool.²⁶ He also built a Dragon King Shrine in the front part of the temple compound and a theatre at the back, for praying for good harvests each year and repaying the god's benevolence.²⁷

Another example comes from Songming 嵩明 sub-prefecture, south of Dongchuan. There is a pool called Black Dragon Pool, located thirty miles from the capital of Songming. Double springs join together from both sides of the pool, where indigenous

²³ Bian Boze 卞伯澤, 'Qinglongsi li guo qingming' 青龍寺裡過清明, *Huize lansheng* 會澤覽勝, ed. by Bian Boze (Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 2002), pp. 182-183.

²⁴ *Huize xianzhi*, p. 510.

²⁵ Cui Naiyong, 'Chuangjian longtan miao beiji' 創建龍潭廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 51-52.

²⁶ Zhenxiong zhouzhi, 1887, *juan* 4, p. 90b.

²⁷ Zhenxiong zhouzhi, 1784, *juan* 1, p. 46b.

people built a temple for worshipping the dragon god.²⁸ Similar religious activity took place in Qiaojia 巧家 county of Dongchuan prefecture. A mountain named Medicine Mountain, for all the medicinal plants found there, had a central peak resembling a golden bell, which was another name for this mountain. The overall shape of the mountain was like a huge Buddha, whose chest cavity and belly contained hundreds of dragon pools of different sizes. The most famous of these were Big Dragon Pool and Small Dragon Pool. Big Dragon Pool was located on the east side of the mountain; Small Dragon Pool was located on the west side of the mountain. Both pools were situated at places which were dozens of feet (*zhang* 丈) higher than the surroundings. Two peaks confronted each other on both banks of the pool and a huge rock lay at the entrance of the water, which was named by the indigenous people 'two dragons fighting for the pearl'. And local people prayed here for rain on the third day of the third month of each year.²⁹ All these narratives in the gazetteers of northeastern Yunnan clearly indicate that it was the dragon pool that indigenous people were worshipping here, and that the mountains associated with the dragon deity all had either springs or woods.³⁰

Ethnographers have also observed this phenomenon in northeastern Yunnan and throughout the Southwest.³¹ In the Dongchuan area, dragon pool ritual activities can be observed in the Yi, Zhuang, and Miao communities during the period from the first month to the third month of the year.³² From the descriptions of landscape in these observations, most of the dragon pool cult locations throughout the Southwest are on mountains near a village and near a cave where a spring arises, and the time of worship

²⁸Songming zhouzhi 嵩明州志, 1889, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Taipei: chengwen chubanshe, 1967), vol. 31, *juan* 3, pp. 17b-18a.

²⁹ *Qiaojia xianzhigao* 巧家縣誌稿, 1941. *juan* 8, pp. 8a, b.

³⁰ A similar scene is inscribed on the wall of the dragon pool shrine in Weishan County in western Yunnan. In this depiction 34 men and women wearing cow leather are dancing together. Yi people go to this temple to celebrate from the tenth to fifth day of the second month. This dragon temple was occupied by the god Wenchang, and was built by Qin officials in Qianlong's reign. However, the dragon statue has remained in the Wenchang temple and has been worshipped by Yi people in Weishan up till now. See Shi Yuzu 石裕祖, 'Yizu tage bihua ji tage shulun' 彝族踏歌壁畫及踏歌述論, *Minzu yishu yanjiu*, (2003), 1: 46-52.

³¹ Many ethnographic investigations record the rituals of worshipping dragon trees and dragon pools in Yunnan. A recent article about northeastern Yunnan is Lu Gang 魯剛, 'Diandong yizu minjian jisi huodong kaocha' 滇東彝族民間祭祀活動考察, *Yunnan minzu xueyuan xuebao*, (1991), 1: 22-27. About the dragon cult throughout the southwest, see Zhang Fu 張福, 'Woguo xinan minzu de jilong yishi' 我國西南民族的祭龍儀式, *Guizhou minzu yanjiu*, (1992), 1: 86-94

³² *Huize xian minzu zhi* 會澤縣民族志, ed. by Gui Junxiang 桂俊翔 and Li Mengfa 李萌發 (Kunming: Kunmingshi wuhua jiaowei yinshu chang, 2010), pp. 189, 347, 369.

is usually in the springtime. Therefore, the ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ on Black Dragon Mountain, mentioned by the compilers of local gazetteers in the eighteenth century, was very likely a dragon pool cult.

4. Worshipping at the dragon pool: praying for rain, entertainment and ancestor worship

The dragon cult was of great significance to local people primarily because it would protect local people from the disaster of flooding and drought. In Dongchuan, there was another dragon pool situated to the west of the walled city, and this was also selected to be one of the ten best views of Dongchuan. This dragon pool used to be an indigenous ritual landscape according to Cui Naiyong. When he first arrived at Dongchuan he noticed this landscape and was told that this was one of the dragon pools where indigenous people worshipped throughout Yunnan. Later, this dragon pool location was officially approved by the Qing government for the purpose of praying for rain. It is said that in the summer of 1734, Dongchuan was affected by a severe drought. Local official Zu Chengyou and his followers took off their hats and shoes and exposed themselves to the sun. Finally, their actions moved the dragon god and suddenly heavy rain poured till midnight.³³ A shrine was then built here by local officials and named Dragon Pool Temple (Longtan miao 龍潭廟). It became the official site in Dongchuan for praying for rain (Fig. 4.2). When the prefect Yi Ning 義甯 rebuilt Dragon Pool Temple in 1755, he did not mention the original indigenous dragon pool but only emphasized the story of local officials praying for rain in 1734, which he treated as the starting point of dragon god worship in Dragon Pool Temple.³⁴

Praying for rain was thus the most important aspect of the dragon pool cult in the official narrative, and this aspect was also observed in early twentieth-century fieldwork. In a catalogue of indigenous peoples of Yunnan in 1914, worshipping the dragon was

³³ Cui Naiyong, ‘Chuangjian longtan miao beiji’ 創建龍潭廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 51.

³⁴ Yi Ning, ‘Chongxiu longtan shen ci ji’ 重修龍潭神祠記, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20b, pp.8b-9b.

recorded as the most important ritual activity in praying for blessings to avoid famine.³⁵ Ma Xueliang was one of the first ethnographers to work in Yunnan starting in the 1930s. In his and others' investigation of Yi communities in northeastern Yunnan and northwestern Guizhou, Yi people gave the name 'dragon cave' to any cave with a spring, and the ritual of praying for rain was performed in the period from the first month to the third month in front of a dragon pool or dragon cave, which they called '*da lu de*' in their language.³⁶

Moreover, beyond formal ritual activities, another factor that attracted people was various entertainment activities before or after the ritual, such as sightseeing on the mountain, eating, drinking, dancing, and singing. Dragon pool ritual activities in Dayao 大姚, southwest of Dongchuan, are presided over by Bimo (Yi ritual priests). Villagers gather at the dragon pool carrying their cooking utensils. The pig that is butchered by Bimo priests as the sacrifice is cooked and shared by all. And then they sing and dance antiphonally.³⁷ In Huize, the present-day name of the former Dongchuan prefecture, every third day of the third month the villagers are led by Bimo priests or by the village headman in sacrificing a goat at a site on a mountain covered with woods or having springs and caves. After the ritual activities they share the sacrifices and then enjoy other entertainments.³⁸ All these observations correspond to local gazetteers' descriptions of Black Dragon Mountain in Dongchuan prefecture and other mountains in northeastern Yunnan. In addition, in the 'Customs' chapter of the 1735 Dongchuan gazetteer, the special activities on the third day of the third month are described as 'local people visit Black Dragon Temple and eat and drink on the mountain'.³⁹ This description most likely refers to indigenous people's activities. The people who came to Black Dragon Mountain, whether they were Han Chinese or indigenous, most likely came

³⁵ Dong Yidao 董一道, *Gu dian turen tuzhi* 古滇土人圖志, (Yunnan: congwen shiyin shuguan, 1914), vol. 1, 'Custom of worshipping the dragon' (no original page numbers in this book).

³⁶ Ma Xueliang 馬學良, Yü Jinxu 於錦繡, Fan Huijuan 范惠娟, *Yizu yuanshi zongjiao diaocha baogao* 彝族原始宗教調查報告 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1993), pp. 121-124, p. 143, pp. 161-188.

³⁷ Zhang Chunde 張純德, Long Luogui 龍保貴 and Zhu Juyuan 朱踞元, *Yizu yuanshi zongjiao yanjiu* 彝族原始宗教研究, (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2008), p.53.

³⁸ *Huize xian yizuzhi* 會澤縣彝族志, ed. by Feng Decong 馮德聰 (Kunming: Kunmingshi wuhua jiaowei yinshuachang, 2008), p.189.

³⁹ DCFZ, 1735, p. 21.

not only for worshipping the dragon pool or Zhenwu or another deity at Black Dragon Temple, but more importantly to be able to join in the fun of the various entertainment activities.

Furthermore, compared to praying for rain and entertainment activities, more important – and undiscovered until now – is the indigenous ancestor worship at the dragon pool on Black Dragon Mountain. If we take into account the surrounding landscape of Black Dragon Mountain, the old capital of the family of the indigenous chieftain Lu must have been located at the foot of Black Dragon Mountain before it was destroyed during warfare:

The Lu family's Water Capital (*shuicheng* 水城), located at the foot of Black Dragon Mountain outside of Luowu Gate 羅烏 [North Gate] of the walled city. It no longer exists today. In the earlier Dongchuan gazetteer compiled by Zhao Chun 趙淳, it is said that this capital was surrounded by water. Now only the stone foundations are left, and a few Black Cuan 爨 people live here.⁴⁰

'Luowu' is another name for the north gate of the walled city, a name given by E'ertai himself, meaning 'to catch Wumeng'.⁴¹ Wumeng, to the north of Dongchuan, was a place where many indigenous people lived. In the eyes of E'ertai and other officials, the region to the north of Dongchuan was considered an indigenous people's area. Besides offering a beautiful landscape for sightseeing and a strong protective barrier, Black Dragon Mountain and other places to the north of the city also are important in the history of the indigenous people, and especially the history of the family of the indigenous chieftain Lu.

In this text, 'Black Cuan' points to the Yi people according to the classification of nationalities after 1949. For the Yi people, the dragon and the tiger were considered to be two important ancestors. One of the important words of the Yi people is Luoluo (倮羅, spelled Lolo in Western languages). The different tones of the pronunciation of Lu in the

⁴⁰ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 5: p. 2a.

⁴¹ DCFZ 1731, p. 37.

Yi language represent different meanings.⁴² Lu pronounced with a falling tone means Dragon and Lu pronounced with a high level tone means Tiger.⁴³ One category of Yi ritual manuscripts kept by the Bimo priests is for worshipping the dragon, because the Yi believe that their dead ancestors live with the dragon deity in another world.⁴⁴ From the description of dragon pools both in pre-modern and recent records, all indicate that dragon pools in the mountains are sources of water.

Naming the particular source of water located near the ancestral home is important as the way for Yi people to indicate their kinship or family origins. According to Ma Xueliang's observation, an important Yi ritual practice for worshipping ancestors is to get 'good fortune water' (*fulu shui* 福祿水) from the source of water near the place of worship. After worship, people collect some water from this 'source of water' and carry it back home with them. This place where they worship and fetch water is treated as the origin or ancestral home of their kin group. The members of the kin group must remember the site where they fetch water, as proof of belonging to that kin group. It is quite common that when two indigenous people meet each other as strangers, they like to name their 'source of water' (location in their home area where they fetch water after worship) to indicate their origins.⁴⁵

Thus, it seems the spring coming out of the cave in Black Dragon Mountain was closely related to the ritual activity of worshipping the Lu family ancestors. And it also corresponds with recent investigation. In the early twentieth century, the Lu 陸 family in Black Dragon Temple Village was a powerful Yi family in Huize. Therefore Black Dragon Temple Village was also called Lu Family Village (Lujiacun 陸家村) by local

⁴² As one of various names for Yi people before 1949, Luoluo has a controversial meaning for the indigenous people of southwestern China. In contemporary ethnography some groups admit they are Luoluo, others seem to deny this ethnic name. See Stevan Harrell, "The History of the History of the Yi", in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. by Stevan Harrell (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 63-91. For example, in Samuel R. Clarke's investigation in 1908-1910, the term Lolo is a name used for them by the Chinese. The indigenous people who lived in northeastern Yunnan called themselves Nosu. And they considered being called LoLo as offensive to them. See Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-west China*, 1911, London, China Inland Mission, reprinted by (Taipei: Chen wen publishing company, 1970), pp. 112-113. However, Clarke points out that LoLo also meant the 'spirit hamper', which was supposed to contain the spirit of a deceased person. Thus, even though LoLo may not be the name of this ethnic group, the term LoLo is related to their ancestor worship.

⁴³ Ma Xueliang 馬學良, *Yizu wenhua shi* 彝族文化史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 223-224.

⁴⁴ Ma Xueliang, *Yizu wenhua shi*, pp. 222-223.

⁴⁵ Ma Xueliang, *Yunnan yizu lisu yanjiu wenji* 雲南彝族禮俗研究文集 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 10, 103.

people. The surname Lu 陸 was replaced by a homophone Lu 祿, which was the surname of the indigenous chieftain Lu's family.⁴⁶ According to Lu Zibin 陸子斌 (91 years old), one of the descendants of the Lu family that I visited in February 2010, their family had to change their surname in order to survive, after the Qing suppressed the indigenous chieftain Lu's family. And he recalled that the ancestral hall of the Lu Family was also built on Black Dragon Mountain at a site higher than Black Dragon Temple. Although the time and site of building the ancestral hall are not necessarily based on fact, at least in this man's memory Black Dragon Mountain is a religious landscape connected to their family's ancestor worship.

Therefore, the dragon pool cult clearly had different meanings for different groups. Praying for rain was the function emphasized by local Qing elites, and the indigenous role in the dragon pool cult was ignored. In fact, the dragon pool also had meanings for indigenous groups, it could be praying for rain, entertainment or ancestor worship. The ancestor worship so important to indigenous people was not mentioned in official records. So there are strong indications that on the third day of the third month in Black Dragon Temple of Dongchuan, indigenous people actually had their own ritual activities instead of worshipping Zhenwu with Han Chinese together. The indigenous people came to Black Dragon Mountain to worship their dragon deity called the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude (Long en zhen jun), which is pronounced the same as the name of the protector deity of Zhenwu mentioned in the local gazetteer. Since the dragon pool was one of the most important ritual space of the indigenous people, the Zhenwu shrine in Black Dragon Temple can be said to have occupied the original indigenous religious space, in very much the same way as the Qing army in Dongchuan occupied the political space of the indigenous chieftains.

5 · Granting amnesty to indigenous people and their dragon deity

⁴⁶ *Huize xian minzu zhi* 會澤縣民族志, ed. by Gui Junxiang 桂俊翔 and Li Mengfa 李萌發 (Kunming: Kunmingshi wuhua jiaowei yinshu chang, 2010), pp. 213, 339.

