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]

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[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); Ronal 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 五竜募, 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 shujü, 1955), *juan* 73, pp. 3112.

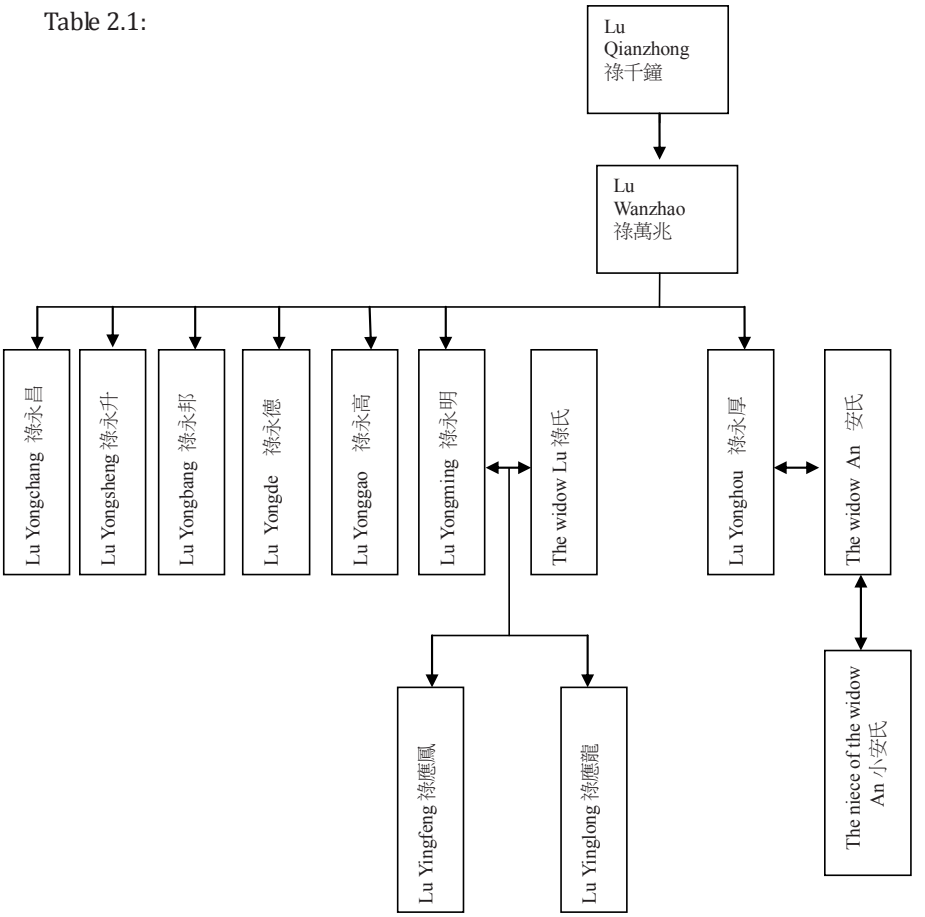
surrounding these different capitals was the primary stage for political and military activities in Dongchuan.[11]

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 Xinggong 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]

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[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 Daguan gazetteer (Daguan is located to the north of Dongchuan). The stone-walled city of Daguan 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 Daguan: 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

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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 崔乃镛, '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 段爓文, 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 张上哲, '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 段爓文, '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 崔乃镛, '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* 堊工), 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 崔乃镛, 'Chuang jian dongchuan fu shicheng ji' 創建東川府石城記, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 41.

31 smelting workers (*yeren* 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 魏翥國 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 zhouzhi* 鎮雄州志, 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 鄧渼 (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' 东川府地震纪事, *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 city[62], 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

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[61] Yan Zhongping, *Qingdai Yunnan tongzheng kao;* Peng-sheng Chiu, 'Shiba shijie diantong 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]

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[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 何秉隸, 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」を論じで清代の會館に及ぶ, 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. Hamiltion, '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]

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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: *liang* 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 Xinggong, 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] *DCFXZ*, *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] *DCFXZ*, *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. *DCFXZ*, 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] *DCFXZ*, 1761, *xu*, 2b.