The symbolic meaning of the religious space on Black Dragon Mountain, as we have seen, was linked to the Qing military conquest of northeastern Yunnan. However, unlike the capital cities of the indigenous chieftains, most of the ritual activities of the dragon pool cult had not been prohibited but continued to be practised in their original places. So why and how was the dragon pool cult of the indigenous people maintained after the Qing state replaced the indigenous chieftains by Qing officials? To answer this question, the Qing state's attitude towards the indigenous people in Dongchuan and other areas of Southwest China needs to be explored further. It turns out that the classification of indigenous groups in the early Qing dynasty is the pivotal historical context of the continuation of the dragon pool cult in northeastern Yunnan.

The Qing state's understanding of the indigenous groups of Dongchuan derived from the late Ming dynasty, when Dongchuan was administered by Sichuan province. The 1541 gazetteer of Sichuan province recognizes Bo 爨 and Cuan 爨 as the two main groups living in the area. The stereotypical description of Bo people was that they were 'good at trading', and Cuan people were 'strong-minded and fierce'.⁴⁷ Although this description of the two groups in Dongchuan is very brief, it implies that Bo people had already come into contact with Han people. Moreover, as traders, they most likely understood the Chinese language and thus were able to communicate with them. In contrast, the 'fierce' Cuan people can be assumed to have been unfriendly and uncooperative towards Han people.⁴⁸ Thus, these names given by Ming officials to different indigenous groups reflected the degree of cultural contact, rather than any objective description of the people.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Sichuan zongzhi*, 1524, *juan* 14, p. 1b. About the generally meanings of Cuan and Bo in differently historical contexts, see Harrell, Stevan, *The History of the History of the Yi*, pp. 63-91.

⁴⁸ This knowledge of 'barbarians' in southwest China has also been discussed by Hostetler, Giersch and Ma Jianxiang. Hostetler notes the different image of barbarians. Giersch emphasizes that the concept of barbarians influenced Qing policies. Giersch use the term 'ambiguity' to explain the identification of different indigenous groups, which he believes helped Qing authorities have more space for negotiation and more flexible policies. (Actually, the Bo people he quotes in his book are the Bo people who lived in northeast Yunnan, rather than on the border between Yunnan and Southeast Asia which is his focus.) Ma Jianxiang emphasizes the role of the opposing social force in forming the identity of the Luo Hei (傣黑), who came to the fore as the fiercest tribe during the resistance to Qing forces. Moreover, for a discussion of the cultural construction of ethnicity on the frontier during the Qing dynasty see *Empire at the Margins*, ed. by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton.

⁴⁹ For 'labels' of the indigenous people in southwest China, see Barend ter Haar, 'A New Interpretation of the Yao Charters', in *New Developments in Asian Studies*, ed. by Paul van der Velde and Alex McKay (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), pp. 3-19.

Furthermore, this information about the Bo and the Cuan in this remote and inaccessible area was collected by Han officials with an outsider's perspective. Since such discussions about ethnicity actually only reflected the knowledge of outside authorities, the question is how the different indigenous groups were categorized and how this division affected state policy. At least in the case of Bo and Cuan in Dongchuan, it is very clear that the standard used would have been the degree of likeness to 'Han' and the level of willingness to communicate and cooperate with outside authorities.

Qing officials also used this standard to classify the different indigenous groups in the gazetteer of Dongchuan prefecture. Cuan and Bo were also called Black Luoluo 黑猓 and White Luoluo 白猓, respectively.⁵⁰ Cuan or Black Luoluo lived on a less productive plateau. In contrast, Bo were known as White Luoluo, their main food consisting of rice, which implied that Bo people were highly adaptive, learning agriculture and other customs from Han settlers.

Apart from the Cuan and the Bo, who had already become acquainted with the Ming government, other ethnic groups recognized by Qing officials were Gan Luoluo 幹猓, Miao 苗, Luji 魯雞, Meng 孟, Pisha Yi 披沙夷, and Pi Yi 披夷. In the descriptions of these ethnic groups, their means of livelihood is also of primary concern. For example, Miao people who laboured for the Cuan and the Bo people were said to be obedient and good at agriculture. And as the hardest workers, most Gan Luoluo only knew slash-and-burn cultivation. During the slack season they made a living by picking up firewood and by fishing. In contrast, the Pi Yi and Pisha Yi were hostile ethnic groups. Both of them came from two branches of the Cuan. They had no fixed home and lived a nomadic life. They used to come down the mountain to rob travellers, even kidnapping Han people and turning them into slaves.⁵¹

Similar descriptions are recorded in other local gazetteers of northeastern Yunnan. In the case of northeastern Yunnan in the late Ming and early Qing dynasty, the various official names of indigenous groups not only indicate different ethnicities, but also

⁵⁰ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 8, pp. 12b - 20b.

⁵¹ DCFZ, 1735, p. 21.

different levels of ‘civilization’ or ‘sinicization’ of the non-Han indigenous groups. The Cuan, Pi Yi and Pisha Yi who lived in a remote territory situated on a less productive plateau were not fully incorporated into the Qing state. Ethnic groups such as Bo and Miao, by contrast were highly adaptive, obedient and open to learning agriculture.

These descriptions also reflect the development of a new lifestyle among indigenous groups since the Ming dynasty. For example, a legend belonging to the history of the Lu family, the most powerful family in Zhaotong (Wumeng) and Dongchuan in northeastern Yunnan until the eighteenth century, reveals their going down from the mountain to occupy the narrow plains:

Old capital of the Lu family: It is said that the indigenous chieftain of the Lu family of Wumeng used to live in Liangshan 涼山 which had harsh natural conditions. They were afraid to come down from the mountain because they worried about being attacked by A di 阿底, who was head of a barbarian group from Weining 威寧 [the new name of Wusa, which was located east of Dongchuan and belonged to Guizhou province]. At that time, the place the barbarians lived was without any village and the people were dotted around like stars in the sky. In those heavily wooded areas, no one knew how many old waterways had been abandoned. Later, one of the barbarians went out to hunt. He shot an arrow and hit a deer. He released his dogs to chase it. Then he found the plain of Zhaotong at the point the deer vanished from sight. When he found the way to come back home, he reported this adventure to the head of the Lu family. According to him, this plain, named Hai ba 海壩, was open and flat and the soil was fertile and the spring was sweet. The head of the Lu family was very happy to hear this news. He consolidated the army and pretended to hunt, in order to sneak into the area. He occupied this area after he assassinated the indigenous Mahuzi people. Since then the Lu family has lived in Hai ba.⁵²

It turns out that the leaders of the indigenous groups wanted to come down from their cold mountain area and live on the warm plain where there was fertile soil and a sweet

⁵² *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 3, p. 36.

spring (good drinking water), which means that they had already started to make their living from agriculture, which was carried out by their tenants such as Miao, Bo or Han, whoever knew how to farm.⁵³

In the early Qing dynasty, indigenous chieftains in northeastern Yunnan rose up in one revolt after another against the Qing state, which was expropriating their lands.⁵⁴ Apparently, the military suppression of these rebels was concentrated on the rural areas of the region, where the indigenous groups were not fully incorporated into the Qing state, and was especially directed against the indigenous chieftains of the Lu family and Black Luoluo. During the battles of suppression, the Qing army recognized that there were different degrees of resistance:

Among the indigenous tribes of Dongchuan, Miao and Gan Luoluo are the obedient people and should not be disturbed. On the other hand, Black Luo are fierce and stubborn people who are the main rebellious group, but compared to the indigenous chieftain of Dongchuan, they also must be considered as a subordinate rebel group.⁵⁵

Following E'ertai's military strategy, most of the battles ended after the indigenous army was forced to withdraw to the east side of Jinsha River. The Qing army did not dare to cross the river and continue the fight, but felt free to massacre thousands of people in the river valley involved in the rebellion in northeastern Yunnan.⁵⁶

After the Qing state had fully occupied northeastern Yunnan, vast amounts of vacant lands were distributed among the soldiers. In 1730 E'ertai reported to the throne: 'Wumeng has many vacant lands that can be cultivated, now we should distribute the lands without owners to the soldiers. Each of them will get thirty mu 畝. If some of them have assistants (*junhu* 軍戶), they will get double lands. We should also subsidize them

⁵³ Scott points out the constant movement back and forth between the valleys and the hills, which has happened in the whole of Southeast Asia and the southwest of China. Scott, pp. 26-35, especially p. 27.

⁵⁴ This understanding of indigenous people's identities in northeastern Yunnan can also be seen in E'ertai's strategy to reform the indigenous chieftain system of Southwest China, especially his concept of 'inside bank of river' (*jiang nei* 江內) and 'outside bank of river' (*jiang wai* 江外). See Chapter 1.

⁵⁵ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, p. 666. (YZ. 8 /12/27)

⁵⁶ See Chapter 1.

with a stipend and cattle to encourage cultivation.⁵⁷ This strategy is also recorded in the local gazetteers of Zhaotong:

There are other kinds of indigenous people in Zhaotong who are similar to the Han. The Luo people in Zhaotong do not know how to farm, so they forced other indigenous people to be their tenants and grow rice for them. These indigenous people were very hard-working farmers and had kind-hearted personalities. Now, since they do not belong to the Luo anymore, they can work for us to cultivate our fields. By doing so, they can live in peace and enjoy their work, and our government can also save energy and money.⁵⁸

Similar circumstances were present in Dongchuan. After the warfare between the indigenous chieftains and the Qing government, towns and villages were in ruins. 'There are very few registered Han people here; so we need to summon more barbarian people to settle here.'⁵⁹

In other words, after the Qing state took over the plains that had previously belonged to the indigenous chieftains, they needed a labour force to cultivate all the farmland.⁶⁰ At first, the rice paddies and cultivated farmland were distributed to soldiers and Han settlers. But the number of soldiers and Han settlers was apparently not enough to work all the vacant land.⁶¹ For the purpose of cultivating more of the vacant farmland taken over by the Qing state, those indigenous groups who were more cooperative or who knew how to farm were urgently needed.

Consequently, these indigenous groups and their dragon pool cult rituals for agricultural purposes also served the interests of the Qing state. Multiple meanings of the dragon pool cult, as mentioned above, correspond with different groups and lifestyles. The function of the dragon pool cult of the indigenous people followed this

⁵⁷ *QSL*, *juan* 96, pp. 20b-21a.

⁵⁸ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 6, p.79.

⁵⁹ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8, p. 1b.

⁶⁰ As Scott notes, wet rice and other major grains need concentrated, labour-intensive production which requires a dense population, and that is the foundation of early state-making in Southeast Asia and southwest China. Therefore, the concentration of manpower becomes particularly imperative and a difficult mission for the state. See Scott, especially chapters 2 and 3.

⁶¹ Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp. 490-495.

transition in lifestyle. For indigenous people farming in the valleys, a dragon pool served not only for irrigation but also as a deity who could be prayed to to bring rain. For indigenous people living in mountain areas, praying for rain was not so important. For indigenous chieftains or other headmen, it was ancestor worship that was important and they also wished their own farmland to be fertile so they also prayed for rain when they still occupied the lands before they were taken over by the Qing.

For Qing officials, the purpose of the dragon pool cult was now primarily to pray for rain or to prevent floods for their own benefit.⁶² Therefore, unlike the capitals of indigenous chieftains, the religious space of the dragon pool cult on the mountain was maintained by the Qing on account of its beneficial effects on agriculture and irrigation works. But in the case of the dragon pool on Black Dragon Mountain, which was closely related to the indigenous chieftain Lu's family, the fact of the existence of the dragon pool was hidden or distorted, the landscape was reconstructed by the Qing government as an important geomantic mountain, and a Zhenwu statue which was represented as the protector of the Qing government was erected in the same space and later dominated this landscape.

6. Conclusion

This chapter argues for the coexistence of Zhenwu worship and the dragon pool cult in the same space, and interaction between official and indigenous ritual activities at the dragon pool during the period when the Qing authorities were building up their new territory of Dongchuan. As a protector of the Qing army, the Zhenwu deity could supervise and suppress the dragon pool cult on the mountain, which formerly had been the religious space of the indigenous people. This transformation of the religious space and landscape in Southwest China also corresponded with changes in social relations between indigenous people and the Qing government. Apparently, indigenous people had to use the same space of the Zhenwu shrine when they went to the mountain to

⁶² In fact, in present ethnographical research the dragon cult is not limited to the Yi. Other minority groups, such as the Miao, Bai 白, Hani 哈尼 and Shui 水 in southwestern China, nowadays all have similar ritual activities between the first and the third month, although the name and way of worshipping the dragon differ. See Zhang Fu 張福, 'Wo Guo xinan minzu de ji long yishi', 我國西南民族的祭龍儀式, *Guizhou minzu yanjiu*, (1992), 1: 86-94.

worship their dragon pool, which might be the spatial policy of the Qing officials. From the perspective of representation, it is obvious that in the official Qing gazetteers, the narrative of Zhenwu's image on Black Dragon Mountain dominates the understanding of this temple in all kinds of written sources, thus contributing to the relative neglect of the dragon pool cult that was also worshipped there by indigenous people at the time. Therefore, landscape in local society can be seen as a metaphor of the state.⁶³ Meanwhile, the dragon pool cult could also easily be transformed into an orthodox deity in the case of northeastern Yunnan, both from the perspective of Qing policy as well as from the perspective of indigenous people because of the dragon pool cult's multiple meanings.⁶⁴

Ironically, while local agents of the Qing were trying to replace the indigenous dragon cult, parallel behaviour was adopted by indigenous people during their rebellion in Yunnan in the late Qing dynasty. A local Qing official surnamed Zhang experienced a rather humiliating incident in which a group of Luoluo, led by a vicious chieftain surnamed Long 龍, ravaged his county in Chuxiong, in the centre of Yunnan. The most terrible crime, which caused Zhang to commit suicide, was not just replacing all the temples with dragon deity shrines, but also putting a dragon mask over the face of Confucius!⁶⁵

⁶³ It confirms similar observations in religious studies of pre-modern China by such scholars as Watson, Szonyi, and Faure, who discuss standardization and orthopraxy in pre-modern China. James L. Watson, 'Standardizing the gods: the promotion of T'ien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') along the South China coast, 960-1960', in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. by David Johnson, Andrew Nathan, and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 292-324; Michael Szonyi 'The illusion of standardizing the gods: the cult of the Five Emperors in late imperial China', *Journal of Asian Studies*, (1997), 56. 1: 113-135; Michael Szonyi, 'Making Claims about Standardization and Orthopraxy in Late Imperial China: Rituals and Cults in the Fuzhou Region in Light of Watson's Theories', *Modern China*, (2007), 33. 1: 47-70. Other reassessments of James L. Watson's ideas include works by Kenneth Pomeranz, Paul Katz, Melissa Brown, and Donald Sutton. See Donald S. Sutton, 'Reconsidering James L. Watson's ideas', *Modern China*, (2007), 33.1: 3-21.

⁶⁴ This supports Michael Szonyi's argument about standardization and orthopraxy in late Imperial China. Instead of the one-sided view promoted by the state, Szonyi focuses on the multiple possible outcomes of state efforts in local society. The intention of the state might be misread or re-interpreted by different groups and the new interpretation in turn. Furthermore, as David Faure and Liu Zhiwei have argued, research on standardization or orthodox deities should not be limited to indicate the contrast between the interpretation of local groups and the projection from the perspective of the state, but to show how these different practices and representations can coexist at the same place and same time through interaction and negotiation in the process of state building. Michael Szonyi, 'Making Claims about Standardization and Orthopraxy in Late Imperial China', pp. 47-71. David Faure (科大衛) and Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, 'Biaozhuan hua' haishi 'zhengtonghua': cong minjian xinyang liyi kan zhongguo wenhua de dayitong' "標準化" 還是 "正統化" ——從民間信仰與禮儀看中國文化的大一統, *Lishi renleixue xuekan* (2008), 6.1/2: 1-21.

⁶⁵ *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1887, juan 6, p. 1265.

Various new buildings, built in or near the walled city of Dongchuan from the mid-eighteenth century onward by new Han Chinese immigrants, especially powerful Han Chinese officials, testify to the area's impressive economic and social development of the time, as analysed in some details in Chapter 2. As a frontier where indigenous and immigrant communities had the chance to meet, conflict and interact, the new buildings in Dongchuan created a contested space for people of different areas, occupations, and social classes. In this chapter, I analyse the architectural space of the ritual buildings in Dongchuan in order to discover how the immigrants created special spaces for consolidating their beliefs and identities, and in what way these ritual spaces at the same time brought about changes in local society. These new spaces and landscapes were created not only by the builders, but also by the people who, depending on their social and economic situation, engaged with them consciously or unconsciously in their everyday existence. A diversity of people coexisted in Dongchuan, and they created multiple interpretations of their landscape and space, instead of simply accepting official practices and representations. This chapter looks at two types of buildings in Dongchuan: temples for the deity Wenchang, and shrines devoted to the local hero Meng Da. Focusing on these buildings, I examine the situation of natives and immigrants in Dongchuan in the early Qing period during the process of reconstructing local ritual space and representing new landscapes.

1. Scholastic fortune? Wenchang temples in Dongchuan

1.1 Wenchang Palace on Golden Bell Mountain

During China's imperial period, the most important thing in the lives of scholars and students was to pass the civil service examination. This provided a chance for upward social mobility: appointment to a career in the civil service meant a rich and noble life. They believed that this achievement was not just the result of their hard work and study, but was also affected by the 'scholastic fortune' (*wenyun* 文運) of the town or city where they lived. Coming from a town with great 'scholastic fortune', scholars were more likely to succeed both in the examination and in a future career. In a broad sense, this scholastic fortune did not just benefit the individual but also ensured a long period of peace and prosperity for the town or city, as emphasized in the writings of scholars and students throughout China.

According to these writings, *Wenchang* 文昌 and *Kui* 奎/魁 are the most important deities for scholastic fortune. The *Wenchang* cult originally derived from the local deity *Zitong* 梓潼 of Sichuan in early China. After the adoption of the civil service examination by the state in the eleventh century, *Zitong* became popular among examination candidates and the educated elite because he answered their prayers with excellent exam results and successful careers. The constellation of six stars near the Big Dipper called *Wenchang* had also represented the scholastic achievement since the Tang dynasty. Beliefs in *Zitong* and the *Wenchang* constellation merged together after they received official recognition as Divine Lord of *Wenchang Zitong* in 1316 during the Yuan dynasty. *Wenchang* was worshipped in schools in addition to Confucius temples throughout the country from the fifteenth century. The other deity closely associated with *Wenchang* worship was the *Kui* star. As the star in the Big Dipper located furthest from the handle, *Kui* was treated as an associate of *Wenchang*, and was also worshipped throughout China. The *Kui* pavilion (*kuige* 魁/奎閣) or *Kui* Star pavilion (*kuixing* 魁星閣) became an essential building in a *Wenchang* temple compound.¹

Buildings designed for worshipping these deities, such as Confucius temples, *Wenchang* temples (*wenchang miao* 文昌廟 or *wenchang gong* 文昌宮), the *Kui* Pavilion and the Peak of Literacy Pagoda (*wenfeng ta* 文峰塔) or Literacy Brush Pagoda (*wenbi ta* 文筆塔), all of which were expected to increase scholastic fortune, became the essential ritual buildings to establish in cities and towns. More importantly, such a building should not just be built to provide worshipping space for officials and aspiring elites, but the

¹ Terry F. Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale: The Book of Transformations of Wenchang, the Divine Lord of Zitong* (Albany NY : State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 48-49

building itself should also be located in the 'right' place, as determined by geomantic observations.² These typical buildings can also be found in Dongchuan. Around 1746 during the reign of Qianlong, a local official called Xū Zhaokun 許肇坤 ordered the construction of the Wenchang Temple and the Kuixing Pavilion on top of Golden Bell (*jinzhong* 金鐘) Mountain.³ Golden Bell Mountain is located just outside the southwest corner of the walled city (see Figs. 5.1 and 5.2). The name Golden Bell comes from the shape of this mountain, which rises sharply from the ground in the shape of a big bell. Based on a local geomancer's suggestion, Xu Zhaokun believed these buildings on Golden Bell Mountain would increase the scholastic fortune of this city. Adding the Wenchang Temple on top of the mountain was a way of locking in the scholastic fortune of Dongchuan. Xū hoped that the temple would inspire students in the local community.⁴ Since then, thousands of people join the beautiful scene atop Golden Bell Mountain every third day of the second month for a large-scale annual temple festival to celebrate the birthday of the deity Wenchang.⁵ Walking up the winding stone staircase, visitors can enjoy the entire cityscape and the surrounding landscape, making Golden Bell Mountain the city's most popular place to visit to this day.

However, what went on behind the story of Wenchang Temple is more complicated. Considering the new territory of Dongchuan a former 'barbarians' nest', the Qing government's purpose in promoting the Wenchang cult went far beyond increasing people's chances in the civil service examinations. Geomantic theory could be easily manipulated by the government to fit its specific needs. Buildings related to scholastic fortune such as Wenchang Temple did not just allow local elites to feel connected to other civilized areas of the empire, but also represented the local government's determination to build a new standard of morality. Having a look at local officials' arguments surrounding the reconstruction of Wenchang Temple during the reign of Qianlong will reveal more clues as to how the Qing rebuilt the landscape in Dongchuan.

1.2 Geomancy? The Relocation of Wenchang Temple

² Elman, Benjamin A. *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 312, 326.

³ Xu Zhaokun 許兆坤, the magistrate in Huize county in Dongchuan between 1745 and 1747 during Qianlong's reign, who came from Zhejiang 浙江 province, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 14: p. 3b.

⁴ Fang Gui, 'Yijian wenchanggong kuige yu huayizhai xu' 移建文昌宮魁閣于華宜寨序, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20b: 44a–45a.

⁵ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 9: 1b.

Around 1757, during the reign of Qianlong, a controversy arose over the location for worshipping the deity Wenchang. According to the new prefect of Dongchuan prefecture, Fang Gui, Wenchang did not seem to give his blessing to students in Dongchuan, because few students had passed the imperial examinations during the ten years after Wenchang Temple was built. Local students started to complain that Golden Bell Mountain might not be a suitable location for the Wenchang cult. Fang Gui did not want to claim that geomancy alone was to blame for the disappointing examination results; he still believed that it might be a good idea to use the language of geomancy to convince and encourage local people to study assiduously. When a group of students came to beg of him to choose a new location for the Wenchang cult, he decided to fulfil their request.⁶

Based on classical geomantic works which he found suitable, Fang Gui claimed that Golden Bell Mountain was indeed not the proper location for the Wenchang cult. He then stated that the best location was described by the geomantic phrase ‘a dragon turns back to care for his mother’ (*lailong gumu* 來龍顧母), which refers to a mountain range turning back on itself at one end like a hook, resembling a dragon turning its head. Fang Gui recognized this location in Huayizhai 華宜寨 (which means a village suitable for Han Chinese), on the northeastern side outside of the walled city. He chose an auspicious day and had a new Wenchang Temple erected. Fang Gui was quite confident that with the help of this new Wenchang Temple, combined with hard work by the students themselves, they definitely would succeed in the examinations.⁷

Immediately after building the temple, Fang Gui also built an additional pagoda to increase the town’s scholastic fortune. This new pagoda was located ten *li* north of the walled village of Fish Cave (Yudong 魚洞). Fish Cave was named after local geographical features: ‘Water often flows out from inside the mountain, and there are fish inside.’⁸ In Fang Gui’s opinion, the two mountains that stood on either side of the Yili River near the village were very close together, which seemed an auspicious geomantic site, except for the fact that these mountains did not contain a high peak.⁹ In the eyes of Fang Gui, they were ungraceful and had a desolate and barren atmosphere. He and another local

⁶ Fang Gui, ‘Yijian wenchanggong kuige yu huayizhai xu’ 移建文昌宮魁閣于華宜寨序, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20b: 44a–45a, especially 44a.

⁷ Fang Gui, ‘Yijian wenchanggong kuige yu huayizhai xu’, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20b: 44a–45a.

⁸ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 4: 19a.

⁹ About the basic mountain situations in geomancy, see Feuchtwang, pp. 121–127.

official, Wang Zhuangtu 王壯圖,¹⁰ each donated part of their salary to build a pagoda on top of one of the mountains, presumably to make it taller and look like a high peak. The mountain after building the pagoda resembled the high mountain peak near Fish Cave village, and so made up for the geomantic defect of the low peaks of the two mountains. The height of this pagoda was four *zhang* and it had seven floors (see Fig 5.3). The pagoda sat opposite the Kui Star Pavilion in Huayizhai, so that the two sites supported each other. Also, the shape of the pagoda resembled a huge skyscraping writing brush, and it became Dongchuan's pride. Fang Gui wished that the students of Dongchuan who passed the imperial examinations would all gather at this pagoda and inscribe their names on the wall, which would make their stories and the pagoda an unforgettable legacy.¹¹

Fang Gui apparently was very satisfied with the two new buildings. As chief compiler of the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer (although this might have been just a ceremonial title), Fang Gui's opinions definitely influenced the content of the gazetteer since he was the prefect at that time. On the map of the prefecture in the gazetteer (Fig. 5.3), the new Wenchang Temple and the pagoda were both emphasized and drawn carefully. Thanks to these official buildings, the north side of the walled city seems to have become an important area with symbolic meaning in terms of scholastic fortune (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2).

It seems that Fang Gui convinced himself to build the new temple of Wenchang and the pagoda based on geomantic theory, and he also gained a sense of pride from this project. However, most students in Dongchuan during that time were in fact not that interested in preparing for the examinations, but instead focused on the mining business. As I mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, in the early eighteenth century, the Qing government turned its attention to the copper mines of Yunnan for supplies to the imperial mints, and almost seventy percent of the output of the country's copper mines came from Dongchuan. During Dongchuan's mining boom in the 1750s, the number of miners was estimated at 'several tens of thousands'.¹²

Yan Liang 嚴烺 was a teacher at the Xilin school (*xilin shuyuan* 西林書院) in Dongchuan during Qianlong's reign (1735-1796). He observed that many people in

¹⁰ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 14: 4a.

¹¹ Fang Gui, 'Chuangjian baota ji' 創建寶塔記, DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 20b: 17b-19b.

¹² Liao Ying 廖瑛, 'Dongchuanfu zhi shu xu' 東川府志書序, DCFZ, 1761, *xu*, pp. 1a-4a, especially 1b-2a.

Dongchuan, including scholars and students, were all eager to work in the copper mining business instead of studying. To show his disdain about this state of affairs, Yan wrote a piece of calligraphy on a tablet entitled 'Correct decorum' (*zhengyi* 正誼) and hung it on the wall in the classroom. The title comes from Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC), who is traditionally seen as a leading Confucianist of the Han period. Yan stated that people should accept their moral responsibility instead of chasing profit and calculating their gains and losses.¹³ Yan Liang's worries tell us that many students were attracted to the huge benefits of the mining business and had lost their enthusiasm for studying. Did Wenchang Temple or the choice of a proper location for it still have any meaning for any of them? Is it possible that the pursuit of scholastic fortune perhaps only stemmed from the personal interests of a few local officials and students, or perhaps only of Fang Gui himself?

1.3 Stories of Western and Eastern Wenchang Temple

According to Fang Gui, the new Wenchang Temple in the northeast replaced the old one in the west. However, it turns out that not only was the Wenchang Temple on Golden Bell Mountain not abandoned, but it has also been continually rebuilt and visited until the present day. A famous local tale about the Wenchang Temple on Golden Bell Mountain has been passed down through oral tradition. This story starts with a flood disaster in Dongchuan. It tells that once upon a time there were nine dragons that stirred up trouble and caused floods. The deity of the temple, Grandfather Wenchang (*wenchang yeye* 文昌爺爺), felt much sympathy for the people there. He transformed himself into an old man selling soybean-flour soup (*xidoufen* 稀豆粉, a typical local dish in northeastern Yunnan) on the streets. The nine dragons transformed themselves into nine young men who conspired to destroy the imperial examination hall. They stopped at Grandfather Wenchang's booth and ordered some soybean-flour soup. Wenchang seized this opportunity and threw the soup pot over the nine dragons, covering them with it. The pot with the dragons inside later became Golden Bell Mountain. Wenchang sat on top of the mountain to hold them down in case they ran off. Since that time, there have not

¹³ *Dongchuan fu xuzhi*, 1897, *juan* 3: pp. 15b–16a.

been any flood disasters.¹⁴ In another version of this tale, one detail about the iron pot is further emphasized. It is said that after Grandfather Wenchang suppressed the dragons with the iron pot, the iron pot gradually became a mountain. Local people considered that 'Iron Pot Mountain' was not a nice name for it, so they changed it to 'Golden Bell Mountain'.¹⁵

This well-known local story does not mention anything about scholastic fortune, but it emphasizes Wenchang the deity as protector of villages against floods. This story shows some similarities to tales of Zitong, who was a local deity in Sichuan before becoming a nationally recognized deity. The people of Zitong town believed that Zitong lived as a viper in a cave in Sevenfold Mountain and that he could summon thunder and storm. But if Zitong received adequate homage and worship, he would use his power against invaders instead of harming the locals.¹⁶ In the story of Wenchang in Dongchuan, dangerous and wicked dragons were seen as the cause of floods, and floods could be avoided by worshipping Wenchang on top of Golden Bell Mountain.¹⁷

A similar story about a Wenchang temple in Huayizhai is still told today by people who live there. This story begins with an assassination. Once upon a time there was an incompetent Emperor in the capital. An old Taoist with hair flowing over his shoulders decided to assassinate the Emperor. He came to Wanizhai 挖泥寨 and lived in a stone cave to forge three swords with which to kill the Emperor. One day, however, an old Yi woman in this village was cursing a cockerel (*zhouji* 咒雞), which disturbed the swords in the stone cave. The swords, not yet finished, flew out of the cave, directly to the capital, dropping in front of the Emperor himself. And so the assassination attempt failed. The swords then flew back to Wanizhai. The old Taoist had left and was nowhere to be found. Later, a flood raged in Wanizhai and the Yi people who lived there figured out a solution by building a Wenchang temple on the mountain which had the cave where the swords were located. Wenchang kept the swords locked in the cave, and the

¹⁴ 'Wenchang fulong' 文昌伏龍, collect by Li Kejin 李科金, in *Huize yiwu qushi* 會澤軼聞趣事, ed. by Guo Tianxi 郭天熙 (Huize: Huize xian jiansheju and Huize xian laonian shuhua shici xiehui, 2002), pp. 37-38.

¹⁵ 'Jinzhong shan qutan' 金鐘山趣談, in *Yunnan sheng huize xian diming zhi* 雲南省會澤縣地名志, ed. by Li Chunyi 李春義 (Huize: Huize xian renmin zhengfu chuban, 1987), pp. 277-278.

¹⁶ Kleeman, pp. 1- 2.

¹⁷ Similar stories can be found in northeastern Yunnan during the Qing dynasty. One example comes from Zhenxiong, located to the northwest of Dongchuan. In the description of Hong liu gu 洪六穀 Mountain in Zhenxiong, it is said that the indigenous chieftain used to worship on this mountain by offering cattle. There is a stone plate and a stone axe on top of this mountain. The stone axe was used to butcher the cattle, whose blood was placed on the stone plate as an offering to a gigantic black snake, who would come to drink the blood; if the snake was offended, the growing crops would be crushed by hailstones. *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1784, *juan* 5: 49b.

flood waters that had threatened the village retreated. According to this local story, many years later the people who lived in the walled city of Dongchuan built another Wenchang Temple on Golden Bell Mountain, and they moved the Wenchang statue which used to be in Wanizhai into this new Wenchang Temple on Golden Bell Mountain. This new temple was named Western Wenchang Temple (*xi wenchang gong* 西文昌宮); the Wenchang Temple in Wanizhai was named Eastern Wenchang Temple (*dong wenchang gong* 東文昌宮). The Eastern Wenchang Temple was built by the Yi people, while the Western Wenchang Temple was built by Han people. After that, the main street passing through the centre of the walled city marked the boundary between two Wenchang cults. The people that lived on the east side went to Eastern Wenchang Temple, the people on the west side to the Western Wenchang Temple.¹⁸

This story comes from the oral tradition of people who live in Wanizhai. In fact, the names Huayizhai 華宜寨 and Wanizhai 挖泥寨 both refer to the same village located northeast of the walled city. Qing official records are not consistent in writing the name of this village, spelling Wani two different ways (挖泥, literally ‘digging out mud’, or 瓦泥, literally ‘tiles and mud’). Nowadays it is known as Huani 華泥 village.¹⁹ These names all come from similarly pronounced words in the Yi language, ‘*ɣoɿ neɿ*’ meaning ‘mountain’ and ‘community’. The name Huayi 華宜 is only mentioned in the 1761 gazetteer. Since Fang Gui put so much emphasis on this village, he is very likely the person who invented this name as a way of promoting his plan of building the new Wenchang Temple and the pagoda. As the new prefect of Dongchuan prefecture, Fang Gui probably wanted a more elegant name for this village. In the 1761 gazetteer, he used Huayizhai, meaning a village that is suitable for Han Chinese.²⁰

In this story from oral tradition, instead of bringing scholastic fortune to the students of Dongchuan, the Wenchang Temple in Huayizhai is a ritual space belonging to local Yi people that protects them from floods. In order to emphasize the importance of Eastern Wenchang Temple, Western Wenchang Temple is described as an imitation, which is a totally opposite story to the official version in the Dongchuan gazetteers.

In fact, Wanizhai and other areas north of the walled city all used to belong to the chieftains of the indigenous communities. Wanizhai was one of the indigenous villages

¹⁸ Wu Yongxiang 吳永湘, ‘Minjian gushi shuze’ 民間故事數則, in *Huize xian wenshi ziliao*, (1992), 3: 133.

¹⁹ *Huize xianzhi* 會澤縣誌, (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 38-48.

²⁰ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8: p. 2b.

reported in E'ertai's memorials to the throne at the time of the revolt during Yongzheng's reign. According to the memorials of E'ertai, those villages near the Dongchuan walled city, such as Wani 挖泥, Yishi 矣式, Daibu 待補 and Awang 阿汪, contained fierce barbarians who were waiting for the opportunity to take over the walled city.²¹ In the ninth month of 1730, indigenous forces attempted to wrest control of Dongchuan from the Qing government. Although they did not manage to take the walled city in the end, they successfully took over the Qing garrisons in surrounding villages. According to E'ertai, they brutally killed the Qing soldiers and set fire to the villages. Food supplies to the walled city were disrupted, and government services and public utilities were seriously impaired. Not long afterwards, however, the Qing government defeated the indigenous tribes in a fierce battle. On the fourth day of the tenth month of 1730, the Qing army attacked Wanizhai and its surroundings, where the indigenous tribes were camped. After several battles, the Qing army defeated the indigenous tribes and they also set fire to the thirteen indigenous villages surrounding the walled city.²² This extremely tragic episode may very well have been the main reason for Fang Gui's changing the name of Wanizhai to Huayizhai after the Qing army won this campaign.

Apart from Wanizhai, Fish Cave village where the pagoda was built was also a critical place for the indigenous community. One of the mountains of Fish Cave, 'ungraceful' in Fang Gui's eyes, was called Flea Mountain (*gezao* 疙蚤).²³ Local scholars thought that the reason for Flea Mountain's name was that all the plants and grass that covered the mountain were being eaten by fleas and small insects.²⁴ From the perspective of the indigenous community, *gezao* actually comes from the similar *dezao* which bears another meaning in the Yi language: *de* means 'mountain' and *zao* means an area for stationing troops.²⁵ Therefore, the compiler may have invented a similar name pronounced *gezao*, perhaps making up the story about the fleas, thereby creating a misunderstanding, deliberately or not, about the history of this mountain.

The area north of the walled city, including Wanizhai, Gezao Mountain, and Fish Cave village, had been full of garrisons for the indigenous troops. These sites contained the memory of brutal battles between Qing and rebellious indigenous forces. Wanizhai

²¹ YZZPZZ, vol. 19, p. 299. (YZ. 8/10/17).

²² YZZPZZ, vol. 19, p. 299. (YZ. 8/10/17)

²³ Later, it was also given another beautiful name, Ricui Mountain (日翠山, literally 'this green mountain in daytime'), DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 4: p. 6b.

²⁴ DCFZ, 1735, p. 6.

²⁵ Yang Jinquan 楊金全, 'Yiyu diming yishi' 彝語地名釋譯, in *Huoze wenshi ziliao*, (2000), 10:202-204, 205.

and its surroundings to the north particularly drew the attention of Qing authorities because of their close relation to indigenous chieftains. After the Qing took control of Dongchuan, rebuilders such as Fang Gui not only gave this village a new, 'nicer' name relating to Han Chinese, but also drew upon geomantic theory to build a new Wenchang Temple in the area. Here, geomancy may have just been an excuse to support Fang Gui's renaming and rebuilding actions, while his real intention was to impose a new ideology on locations associated with the former indigenous chieftains, both by reconstructing the ritual space and landscape and by representing them in images and essays in the local gazetteers. As a result, the landscape in which the indigenous community lived vanished from the official written records, although it no doubt remained alive in local people's memories. A hidden reference to the notion of rebellion survives in the story of Eastern Wenchang Temple, in which the reason given for building a temple to Wenchang is to immobilize the swords which were intended to kill the Emperor.

This memory is also preserved in another local legend, about the Yelang 夜郎 princess of Golden Bell Mountain and Stone Drum Mountain, which stand facing each other. Yelang is recorded in the *Shiji* as the biggest indigenous regime in third-century Southwest China.²⁶ In this story it is said that, during the Han dynasty, the princess of Yelang met and fell in love with a young man when she was visiting Golden Bell Mountain. This young man was the son of a Han official who had settled in Yelang. His surname was Shi 石 and he always took a small drum with him, which led the princess to call him by the nickname Shigu 石鼓 (Stone Drum). Their relationship was soon noticed by the son of the indigenous chieftain in Wanizhai. He thought that Shigu was trying to interfere with the marriage arrangement between him and the princess. So, he forbade the princess and Shigu to see each other. In the end, Shigu died on the mountain which faces Golden Bell Mountain, for he was never able to see his lover again. The princess, too, committed suicide by jumping from the top of Golden Bell Mountain. The mountain where Shigu died was named Stone Drum Mountain after him, and Stone Drum Mountain and Golden Bell Mountain would face each other forever. Later, when the Heavenly Jade Emperor heard of this story, as a punishment he made all the cockerels in Wanizhai forget how to crow in the morning and the people of Wanizhai could therefore never again see the daylight.²⁷

²⁶ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, ca. 109-91BC (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), vol. 9, *juan* 116, p. 2991-1998.

²⁷ 'Yeliang gongzhu' 夜郎公主, in *Huize yiwèn qūshì* 會澤軼聞趣事, ed. by Guo Tianxi, pp. 33-35.

At the end of this story, because of the misconduct of the indigenous chieftain's son, the people of Wanizhai received the punishment of losing their sunlight, which is possibly connected to the name 'Black' (*wu* 烏 or *hei* 黑) given to the indigenous people by the Qing government.²⁸ More importantly, this story is closely connected to the religious space at the foot of Golden Bell Mountain as well. Associated with this religious space are less well-known stories about local events in earlier times, before the Qing reforms removing indigenous chieftains, as shown in the next section.

2 Meng Yan or Meng Da? The indigenous ritual space at the foot of Golden Bell Mountain

2.1 The cult of Meng Yan: indigenous general who surrendered to the Han

At the foot of Golden Bell Mountain, a shrine called Meng Yan 孟琰 is mentioned in the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer. Meng Yan and Meng Huo 孟獲 were two famous indigenous chieftains of northeastern Yunnan in the third century. After the Han dynasty had gradually declined, Shu Han 蜀漢, one of the Three Kingdoms that claimed to have inherited the Han dynasty, established its reign based in Sichuan. In order to try and wrest control over China, Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234), the chancellor of Shu Han, decided to start a campaign against the indigenous tribes in the south and eventually had this area under his control in 225. One of the rebellious indigenous tribes was led by the Meng family. A well-known tale about them says that Meng Huo was arrested and released seven times (*qiqin qicong* 七擒七纵). After his seventh release, Meng Huo, finally moved by Zhuge Liang's talent and tolerance, submitted himself and took a vow of loyalty to the Shu Han.²⁹ The Meng family was thereupon appointed to govern this area for the Shu Han until the Western Jin 西晉 dynasty ended the competition between the Three Kingdoms in 265.³⁰

Zhuce Liang's southern campaign is emphasized as one of the important moments in the early history of interaction between Han Chinese and indigenous peoples in

²⁸ See Chapter 4.

²⁹ *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志, ca. 348-354, comp. by Chang Qu 常璩, reprint, *Huayang guozhi jiao bu tu zhu* 華陽國志校補圖注, comm. by Ren Naiqiang 任乃強 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), p. 241.

³⁰ Fang Guoyu, *Yizhu shi gao*, pp. 98-99.

Southwest China. Various stories about Zhuge Liang circulate in most parts of Yunnan. Wuhou shrines (*wuhouci* 武侯祠, memorial shrines to Zhuge Liang) were established in many towns and villages. It is difficult to determine precisely when these shrines were built; they were probably built during the Ming dynasty in the sixteenth century. In any case, the dramatic story of how the rebellious Meng family achieved local leadership under the Shu Han, who claimed to be the successors of the Han dynasty, gradually became a popular story about how indigenous people living in Southwest China were willing to cooperate with Han Chinese officials.

Meng Yan, another indigenous leader of the Meng family, also surrendered to the Shu Han and was appointed by Zhuge Liang as a general to assist the Han army (*fu han jiangjun* 輔漢將軍)³¹, which was, according to the compiler of the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, the reason for building a Meng Yan Shrine in Dongchuan. In its account of the Meng Yan Shrine, in the section about 'ethnic groups' (*zhongren* 種人), the 1761 gazetteer characterizes the people who came to worship Meng Yan as a group of indigenous people called 'Meng people' (*mengren* 孟人). The gazetteer says that Meng people were descended from the Mimo 靡莫 race, and links this to the ethnic group of this name mentioned by the Han-dynasty historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. BC. 145-BC. 86, who wrote the earliest standard history of China) as belonging to the Meng Yan tribe. After Meng Yan became a general in the Han army, the gazetteer says that he gathered his people and granted them ten different Han Chinese surnames.³² The people from these ten families built the Meng Yan Shrine and have been worshipping together at the foot of Golden Bell Mountain ever since.³³

In this way, the compiler of the 1761 gazetteer indicates the connection of this shrine to the early history of the third-century surrender of rebellious indigenous tribes in northeastern Yunnan. He points out that an earlier version of the gazetteer from 1735 had mistakenly called this shrine Meng Da 孟達 instead of Meng Yan.³⁴ The compiler argues in the section about 'cults' that although many people thought that this shrine was for worshipping Meng Da, that was a misunderstanding. From the story of Meng Da that he had heard, Meng Da was not a decent man because he had committed adultery

³¹ *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志, p. 241-242.

³² The ten surnames are Zhao 趙, Su 蘇, Li 李, Qian 錢, Feng 馮, Bu 卜, Jin 金, Yang 楊, Zhang 張, Wang 王, Wu 吳

³³ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 8: p.18b.

³⁴ DCFZ, 1735, p. 17.

with a married indigenous woman and eventually caused her death (*Da yin yifu zhisi 達淫夷婦致死*). The compiler is quite convinced that Meng Da did not deserve to have a shrine at all. Meng Yan should now be seen as the one who supported the Han army, instead of Meng Da.³⁵ This argument shows that the name of this shrine 'Meng Yan' was actually given by local officials to replace its former name. It reveals that Meng Da was an earlier name for this shrine at the foot of Golden Bell Mountain.

A conflicting version of this history shows up in the section on 'ethnic groups' in the 1735 gazetteer. Although the 1735 gazetteer mentions the same ten Han Chinese family names as the 1761 gazetteer, instead of being indigenous people of Meng Yan's tribe, the 1735 gazetteer identifies them as descendants of Han Chinese people who had been the followers of a Han Chinese official called Meng Da. During their long settlement in the area, they gradually transformed into an indigenous community (*jiu, bianweiyi 久,變為夷*), and they still regularly worshipped Meng Da at the foot of Golden Bell Mountain. According to the 1735 gazetteer, it was these ten families who together rebuilt the cult of Meng Da in the thirteenth year of Yongzheng's reign in 1735 (Fig. 5.1).³⁶

This, then, is a different version of the early history of the ten families, in which they are claimed to be descendants of the Han Chinese official Meng Da, instead of the indigenous general Meng Yan as reported in the 1761 gazetteer. Unfortunately, official records give no further details about the connection between Meng Da and these ten families. But who was Meng Da? What was his relationship with the local indigenous woman? Was it Meng Da or Meng Yan who was worshipped by a group of people carrying ten Han Chinese surnames?

³⁵ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 7, p. 4a.

³⁶ DCFZ, 1735, p. 17.

Fig. 5.1

1735 Dongchuan gazetteer	1761 Dongchuan gazetteer
Meng Da	Meng Yan
- Han Chinese official - had a affair with an indigenous woman	- Indigenous general - surrendered to the Shu Han
Ten families	Ten families
- Descendants of Han Chinese people - transformed into an indigenous community	- Descendants of indigenous people of Meng Yan's tribe - were granted ten Han Chinese surnames (transformed into an Han Chinese community)

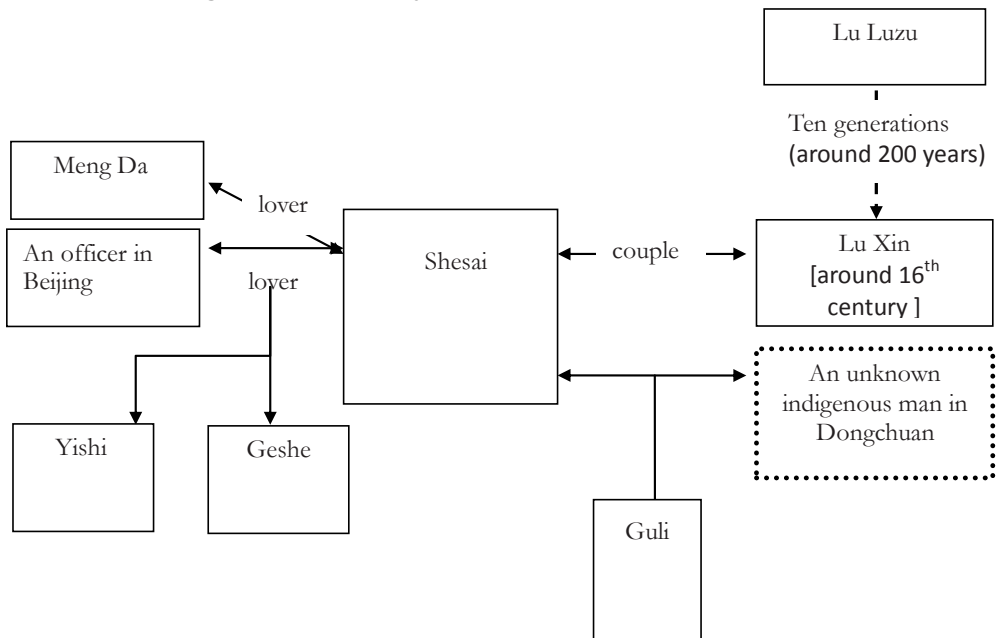
2.2. Meng Da and Shesai: the story about the origin of the Lu family

The gossip about the affair between Meng Da and an indigenous married woman, an affair that the compiler deplors in the 1761 gazetteer, can be found in more detail in the 1735 gazetteer. It turns out that Meng Da was closely involved with the chieftain of the indigenous Lu family in Dongchuan and he appears in the story about the 'origin of the Lu family' (*lushi yuanliu* 祿氏源流) which was recorded by local officials in the 1735 gazetteer.

According to this story, Dongchuan had been in the hands of the Lu family since the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368-1398), the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, granted the title of indigenous prefect to the Lu family. After ten generations, Lu Xin 祿信 inherited this official title and became the indigenous chieftain of Dongchuan. At that time, Meng Da, a Han assistant prefect, was sent to Dongchuan charged with collecting taxes (*naliang tongpan* 納糧通判). Shortly afterwards, Lu Xin noticed that his wife Shesai 攝賽 was having an affair (*sizhi* 私之) with Meng Da. Offended and humiliated by Meng Da's behaviour, Lu Xin ordered his subordinates to kill him. This action was treated as a rebellion against the Ming government and the Ming army soon crushed the 'uprising'.

Lu Xin finally committed suicide and Shesai was then sent to the capital Beijing, where she lived for nine years. In Beijing, Shesai committed adultery again with some officials of the Imperial Bodyguard (*yu jingyiwei mou sitong* 與錦衣衛某私通) and gave birth to two sons, the first son called Geshe 革赦, the second one Yishi 矣式. After Shesai was pardoned and came back to Dongchuan, she had another son called Guni 古你, who was considered the eldest son of the Lu family and later inherited the title (Table 5.2).³⁷

Table 5.2: The origins of the Lu family



The throne was not simply handed to the oldest male child. The one who would inherit the title needed to be born in Dongchuan and to prove his pedigree as chieftain of the Lu family. Considering that Shesai had had affairs with Han Chinese officials, some of her sons lost their right to inherit the title. In the eyes of indigenous groups, children that shared blood with Han Chinese were not suitable to inherit indigenous positions of power.

³⁷ DCFZ, 1735, p. 9.

Similar controversies surrounding the inheritance of the title of indigenous prefect of Dongchuan can be found in other Ming dynasty records. In *Tuguan dibu* 土官底簿 (records of indigenous officials), Shesai is recorded as one of the earliest indigenous prefects of Dongchuan, in the late thirteenth century. These records say that the first indigenous prefect of Dongchuan was a woman named Gushenggu 姑勝古 whose son A'fa 阿發 died very young, so the title of indigenous prefect was inherited by her son's wife Shesai 攝賽 in 1387. After she died, her son Puhe 普合 inherited the title.

A complicated power struggle unfolded after Puhe's death. At that time, his son A'de 阿得 was very young. According to the records, the community had a meeting and decided to let Puhe's brother A'bo 阿伯 temporarily inherit the title until A'de had grown up, and then transfer power back to him. But their proposal was refused by the Yongle Emperor (r. 1402-1424). In 1412, the Yongle Emperor sent an order which said: 'only his son [A'de] is allowed inheritance even if he is under ten years old. Since the brother [A'bo] has the trust of the barbarian people, he may be appointed as a leading official [*shouling guan tou ming* 首領官名頭]³⁸ – which means an official subordinate to the prefect.

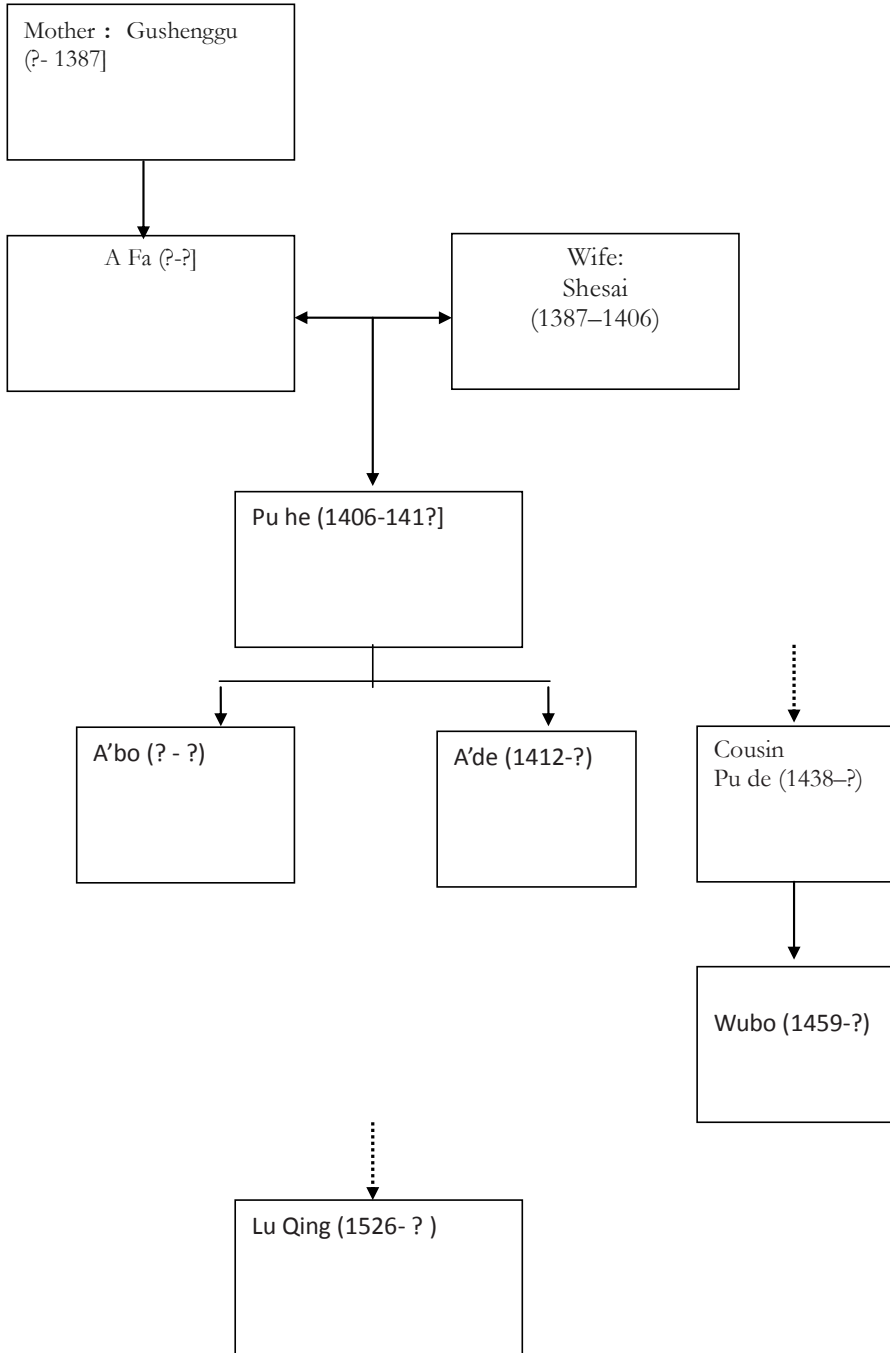
Later, in 1438, Pude 普得, a paternal cousin of Ade, was recommended to inherit the title.³⁹ After Pude died, his son Wubo 烏伯, who could still trace his lineage back to the same paternal line, inherited the title, but in 1526 Lu Qing 祿慶 became the indigenous prefect. The central government's opinion is recorded as: 'Since Lu Qin also agrees to pay tax (*nagu* 納谷), he should be allowed to inherit the title by substitution (*xiti* 襲替):' The word 'substitution' implies that Lu Qing was not a son or brother of Wubo, which suggests that another indigenous family had acquired enough power to take over the title of indigenous prefect.⁴⁰ (See Table 5.3.)

³⁸ *Tuguan dibu* 土官底簿, ca. 1520, in *SKQS*, vol. 599, *juan* b, pp. 65b-66a.

³⁹ It is not clear who Pude's father is, which may have caused the Ming state to hesitate about Pude's legitimacy: Zhentong said later that 'we still need to send an envoy to review. If anything was not true, it needs to be reported to me so I can make another decision.' *Tuguan dibu* 土官底簿, p. 65b

⁴⁰ *Tuguan dibu* 土官底簿, ca. 1520, in *SKQS*, vol. 599, *juan* b, p. 66a.

Table 5.3 The indigenous prefects of Dongchuan (*Tuguandibu*)



The list of Dongchuan indigenous prefects in *Tuguandibu* ends with Lu Qing. This indicates that there was controversy surrounding the title of indigenous prefect in Dongchuan in Lu Qing's time. Indigenous political history after Lu Qing can be found in *Mingshi* (see Table 5.4), which shows similar internal disorder.⁴¹ When Lu Qing died, Lu Qing's wife whose surname was An and her young son competed with an indigenous headman (*yingzhang* 營長) Adege 阿得革 and his son A'tang 阿堂 for the title of indigenous prefect. Ming officials intervened in this conflict in 1527⁴² and took the decision which of them would be the next indigenous prefect by checking their parentage and background. A'tang then changed his younger son's name to Lu Zhe 祿哲 to trick the Ming officials into believing that his son was a descendant of the Lu family. In this way, A'tang's son was recognized by the Ming officials as the new indigenous prefect. But A'tang and his son's behaviour was unacceptable to the other indigenous groups, which caused further internal conflict in Dongchuan.

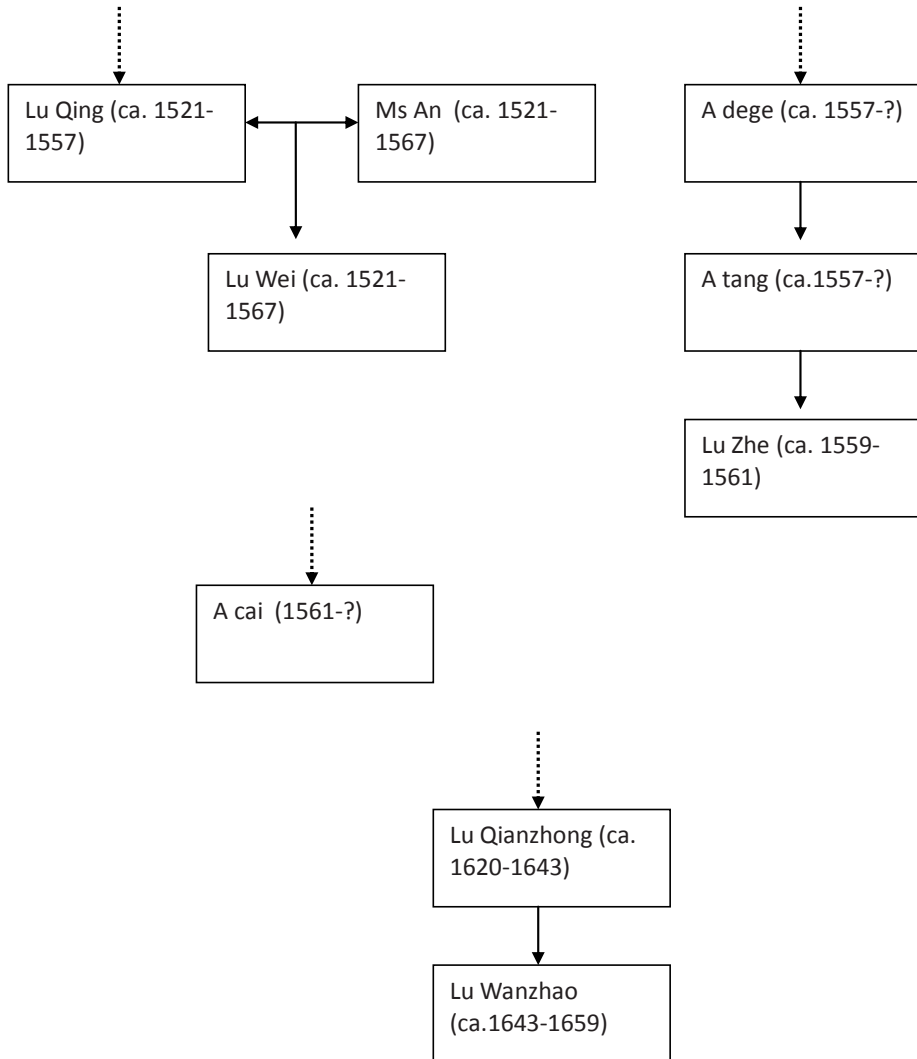
This time, the Ming government had to send forces to put down the conflict. After this, a young boy called A'cai 阿采 was recognized by the Ming government as the new indigenous prefect. The government claimed that he was a sixth-generation descendant of the Lu family, which suggests that the legitimacy of A'cai's inheritance of the title had been questioned. Considering that A'cai was still a young boy, it is very possible that there were other powerful indigenous headmen who took control of Dongchuan, claiming to act on behalf of A'cai.⁴³ In short, all these internal conflicts in Dongchuan show that power was moving back and forth between the different indigenous groups, and that an important way to prove the legitimacy of their rule was to trace ancestral descent.

⁴¹ *Mingshi*, v.26, *juan* 311, pp. 8009-8010.

⁴² Adege then set fire to the headquarters of the indigenous prefect (but the location of the headquarters is not clear). And then he ran away, but was killed in Wuding. *Mingshi*, v.26, *juan* 311, p. 8009.

⁴³ *Mingshi*, v.26, *juan* 311, p. 8010.

Table 5.4 The indigenous prefects of Dongchuan in *Mingshi*



In the early Qing dynasty, when the Qing army came to Yunnan in 1659, the indigenous prefect Lu Wanzhao 祿萬兆 of Dongchuan surrendered himself to the Qing army and told his own version of the lineage of the Lu family. This is the clearest version, because he established a continuous lineage of twelve generations including the names and ages of his ancestors (see Table 5.5).⁴⁴ Interestingly, he mentioned that there had been a rebellion led by another indigenous headman (yingzhang 營長) when Lu Xin was the indigenous prefect (1542–1556). And in the end, Lu Xin suppressed this rebellion. In Lu Wanzhao's account, a woman named Shesai appears, but she is not the fourteenth-century indigenous prefect mentioned above, but is the wife of Lu Qing 祿慶, who was the son of Lu Xin. Instead of being sent to Beijing and having an affair with Han officials, this Shesai is portrayed as a respectable indigenous chieftain who had a chance to go to the capital to pay tribute to the Emperor and came back proudly with lavish presents from the Emperor.⁴⁵

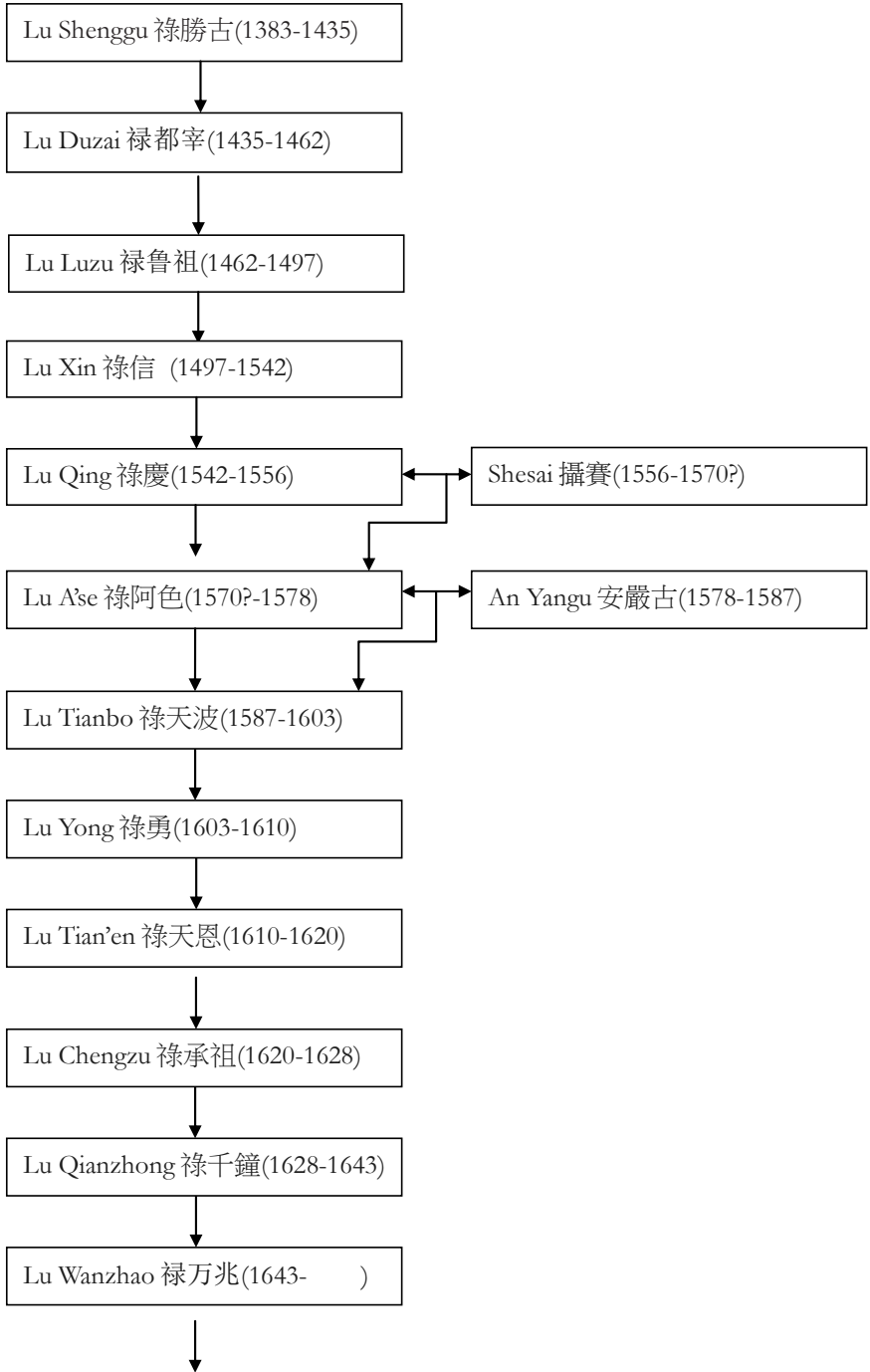
Comparing these different versions, the early history of powerful indigenous families proves to be tangled and complicated. Except in Lu Wanzhao's account from his own perspective, the other versions describe political power moving around among different families. In the 1761 gazetteer, the compilers observe that the history of the Lu family is not clear, and they highly suspect that the story of Shesai's affairs might have come from other indigenous tribes who made up these gossip stories to disgrace the Lu family in order to gain power for themselves. In the eyes of other indigenous tribes, since the Lu family had a disgraceful history, they should not be the only family who controlled power in Dongchuan.⁴⁶ Therefore, it does not really matter whether these affairs actually happened or not. These stories reveal intense controversies surrounding power and prestige in the Dongchuan indigenous community.

⁴⁴ *DCFZ*, *juan* 14, pp. 16a-17a.

⁴⁵ In the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, it says that Shesai died in the fortieth year of the reign of Longqing 隆慶 in the Ming dynasty. But Longqing's reign was only six years in total (1567-1572). This could be a mistake made by the compiler, but it also reflects the ambiguous history of Shesai. *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 14: p. 16a.

⁴⁶ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 14, p. 17a.

Table 5.5. The indigenous prefects of Dongchuan according to Lu Qianzhong



2.3 'Fake' Han Chinese people

Apart from illuminating the inheritance of the title of indigenous prefect, the story of Shesai also illustrates the history of relationships between Han Chinese immigrants and indigenous women, relationships which were very common throughout Southwest China. A similar narrative can be seen in the story of the 'Yelang princess' mentioned above: the son of the indigenous chieftain of Wanizhai interfered with the relationship between the indigenous Yelang princess and the son of the Han Chinese official. As discussed above, the ten families, who were classified by the government as an indigenous group of 'Meng people', worshipped a Han Chinese official named Meng Da, who had had a relationship with a noble indigenous woman. This suggests that the ten families were descendants of the intermarriage of Han Chinese and indigenous people. Therefore, the situation of Han Chinese people who were involved in the indigenous community needs to be discussed further.

In the story of the 'Yelang princess' and the gossip about Shesai, Shi Gu and Meng Da are both portrayed as Han Chinese officials who were sent by the central state. In fact, almost no Han Chinese officials were sent to northeastern Yunnan before the reform of the indigenous chieftain system started. Most Han Chinese officials stayed in the provincial capital or other big cities to supervise northeastern Yunnan area at a distance.⁴⁷

Only a few Han Chinese scholars voluntarily came to live in the indigenous community. As newcomers, they served the indigenous regime instead of the Ming state. These scholars had failed to succeed in passing the imperial examination, so they grabbed a new opportunity by serving the indigenous regime. Indigenous chieftains were in need of Han Chinese scholars to assist with the diplomatic service to the central government. The Han Chinese scholars who worked for indigenous chieftains are referred to in the official records as Han Chinese heads of indigenous groups (*Hanmu* 漢目 or *Hanba* 漢把). The most successful of them was He Ruohai 何若海, who came from Zunyi 遵義 in Guizhou province. His initial aspiration was to enter politics in the capital Beijing. He indeed got an official position in the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部), but soon felt that his talents remained unnoticed, so he quit his job in Beijing and found

⁴⁷ DCFZ, 1761, juan 20a: p. 47a.

employment with the indigenous regime in Yongning 永宁 of Guizhou province to help them deal with the Ming government. He later was appointed prime minister (*chengxiang* 丞相) by the joint indigenous chieftains of Yongning, Shuixi, Wusa, Wumeng, Dongchuan and Mangbu.⁴⁸

Among these Han Chinese scholars in the indigenous community, only a few are recorded in official Dongchuan records in the early Qing dynasty, such as Yu Lianjia 余聯甲, Chen Qing 陳清 and Wu Yingxuan 吳應選, who was employed by Widow Lu and supported her in the bitter internal strife for the title of prefect and later convinced her to surrender to the Qing dynasty in exchange for her safety in 1697. These scholars are praised as 'loyal' (*zhongyi* 忠義) in the local gazetteer for assisting the Qing government during the reform of the indigenous chieftain system.⁴⁹ Of course, whenever the indigenous regimes were too weak to defend themselves against the Qing army, the local Han Chinese scholars chose the side of the Qing.

Along with the Han Chinese scholars, who belonged to the upper class of the indigenous community, another group of Han Chinese immigrants came into this area to cultivate new lands and to start new families. Similar to the 'Meng people', 'fake Han Chinese people' are mentioned in the Zhaotong gazetteer in the section on 'indigenous groups'. This group consisted of Han Chinese vagrants from other provinces who had no home and who came to the indigenous tribes. They had been accepted by the chieftains and married local girls. They had children and adapted to the lifestyle of the indigenous community. When the indigenous chieftain system was ended, they adjusted their dress, utensils and tools to the customs of Han Chinese people. Their wedding and funeral rituals were similar to those of Han Chinese people. However, this group of people is recorded as 'fake Han Chinese people' and they roused deep suspicion in the Qing government: 'This group of people is the craftiest compared to other barbarians.'⁵⁰

The stories of the 'Meng people' and 'fake Han Chinese people' in the official records point to early immigrants coming into this difficult area. For all kinds of reasons, many of them could not afford to pay the taxes and corvée in their hometowns. They therefore had to give up their land and leave their hometowns to look for other places to survive. Having been through great hardship on their travels through this difficult environment,

⁴⁸ Wen Chunlai, pp. 122-123.

⁴⁹ DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 16: pp. 1b-2a.

⁵⁰ *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 5, p. 57.

they arrived in the sparsely populated, infertile mountainous landscape and settled with their new indigenous families. As a result, they abandoned their identity in the household registration system of their hometown, and became part of the local indigenous community.⁵¹ Thus, when Qing government officials arrived in the area to assess the new territory, this group of people was classified as a type of indigenous people. Moreover, the Qing considered them even more difficult to deal with than other indigenous groups because of their craftiness in making use of their dual identity.

Apart from looking for new land, another thing that convinced Han Chinese migrants to take the risk to come into indigenous mountain areas was the presence of all kinds of rich mineral resources.⁵² According to Zhang Yunsui, the indigenous people that lived in the mining area did not know how to exploit the mines and obtain metal from rock by heating and smelting. Most of the mine workers, therefore, were Han Chinese who were quick to arrive whenever a new mine was discovered. The enormous profits of mining became the most important way of gaining a livelihood and thus attracted people from Jiangxi, Hubei, Guangdong, Sichuan, Shaanxi and Guizhou provinces, and other parts of Yunnan. Indigenous people assisted the mine workers by making charcoal for smelting. Their business was to provide supplies to the mine workers, such as vegetables, livestock and fowls.⁵³

However, despite being profitable, the mining business was also enormously risky. Apart from the difficult environment and the complex indigenous society, the mineral deposits were not as rich as to ensure continuous business for the mines. In the worst case, the investor and his workers failed to locate a suitable mineral deposit after having spent all their funds. When the deposits of their mines ran out, they did not even have enough money to go back to their hometowns. Some of them had to stay in the mountains to live with indigenous tribes. For example, the 'Bo people' (*boren* 夔人), mentioned in the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, were 'the descendants of the furnace workers and miners from Jiangxi and Huguang (Hubei and Guangdong) provinces. Although they live with their Bo wives' families, they are not real Bo people.'⁵⁴ Thus,

⁵¹ Apart from voluntary immigrants, there are also stories telling that Han Chinese people, who were just passersby or travelling merchants, were sometimes kidnapped by the indigenous tribes and made their slaves, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8, p. 15a.

⁵² Wu Daxun 吳大勳, *Diannan wenjian lu* 滇南聞見錄, 1792, in *YSC*, vol. 12, p. 25.

⁵³ 'ZYSZG', p. 683. (QL. 11/5/9)

⁵⁴ *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8, pp. 64b-17a.

ironically, this group of people were not only considered 'fake Han Chinese people', but also 'fake barbarian people'.

Similar situations arose in the entire Yunnan area in the eighteenth century, especially in areas with a high indigenous concentration, and became problematic for the Qing government. In the eighteenth century, a proposal was brought to the Qianlong Emperor to forbid marriage between Han Chinese and indigenous people in the western border area between Yunnan and Burma. The governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou, Li Shiyao 李侍堯, suggested that government officials should be placed along the frontier between Yunnan and Burma to check on the population. If there were people who had recently immigrated from Jiangxi and Hubei, they should immediately be forced to go back home. For the Han people who had always lived in these areas, it was necessary to register the households according to the household registration system (*baojia* 保甲). It should be strictly forbidden for these people to marry their indigenous neighbours.⁵⁵

This strong policy forbidding intermarriage was aimed at the situation in the western border area, and shows the fear of losing control of the Qing government, which was obviously not happy about people living outside the reach of the household system. The government realized that intermarriage between Han Chinese and indigenous people placed these people and their descendants beyond government control, which meant these people could escape the tax system.

Although no strict official rules against intermarriage were proposed by the government of Dongchuan, local officials did not encourage intermarriage. Furthermore, they did not want to admit the possible existence of a Meng Da shrine, and tried to prove that Meng Yan was the proper ancestor to worship. Naturally, the story behind the shrine changed along with its name. Stories of romantic relationships between Han Chinese and indigenous women were no longer acceptable. Now, the story of a rebellious indigenous leader who surrendered to the Han kingdom became very suitable for this shrine. The change of the shrine's name in 1761 reveals local officials' intention of reconstructing the ritual landscape.

During the same time that some Han Chinese immigrants were becoming part of indigenous society in northeastern Yunnan, other groups of immigrants, who were lucky enough to succeed in their careers in mining or other forms of business, had different

⁵⁵ 'Daoguang Yunnan tongzhi shihuo zhi' 道光雲南通志·食貨志, 1835, comp. by Ruan Yuan 阮元 and others, in *Yunnan shilia congkan*, ed. by Fang Guoyu and others, vol. 12, p. 271.

experiences in Dongchuan local society. As discussed in Chapter 2, the flourishing associations of travelling merchants built guild halls, a separate one for each province from which the merchants originated. They based their ritual activities, business and annual social meetings around these guild halls. The merchants thus kept their provincial identity, such as Jiangxi people, Huguang (Hubei and Guangdong) people, or Guizhou people, instead of becoming 'barbarian'. Apart from the merchants' associations, there were craftsmen's associations based on occupation, such as carpenters and miners. In the case of Dongchuan, the guild halls therefore became an important architectural space where each association could supervise the travelling merchants from that particular province.⁵⁶ These associations cooperated with local Qing officials and helped the government to supervise Han people coming to the city from outside.

In 1823, the Qing state decided to investigate the situation of Han immigrants. In his memoirs about his administrative career in southeastern Yunnan, Yibuli 伊布里 (1772-1843), the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou from 1833 to 1838, distinguished three kinds of immigrants in the borderlands. Some of them were farmers who moved there to work new land, and who made a living with their families in small agricultural villages. Yibuli said they should be registered in the household system and managed by the chiefs and officials of the village (*lizhang xiangyue* 裡長鄉約). Those Han farmers who were tenants should be supervised by their landlords. Other immigrants had scattered across remote forests and valleys and did not have families. As they were difficult to register in the household registration system, they should be registered as individuals in the adult labour booklet (*dingce* 丁冊) and overseen by headmen (*huotou* 夥頭). Travelling merchants and craftsmen, finally, should be checked by the supervisors of affairs of the merchants' associations (*kezhang* 客長).⁵⁷ Yibuli's report provides evidence for Qing administrative strategies used to control the different groups of Han Chinese immigrants who lived in indigenous areas. These Han Chinese created living and ritual spaces for themselves, such as the guild halls of the travelling merchants. In the

⁵⁶ The title of the inscription on one of the steles in the Jiangxi Guild Hall reads: 'Wanshougong yongqi cunshou beiwen 萬壽宮永期遵守碑文', dated 1927. It describes the revision of the rules of association of Jiangxi Guild, and the whole text on that stele can be found in *Huize wenwu zhi*, ed. by Tao Zhengming and Mei Shibing, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁷ Yibuli 伊布里, 'Zhi ji cha liumin zhuo yi zhangcheng zou 旨稽查流民酌議章程奏', *Weiyuan tingzhi* 威遠廳志, 1838, in *Yunnan shilia congkan*, ed. by Fang Guoyu and others, vol. 9, pp. 11-14. The editors state that this memorial was written by Yin Jisan 尹繼善 (p. 11). However, Yin Jisan (1695-1771) could not possibly have written it down in 1838 (*QSG*, vol. 35, *juan* 307, pp. 10545-10549). It should be Yibuli (1772-1843), who was the governor-general of Yunnan province between 1833 and 1838. (About Yibuli, see *QSG*, vol. 38, *juan* 370, p. 11503-11505)

case of Dongchuan, Meng Da Shrine was a ritual space that served a group of people who were not registered with the travelling merchants' or crafts associations. These worshippers at the shrine were the 'ten families'. The deity they worshipped may have been either a noble Han official, as stated in the official version, or else a Han man who, according to oral tradition, married an indigenous woman. The ten families may have been descended from earlier immigrant men coming to Dongchuan to work the new land who started intermarrying with indigenous women before the Qing government took control of Dongchuan. Clearly, the Qing government could not accept that people were worshipping someone who was said to have married an indigenous woman. Therefore, they rewrote the story of Meng Da Shrine.

Conclusion

Located in a remote and complex area, the different groups of people in the walled city of Dongchuan can be described by Giersch's term 'motley throng', which he uses in his observations on the towns on the southern frontier between China and Southeast Asia. He also illuminates the process of frontier urbanization: building, refurbishing and changing the 'urbanscape'. Giersch also points out the symbolic meanings of official buildings such as Wenchang Temple. He states that the Wenchang cult was encouraged by the Qing with the aim of building up a cultured environment in which to introduce civilization to the local 'barbarians'. Meanwhile, Giersch indicates that indigenous ritual space, such as the Tai temples in cities on the border between Yunnan and Burma, also kept their important role in the urban landscape and that Tai indigenous inhabitants developed their own institutions while participating in the establishment of imperial cultural institutions. By connecting the different buildings with different ethnic groups, Giersch portrays a crowded coexistence along the frontier.⁵⁸

However, the case studies in this chapter of the Wenchang temples and the Meng Da Shrine show that this coexistence of ethnic groups was more complex and subtle in terms of urbanscape. In Dongchuan, even in the case of an official building such as Wenchang Temple and its location on Golden Bell Mountain, which seemed to be completely based on its function as a temple for 'scholastic fortune', the story of the building from the local, indigenous perspective can be retold as a totally different

⁵⁸ Giersch, pp. 127-158.

narrative. More importantly, this chapter has shown how those diverse interpretations of space and landscape ended up as a single, standard official version, for example, how the Meng Da Shrine was redefined by the imperial government as the Meng Yan shrine. The chapter has also shown why rich immigrants were encouraged to build their magnificent mansions (which can still be seen today: the Jianxi Guild Hall and the Huguang Guild Hall) in Dongchuan to clearly assert their Han identity instead of falling into the ambiguity of a mixed identity between 'barbarian' and Han Chinese.

Conclusion

Landscapes such as mountains, rivers, springs, and caves; man-made structures such as roads and walled cities – these seemingly innocent material environments and entities, which researchers usually treat as part of the backdrop to larger historical events, have played an important role in my study of Southwest China in the pre-modern period. As one of the last areas officially brought into the territory of the Chinese empire, Southwest China with its complicated geography constituted a huge obstacle for the imperial outsiders. Many faraway areas of the Southwest, and the indigenous peoples who lived there, had been unreachable, yet had existed in the imagination of the central state for a very long time. Instead of examining the imperial institutional and administrative system in the frontier areas and the long-term transformations within the indigenous system from the indigenous perspective, as Herman and Wen have done in their studies¹, I have shown how different central and local governments spatially imagined, gazed at, and understood the Southwest, and how this spatial knowledge and imagination affected the state's strategies and its military, political and economic development in the Southwest in a broad geographical sense. My study is about the way the central state dealt with the 'other', the unfamiliar borderlands that could be either real or imagined through hearsay and stories.

The authority of the central state in the frontier areas was not established all at once, but over time through an ongoing unifying process of state-building. In the long term, the indigenous communities of Dongchuan and other areas of northeastern Yunnan were closely connected to each other and were gradually incorporated into the imperial territory at roughly the same pace. During this process, this territory was gradually transformed from outer, foreign land to 'normal administrative area' and then to the inner 'new territories' of the empire. In the process of adding the Southwest piece by piece to the imperial territory, transport routes exploited by the central state played

¹ Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*; Wen Chunlai, *Cong 'yiyu' dao 'jiujiang'*.

an important role as one of the few ways to connect the Southwest to the rest of the empire. These transport routes should not be treated simply as a physical way to reach the Southwest, but also as an important 'path' for the state, in the centre, to observe and consider the Southwest. As the state gained more secure control over the areas along the transport routes in the Southwest, Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan remained as the leftover areas that were 'blank' in the eyes of the central state, inhabited by indigenous people inside the empire's southwest border.

The turning point in this process was when the Qing empire removed indigenous chieftains and conquered the area by military force in the first half of the eighteenth century. Later, transport routes inside northeastern Yunnan were exploited and connected to the main routes in the Southwest in order to enable copper transport from Dongchuan to the capital Beijing. Northeastern Yunnan, located on the south side of the Jinsha River, became more familiar and better controlled by the Qing. Meanwhile, thousands of new immigrants poured in, chasing after the benefits of copper production and its related markets. Even so, the north side of the Jinsha River stayed under the control of powerful indigenous groups. In the eighteenth century Dongchuan was gradually transformed from a hinterland town into an important city. It was crucial to the Qing government both economically in terms of the flourishing copper business, and politically because of its strategic value as a stronghold against the unconquered indigenous communities along the north side of the Jinsha River.

Landscape practices and representations played an important role in this enormous transformation of the Southwest during state expansion in the eighteenth century. After the overthrow of indigenous rulers, the Qing government and Han immigrants started to impose their own landscape in the southwest borderlands. The indigenous landscape gradually vanished. In establishing its authority in local society, the Qing not only transformed the actual landscape by creating a new cityscape through various material building projects, but also created a new ideological image of this landscape in the middle of the eighteenth century through representation in paintings, maps, and literature by local officials and scholars in local gazetteers.

One of the most important features of this new ideological landscape was 'civilization'. Between 1730 and 1760, the idea of civilization had been promoted through new buildings in the way their location was determined, as well as their layout and building materials, and in the orientation of the walled city, government offices, and

various religious and ritual buildings, such as the Confucius Temple, City God Temple, Zhenwu Shrine and Wenchang Temple. This strategy is apparent in the official narrative, which contributed to the image of these buildings in a bid to dominate the maybe add an adjective here understanding of the local landscape. It is clearly stated by local officials and scholars that they believed that these buildings would not just benefit local elites, but would also help encourage education and promote civilization to the local population, bringing long-term peace and prosperity to the city. In the case of the ten best views of Dongchuan, especially the hot spring and Creeper Sea, local officials and scholars emphasized that these had been transformed into 'civilized' sites and 'fertile' farmlands from their original 'barbarian' status. By adapting existing literary conventions, local officials presented the landscape of Dongchuan in a familiar and attractive manner that helped local people grow accustomed to the more 'civilized' parts of the Qing state.

The newly 'civilized' landscape was endowed with a moral authority, which in turn helped incorporate indigenous areas into the territory of the central empire. Landscape played an important role in reshaping the empire's frontier through perceptions of the picturesque and expressions of symbolic meaning. The ideals of landscape and local community were closely tied together in an aesthetic of visual harmony that was presented in geographical terms. The fashion of aesthetics, and moral considerations about landscape, helped establish the iconic presence of the state and offered an imaginative means of state-building in the process of being imagined or constructed. This part of my argument is built on studies of symbolic landscapes. Researchers such as Cosgrove have been especially interested in Europe's colonial empires and colonization, revealing the particular way elites have viewed landscape and imposed their views.² Power was projected onto the landscape as a means of colonizing and controlling new territories and peoples. Much like the concept of colonization used in pre-modern China studies, as emphasized by Herman in his research, 'civilizing missions' and the idea of sinicization promoted by the Ming state were only superficial and formalistic in the Southwest. The state's real goal was to justify the brutal colonization of the Southwest.³ Civilizing or Confucian ideals could be promoted in various ways such as through language, rituals, and social structures in the frontier area,

² Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape; The Iconography of Landscape* ed. by Cosgrove and Daniels.

³ Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*.

and my case study of Dongchuan and other parts of northeastern Yunnan shows that city-planning and landscape practices were also important ways for local officials to promote civilization.

However, the concept of the 'civilizing mission' was not directly imposed by the central court, but influenced by the understanding of local agents of the situations they encountered. Building on studies of South China, such as those of Faure, Siu, and Liu⁴, my research emphasizes the local role in the process of state-building in the Southwest, especially in the case of landscape. This new landscape was not imposed top-down by the central court or by the emperor himself, such as Forêt emphasizes for the imperial landscape in Chengde, following general symbolic patterns or cosmological elements, but was created by those who were actually living in local society.

Therefore my study is not limited to the symbolic meaning of the landscape from the perspective of the central state, but emphasizes personal decisions of individuals in local society. In the case of Dongchuan, local officials and scholars, such as Cui Naiyong and Fang Gui, who believed that they were representing the state, were key figures in the process of state-building through landscape. They were the ones who initially did the material/physical city-planning based on their personal aesthetic preferences and experiences, and, more importantly, in a way they believed represented the state.

For local agents, the 'civilized' landscape became important evidence of the local government's achievements. The first group of officials appointed by the Qing government, as well as other scholars in Dongchuan, had a sense of vocation to educate and civilize the local people, especially in areas such as Dongchuan that used to be known as 'barbarian nests'. These achievements did not necessarily stem directly from the central government's orders, but rather local agents used their own tools to plant the state in local society. In the eyes of local officials and scholars, Dongchuan by the middle of the eighteenth century had developed into a 'metropolis' that was just like big cities in China's central plain. In other words, their main purpose was to follow the patterns of the 'old territories', which were more developed and 'civilized' and had been under the control of the central state for a long time. It was not necessary to directly imitate a particular civilized city in the developed area; rather, local officials and scholars followed their personal preferences and imagination in determining what they believed was the

⁴ David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor; Empire at the Margins*, ed. by Crossley, Siu and Sutton; *Down to Earth*, ed. by Siu and Faure; Liu Zhiwei, *Zai guojia yu shehui zhijian*.

proper way to build a landscape in the borderlands. By building a landscape using familiar rhetoric based on memories of their own education, they created a sense of familiarity and belonging. They were trying to show that they had created a bright, peaceful, beautiful and, above all, civilized landscape, and they were proud that they had successfully removed the gloom from the former 'barbarian' territory.

In addition, although New Qing history studies emphasize the Manchu characteristics of the Qing⁵, it has to be said that there were not so many differences in the rhetoric of civilization between the Qing and Ming empires in the case of northeastern Yunnan. The situation in the Southwest is different from central Asian areas such as Tibet and Mongolia as described in New Qing history studies. In the Southwest, the Manchu-centred model was not very clearly embodied in local society and the rhetoric of civilization showed continuity from the Ming to the Qing. Both dynasties treated the regions in China's central plain as the standard model that should be followed. For the Qing's local agents on the southwest frontier, the areas that were already 'civilized' in the Ming dynasty became their example. Descriptions of the local landscape were consciously written to represent the transformation from wild 'barbarian' frontier into a 'civilized' Han Chinese area. What's more, in the eyes of local officials, this 'civilizing mission' was not only aimed at educating indigenous people, but was also directed at the new Han immigrants who came from Jiangxi, Huguang, Sichuan, and other provinces. Local officials were eager to gain control over this floating population that moved outside of the government's household system and easily colluded with indigenous peoples in the mountains.

Beyond that, my research shows that the landscape is not quietly waiting to be transformed or manipulated by people. By overemphasizing the symbolic importance of landscape, one runs the risk of ignoring the cultural processes of transformation. Instead of merely deconstructing the official discourse on local landscape, my research has shown that landscape is staying in people's everyday life while people go on living inside the landscape at the same time. Apart from examining the personal and moral interests and aesthetic appraisal by local agents, I advocate viewing local landscape practices and

⁵ Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*; Crossley, *The Manchu*; Rawski, 'Re-envisioning the Qing'; Elliott, *The Manchu Way*; Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*.

representations rather as a continuous process of mutual influence between human agency and landscape, as Ingold and Hirsch have argued.⁶

In a political and military sense, daily life in Dongchuan reflected and illustrated the larger issues along the empire's borders. The areas to the northwest of Dongchuan, such as the indigenous villages in the Liang Mountains on the north side of the Jinsha River, were an internal frontier for the Qing. The fearsome rebellious 'barbarians' who lived there were considered by Qing officials to be a potential threat. Not only did indigenous groups sporadically harass the new Han immigrant communities, they also came to challenge the authority of the local government. Because of this, the central state viewed Dongchuan as a key defensive position for the protection of areas to the south, such as Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province, and the main transport routes entering into Yunnan.

The copper industry in Dongchuan and copper transports to Beijing, which were essential to the national and international economy in the eighteenth century, was one of the major concerns of local society. These copper transports left Dongchuan from the north, passed through northeastern Yunnan to the Yangzi River, and then went on to the capital Beijing. For Dongchuan itself, the copper mines in Tangdan, Lulu and Daxue, all located in the western part of the prefecture, were of utmost importance to local residents. A large number of local residents, immigrants, travelling merchants, and even local scholars were all deeply involved in the copper business. The connection between the walled city and the copper mines to the west was crucial to local economic and social life, in the sense of copper transport as well as all the related markets for basic life necessities and leisure pursuits.

All of these issues contributed to landscape practice and representation. Local people naturally paid more attention to the mountains, rivers, and roads of nearby landscapes that were critical in terms of politics, military strategy and the economy, both on a local and a national scale. The north and northwest, and the south side of Dongchuan especially drew the attention of local observers; these were the areas that affected the image of the city and the landscape, as can be seen in the layout of the walled city, the location of various landmarks, and the selection of beautiful scenic spots, as well as other geographical descriptions of Dongchuan.

⁶ Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment; The Anthropology of Landscape*, ed. by Hirsch and O'Hanlon.

Besides, the new landscapes of the Qing empire were necessarily connected to the memories of indigenous headquarters and communities. For instance, during the seventeenth century the villages called Water Capital and Earth Capital, located respectively on the north and west sides of the walled city, were the most important indigenous communities militarily and politically. Other indigenous villages, such as Wani Village and Fish Cave Village, were important scenes of battle in the wars between indigenous communities and the Qing conquerors in the first half of the eighteenth century. In this way, material buildings and physical environments also interacted with people's remembered or imaginary experiences. These places naturally received more attention because they were deeply connected with the memories of the historical relationship between indigenous communities and the Qing state.

Landscape therefore emerged as a stage of a cultural process in the ongoing movement of everyday life. After the indigenous chieftain system collapsed, the new landscape was gradually formed by local officials' design and through interaction with indigenous people in local political, economic and ritual life. Indeed, the Qing seems to have successfully transformed this 'barbarian' area into its own territory by creating a new landscape. The new image of the landscape was emphasized by the local agents of the empire. However, the indigenous people and other local groups also expressed themselves and left their mark on the landscape through their oral history. In their representations, they positioned themselves within the landscape and kept their identity in the history of their own indigenous communities. Therefore, my research reveals the landscape as having multiple interpretations that different people envisioned, shaped, reshaped, and negotiated.

In the case of northeastern Yunnan, indigenous religious spaces and landscapes, such as Zhenwu Shrine and the dragon pools on the top of Black Dragon Mountain, were transformed into new ritual spaces for the Qing state. Zhenwu's image dominates the understanding of the landscape, space and the temple itself on Black Dragon Mountain, while the original dragon cults of the indigenous communities in the same space were relatively neglected in the official narrative of the local gazetteers. But all the while, this same space in daily life was used simultaneously by different local worshipping groups for their own purposes, and multiple meanings were created by different groups both from the perspective of Qing policy as well as from the perspective of indigenous and other local groups. Wenchang temples were established as official worship buildings by

local officials, designed to be landmarks in the vicinity of the walled city, and yet, in indigenous oral history, these buildings and the surrounding landscapes are retold as a completely different narrative from an indigenous perspective. Mang Da Shrine, an ancestral hall celebrating the heritage and lineage of ten local families, also contained two different versions of indigenous history, both from the official and the indigenous perspective.

In his research on the towns and villages along the southern Yunnan border, Giersch notes the importance of imperial building projects and the buildings commissioned by Han immigrants in the changing urban landscape. He uses the concept of shared space in the frontier towns to describe the urbanization there. It turns out that in spite of the new buildings, indigenous structures still remained, such as Tai temples and pagodas. In this sense, Giersch portrays a crowded coexistence, a 'motley throng' along the frontier.⁷ However, the material buildings and landscape of the walled city and its vicinity should be given a deeper significance than Giersch does. Although Giersch does remark on the mosaic of Chinese, Tai, and highlander villages and landscapes, this mosaic should not be read as 'one message per building' or 'one message per landscape'. In fact, one landscape will contain a multitude of messages depending on the various groups that express their own concerns in everyday practices there. In the case of Dongchuan, I have shown that for the same space, building or landscape, no matter who built or inhabited it initially, its meaning could be totally different according to the practices and representations of different groups. The coexistence of groups along the frontier, therefore, is more complex and subtle than in Giersch's descriptions.

Landscape should not be dismissed as simply an innocent backdrop, as other researchers have done, or only recorded objectively by external observers. Instead, as Barbara Bender notes, it contains multiple layers and should be read as an expression of complex cultural processes. Landscape, then, is transformed through the participation of the people in it, and does not remain untouched and unchanged outside of its physical existence.⁸ My study views landscape as part of the relationship between people and landscape, instead of separating the two. The landscape of Dongchuan is a fine example of how community and landscape influence each other, how they overlap and intersect with each other, and how they are formed historically. The study of landscape brings us

⁷ Patterson C. Giersch, pp. 127-158.

⁸ *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender.

meaningful insights and is a useful perspective for observing the land and the people that lived there in any given period. Furthermore, my purpose has been not only to apply these diverse interpretations to one and the same space or landscape, but also to follow the process of how diverse interpretations of space and landscape ended up as a single standard and dominant official version, as well as highlight the tension between different discourses.

Although I use a landscape studies approach as an analytical tool in my research, I do not mean to isolate it from other approaches to studying local history of pre-modern China. Building on frontier studies and the work of historians on local societies in pre-modern China, I consider the interaction between different social classes and ethnic groups – between indigenous rulers and the central state, between frontier ‘barbarian’ society and the ‘civilized’ society of China’s central plain, between Han and non-Han or between ‘fake Han’ and ‘fake barbarians’ (intermarriage), between immigrants and natives, between wealthy travelling merchants living in mansions and poor immigrants in the mountains. All of these cultural encounters and contrasts were factors in the political, economic, and cultural transformation of eighteenth-century Southwest China. Landscape studies cannot be undertaken seriously without considering the political, economic and cultural presence of local society. Understanding the meanings of landscapes in the past demands a full examination of local history. Most importantly, to deal with landscape in history means to ask questions about how bridges were formed between the people and the landscape, and how they shifted in different periods, in order to understand this relationship in the long term. It is very important for landscape studies to consciously keep an eye on the historical dimension. Material structures and how they were shaped by subjective attitudes is the analytical foundation of landscape studies, but for a deeper understanding of landscape, one needs to rely on the historical context in a specific time and place. Historical studies of landscape explore the interaction between economic, political and social events, landscapes, and human actions and perceptions. In this sense, landscape carries the traces of history – how people have remembered and tell their stories; and how in their past, present and future they understand and interpret the world through their material surroundings.

Abbreviations

- DCFZ *Dongchuan fuzhi* 東川府志
- DCFZX *Dongchuan fuxuzhi* 東川府續志
- MSL *Ming shilu* 明實錄, 1399-1628 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan yuyan yanjiusuo, 1964- 1967)
- QSG *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, comp. by Zhao Erxun 赵尔巽 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977)
- QSL *Da qing lichao shilu* 大清歷朝實錄, 1635 -1895, Tōkyō : Daizō Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1938
- QL Qianlong reign 乾隆 period, 1736-1795
- SKQS *Jing yin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, comp. by Ji Yun 紀昀 and others, (Taipei: Tanwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-86)
- YZ Yongzheng 雍正 reign period, 1723 – 1735
- YZZPZZ *Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 雍正朝漢文硃批奏摺彙編, ed. by Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989)
- YSC *Yunnan shiliao congkan* 雲南史料叢刊, ed. by Fang Guoyu and others (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1990, 1998-2001)
- ZTJZ *Zhaotong jiu zhi huibian* 昭通舊志彙編(Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2006)
- ZYSZG Zhang Yunsui zougao 張允隨奏稿, in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. by Fang Guoyu and others, vol. 8: 527-774

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Fei Huang was born in Zhijin county, Guizhou province of the People's Republic of China on July 12, 1982. She specialized in Landscape Studies, Material Culture, Historical Anthropology and Studies of Southwest China.

She earned her BA of Art history from Sun-Yat sen University in 2005 and enrolled in the Master programme leading to the Ph.D programme in the Center of Historical Anthropology in Sun-Yat sen University in the same year. Between 2008 and 2012, she conducted Ph. D research at the Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), with an award from the State Scholarship Fund of the China Scholarship Council (CSC) between 2008 and 2009, and supported by the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research (CHIME) between 2009 and 2012.

In 2005-2008, she assisted in the collection, categorization, and digitalization of the primary documents and data in the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme in Yunnan province, China. She also coordinated a two week summer workshop in 2008 for graduate students in Liupilang, an ethnic Yi village in Yunnan. Additional experience includes working as an editorial assistant for academic publications in the period 2009 – 2012.

Samenvatting

Zuidwest-China, dat gelegen is in het randgebied van het vroegere Centrale Keizerrijk, is een regio met bergen en diepe rivierdalen en een klimaat dat wisselt per plaats. Veel gebieden in Zuidwest-China werden vroeger bewoond door inheemse gemeenschappen. Zowel de complexe natuurlijke omstandigheden van het gebied als de ontoegankelijke houding van de oorspronkelijke bewoners zorgden ervoor dat het gebied gedurende vele eeuwen moeilijk te bereiken was voor het centrale gezag. In de achttiende eeuw overwon het Qing keizerrijk de lokale machten en vestigde haar directe gezag in het grootste deel van Zuidwest-China.

Mijn onderzoek richt zich op het landschap van Zuidwest-China en meer specifiek op de vraag hoe verschillende groeperingen – zowel binnen het keizerlijk bestuur als binnen de lokale gemeenschap – gedurende de achttiende eeuw het landschap interpreteerden en herinneringen, constructies en verbeeldingen van het landschap creëerden.

In dit proefschrift worden de lokale ruimte en het landschap van Dongchuan en andere streken in het noordoosten van Yunnan gepresenteerd als een case study. Tot de achttiende eeuw was Dongchuan een relatief onafhankelijk gebied. De overwinningen van de centrale staat waren altijd van korte duur. Gedurende de achttiende eeuw had het Qing rijk dringend koper nodig voor bronzen betaalmiddelen en raakte daarom geïnteresseerd in Dongchuan, dat rijke kopermijnen herbergde. Nadat het Qing rijk met militaire macht de inheemse regimes had verslagen, werden de lokale leiders vervangen door Han en Manchu ambtenaren, die op hun beurt de verafgelegen plaats omvormden tot een nieuw landschap.

Rond diezelfde tijd begon de winning van koper in Dongchuan, dat vervolgens naar Beijing werd vervoerd. Tegelijk met de opkomst van de koperwinning veranderde de lokale maatschappij door een reeks bouwprojecten, zoals nieuwe land- en vaarwegen, de aanleg van een nieuwe stad omringd met een stenen muur, en de bouw van allerlei officiële en religieuze gebouwen binnen die ommuurde stad. Ondertussen trokken Han Chinezen uit andere delen van China, aangetrokken door de opbloeiende mijnindustrie, in steeds grotere getale naar Dongchuan. Tienduizenden mensen waren werkzaam in de mijnbouw, de smederij, het vervoer en de aanlevering van noodzakelijke levensvoorzieningen, zoals rijst, zout en olie, maar ook op het gebied van cultuur en ontspanning. Dankzij de nieuwe wegen en gebouwen, de ommuurde stad en met name de nieuwe immigranten, kreeg Dongchuan in het midden van de achttiende eeuw het aanzien van een wereldstad. Voor het eerst was deze kleine afgelegen streek van groot belang voor de hoofdstad Beijing en de nationale economie.

De meeste gebieden, ruimtes en landschappen waar inheemse groepen ooit hadden geleefd, verdwenen in deze periode. De nieuwe bouwprojecten, zoals de transportroutes over land en water, de ommuurde stad, de opslagplaatsen, scholen, tempels en heiligdommen transformeerden het landschap met als doel het overbrengen van de orthodoxe ideologie en het opleggen van een keizerlijke orde, door zich in de lokale samenleving te presenteren op een ideologisch correcte manier. Als gevolg van het bureaucratische besluit om een administratief centrum op te zetten, werden deze bouwwerkzaamheden de belangrijkste manier van contact tussen de lokale samenleving en het keizerlijk bestuur.

Ondertussen werden de landschappen van Dongchuan veelvuldig beschreven in geschriften van ambtenaren en geleerden uit die tijd, waaronder de standaard geschiedenissen, lokale geschiedenissen en memoranda aan het hof. Een reeks van mooiste plekken rondom de nieuwe ommuurde stad werd geselecteerd en vormde met gedetailleerde en subtiele beschrijvingen het voornaamste thema van de lokale literatuur. Ongeacht de daadwerkelijke situatie van deze zogenaamde schilderachtige plaatsen, werden hun beschrijvingen niet alleen gebruikt als een passend literair genre om lokale plekken te waarderen, maar ook om het grensgebied te herdefiniëren om zo een nieuw sociaal en ruimtelijk bewustzijn te creëren met als doel de constructie van een beschaafde Han Chinese wereld. Bovendien droegen de persoonlijke interesses van lokale geleerden niet alleen bij aan de totstandkoming van de reeks mooiste lokale plekken, maar dienden zij ook politieke, militaire en commerciële belangen.

Als grensgebied, bewoond door de inheemse bevolking en door nieuwkomers, bood Dongchuan daarnaast in zijn niet-officiële bouwwerken ook ruimte voor mensen uit verschillende streken, met uiteenlopende beroepen en met verschillende sociaal-economische posities om elkaar te ontmoeten, met elkaar te verkeren en met elkaar in conflict te geraken. De landschappen kwamen niet alleen tot stand door de bouwers, maar ook door diegenen die er dagelijks in verkeerden en door de herinneringen aan voorbije dagen die zij met zich mee droegen. Zeer diverse bevolkingsgroepen leefden naast elkaar in de plaatselijke gemeenschap en brachten veelvormige interpretaties tot stand van hun landschap en de ruimte om zich heen, in plaats van simpelweg de officiële praktijk en beeldvorming te aanvaarden.